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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXIII.—1851.

JANUARY NUMBER.

ARTICLE PAGE

I. DIVINE AGENCY IN MATERIAL PHENOMENA 9
By Rev. J. Cummings, Boston, Mass.
1. Of the Divine Agency in the Production of Material Phenomena. Art. VII. Bibliotheca Sacra, May, 1848.
2. Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.
3. Works on Natural Science.

II. THE PRESENT STATE OF ASTRONOMY 32
By Professor Hackley, Columbia College.
Outlines of Astronomy. By Sir John F. W. Herschel.

III. CAMPBELL'S LIFE AND LETTERS 64
1. Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by William Beattie, M. D., one of his Executors.
2. The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell, complete; with a Memoir, &c.

IV. THE YOUNG MEN OF THE CHURCH 86
By Rev. S. Olin, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University.

V. THE INCARNATION 114
By Rev. D. W. Clark, D. D., New-York.
1. God in Christ: Three Discourses delivered at New-Haven, Cambridge, and Andover, with a Preliminary Dissertation on Language. By Horace Bushnell.
2. The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of East Riding.
3. Theophany; or, the Manifestation of God in Jesus Christ. By Robert Turnbull.
4. The Person and Work of Christ. By Ernest Sartorius, D. D., General Superintendent and Consistorial Director of Königsberg, Prussia. Translated by C. S. Stearns, A. M.
5. Letters on the Eternal Sonship of Christ. By Rev. William Beauchamp, with an Introductory Essay, by Leroy M. Lee, D. D.

VI. NEANDER 143

VII. LEXICOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT 156
A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D., Professor, &c.

ARTICLE PAGE

VIII. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 164

1. Burnap's Discourses, p. 164.—2. Bangs on the Present State of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 164.—3. Putnam's World's Progress, p. 165.—4. Mayhew on Popular Education, p. 165.—5. Clark on Mental Discipline, p. 165.—6. Putz's Hand-book of Mediæval Geography and History, p. 166.—7. Smyth on the Unity of the Races, p. 166.—8. Howitt's Country Year-Book, p. 166.—9. Abbott's Histories of Madame Roland, and of Xerxes, p. 166.—10. Success in Life, p. 167.—11. The Gospel its own Advocate, p. 167.—12. The Token of Friendship, p. 167.—13. Hanna's Life of Chalmers, p. 167.—14. Five Years in South Africa, p. 167.—15. Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, p. 168.—16. Life of John Foster, p. 168.—17. Woodbury's German Grammar, p. 168.—18. The Eminent Dead, p. 168.—19. Hopkins' History of the Confessional, p. 169.—20. Evangelism in the Nineteenth Century, p. 169.—21. Churches and Sects of the United States, p. 169.—22. Loomis's Recent Progress of Astronomy, p. 169.—23. Iconographic Encyclopædia, p. 170.—24. Church's Calculus, p. 170.—25. Williams' Religious Progress, p. 170.—26. Fowler's English Literature, p. 171.—27. Griffiths' Marine and Naval Architecture, p. 171.—28. Pamphlets, &c., p. 171.

IX. RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 172

Letter Apostolical of Pope Pius IX 172

X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 176

THEOLOGICAL.—European 176

" American 183

CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.—European 184

American 185

APRIL NUMBER.

I. PHILOSOPHY AND FAITH 185

By G. F. Holmes, Burk's Garden, Va.

1. An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. By J. D. MORELL, A. M.

2. Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX. Siècle. Par EMILE SAISSET, Agrégé à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.

II. THE USE OF MATHEMATICS IN EDUCATION 218

The Logic and Utility of Mathematics, with the best methods of instruction explained and illustrated. By CHARLES DAVIES, LL. D.

III. ELIZABETH FRY 226

1. Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from her Letters and Journal, &c. Edited by two of her Daughters.

2. Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. By Rev. THOMAS TIMPSON.

IV. BISHOP BUTLER 247

By Rev. G. R. Crooks, Pottstown, Pa.

1. Memoirs of the Character and Writings of JOSEPH BUTLER, D. C. L., Late Lord Bishop of Durham. By THOMAS BARTLETT, A. M., Rector of Kingston, Kent.

2. The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, &c., &c. With a Life of the Author, Copious Notes, and Index. By WILLIAM FITZGERALD, A. M., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin.

ARTICLE PAGE

V. SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH IV 262
By Rev. N. Rounds, Wilkesbarre, Penn.

VI. AN EARNEST MINISTRY 270
By F. Saunders, New-York.

An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. With an Introduction, by Rev. J. B. CONDIT, D. D., of Newark, New-Jersey.

VII. SIR THOMAS BROWNE 280
By Rev. B. H. Nadal, Baltimore, Md.

The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Browne, collected and edited, with a New Memoir, Notes, and Introduction. By SIMON WILKIN, F. L. S.

VIII. DIVINE PROVIDENCE 292

IX. REV. JOSEPH ENTWISLE 305

Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, fifty-four years a Wesleyan Minister; with copious extracts from his Journals and Correspondence. By his Son.

X. MECHANICS 319

1. An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, prepared for the undergraduate course in the Wesleyan University. By AUGUSTUS W. SMITH, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy.

2. Elements of Natural Philosophy. By W. H. C. BARTLETT, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the United States Military Academy, West Point. Lecture I.—Mechanics.

XI. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 321

1. Class Leader's Manual, p. 321.—2. Andrews' Latin Lexicon, 322.—3. Adams' New-Testament Church Members, p. 322.—4. Memoirs of Mrs. Hawkes, p. 323.—5. Mattison's Primary Astronomy, p. 323.—6. King's Geology and Religion, p. 323.—7. Lord Holland's Reminiscences, p. 323.—8. Wilberforce's Practical View, p. 324.—9. Reid's Essays, p. 324.—10. Stewart's Active and Moral Powers, p. 324.—11. Hackley's Trigonometry, p. 324.—12. Brown on the Second Advent, p. 325.—13. Brewer's Guide, p. 326.—14. Dickinson's Responses, p. 326.—15. Smith's Classical Dictionary, p. 326.—16. James' Christian Professor, p. 327.—17. Leyburn's Soldier of the Cross, p. 327.—18. The Queens of Scotland, p. 327.—19. Loomis' Analytical Geometry and Calculus, p. 327.—20. Bohn's Libraries, p. 328.—21. Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations, p. 328.—22. Cheever's Island World of the Pacific, p. 328.—23. Deems' Family Worship, p. 329.—24. Two Years in Upper India, p. 329.—25. The Fathers of the Desert, p. 329.—26. Letters of Viscountess Powerscourt, p. 330.—27. Life of Southey, p. 330.—28. Life of Dr. Waugh, p. 330.—29. Foot-Prints of the Creator, p. 330.—30. Abbott's Franconia Stories, p. 331.—31. Gilfillan's Bards of the Bible, p. 331.—32. The Broken Rod, p. 331.—33. Gaussen's Theopneusty, p. 331.—34. Latta's Chain of Sacred Wonders, p. 331.—35. Wise's Young Man's Counsellor, p. 332.—36. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book, p. 332.—37. Schmitz and Zumpt's Livy, p. 332.—38. Champlin's Æschines, p. 332.—39. Sermons by Wesleyan Ministers, p. 332.—40. The Listener, p. 332.—41. Green Pastures, p. 333.—42. Annual of Scientific Discovery, p. 333.—43. Bangs' Letters on Sanctification, p. 333.—44. The Old Red Sand-stone, p. 333.

XII. MISCELLANIES 335

On the relation of the theory of "inherent properties in matter, working by general laws," to the doctrine of a special Providence, and free agency in prayer and other actions.

ARTICLE PAGE

XIII. RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 336

XIV. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 338

THEOLOGICAL.—European 338

American 342

CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.—European 342

American 344

JULY NUMBER.

I. UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE 345

By Rev. T. V. Moore, Richmond, Va.

1. The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different tribes of the Human Family. By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D., &c., &c.

2. The Unity of the Human Races, proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science, with a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz. By the Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

3. The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science. By JOHN BACHMAN, D. D.

4. Philological Proofs of the Original Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race. By ARTHUR JAMES JOHNES, Esq.

5. An Investigation of the Theories of the Natural History of Man. By WILLIAM FREDERIC VAN ARMINGE.

6. The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany; March, 1850. On the Geographical Distribution of Animals; July, 1850. On the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races. By Professor LOUIS AGASSIZ.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS IN THE INTRODUCTION TO JOHN'S GOSPEL, CHAP. i, 1–18 377

[FIRST PAPER.]

By James Strong, Esq., Flushing, L. I.

III. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH 396

By Rev. T. E. Bond, M. D., Harford Co., Md.

1. History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, comprehending all the official proceedings of the General Conference, Southern Annual Conferences, and the General Convention, with such other matters as are necessary to a right understanding of the Case. Nashville: Compiled and Published by the Editors and Publishers of the South-Western Christian Advocate, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By order of the Louisville Convention.

2. Brief Appeal to Public Opinion, in a Series of Exceptions to the Course and Action of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1844 to 1848, affecting the Rights and Interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By H. B. BASCOM, A. L. P. GREENE, C. B. PARSONS, Southern Commissioners for the Settlement of the Property Question between the two Churches.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH 429

[FIRST PAPER]

By Dr. Philip Schaff, Professor at Mercersburgh.

ARTICLE PAGE

V. PROGRESS OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES 446
By Rev. Ward Bullard, Grand Isle, Vt.

VI. PLUTARCH'S MORALIA 457
By Professor W. S. Tyler, Amherst College, Mass.

VII. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS 480

1. Steward's Religion the Weal of the Church, p. 480.—2. Sketches from the Study of a Superannuated Itinerant, p. 481.—3. Moister's Memorial of Missionary Labours, p. 482.—4. Anderson's Course of Creation, p. 483.—5. Inglis' Sabbath School and Bible Teaching, p. 483.—6. Keith's Harmony of Prophecy, p. 483.—7. Lincoln's Horace, p. 484.—8. Foster on Christian Purity, p. 484.—9. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book, p. 484.—10. Comte's Philosophy of Mathematics, p. 485.—11. Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor, p. 485.—12. Imbrie's Discourse on W. E. Baker, p. 486.—13. Philosophy of Plan of Salvation, p. 486.—14. Achilli's Dealings with the Inquisition, p. 486.—15. Bunyan's Devotional Works, p. 487.—16. Buttmann's Greek Grammar, p. 488.—17. Lorraine's Sea Sermons, p. 488.—18. Schmitz's History of Greece, p. 488.—19. The Guiding-Star, p. 489.—20. Power on Family Government, p. 489.—21. Miller's First Impressions of England, p. 489.—22. Curran and his Contemporaries, p. 489.—23. Field's Irish Confederates, p. 490.—24. Opdyke's Political Economy, p. 490.—25. Young Ladies' Guide to French Composition, p. 490.—26. Schaff's Church History, p. 490.—27. Sunday-School Books, p. 491.—28. Abbott's Cleopatra, p. 491.—29. Adams' Women of the Bible, p. 491.—30. Thirty-third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 491.

VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 492
THEOLOGICAL.—European 492
American 501
CLASSICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.—European 502

OCTOBER NUMBER.

I. HOLINESS 505
By Rev. J. T. Peck, D. D., President of Dickinson College.

Nature and Blessedness of Christian Purity. By Rev. R. S. FOSTER, A. M. With an Introduction by Edmund S. Janes, D. D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS IN THE INTRODUCTION TO JOHN'S GOSPEL, CHAP. i, 1–18. 530
[SECOND PAPER.]
By James Strong, Esq., Flushing, L. I.

III. ALGERNON SIDNEY 550
By Rev. Daniel Curry, Brooklyn, L. I.

Life of Algernon Sidney; with Sketches of some of his Contemporaries, and Extracts from his Correspondence and Political Writings. By G. VAN SANTVOORD.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH. 574
[SECOND PAPER.]
By Dr. Philip Schaff, Professor at Mercersburg.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1851.

Art. I.—DIVINE AGENCY IN MATERIAL PHENOMENA.

1. *Of the Divine Agency in the Production of Material Phenomena.* Art. VII. Bibliotheca Sacra, May, 1848.
2. *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.*
3. *Works on Natural Science.*

Of the real nature of matter we know as little as of spirit. A volume might be filled with the various and curious speculations of philosophers, which have added little to our knowledge, and are valuable only as a part of the history of mind. One class, spiritualizing all things, consider matter as merely phenomenal, having no real existence; while others, taking the opposite view, deny the independent existence of mind, and maintain that sensation and thought are the result of material combinations. Christian philosophers of the present day admit the real and independent existence of matter and spirit, and have chiefly occupied themselves in investigating their laws, and tracing the immediate causes of their phenomena. The first principles of our knowledge of the external world are derived through the senses. All admit their evidence to be unquestionable; but in making it the basis of theories, we ought to be careful not to mistake this testimony by confounding original and acquired perceptions. Professor Chace, the author of the article referred to in the Bibliotheca Sacra, thus speaks of the dependence to be placed on this evidence:—

"All men are so constituted that they cannot help believing in the reality of what they see or feel, or gain a knowledge of through any of the senses.

"This feeling of assurance, this conviction of absolute certainty, is naturally and inseparably connected with the exercise of all our perceptive faculties.

"It is a part of our nature, and we cannot escape it without ceasing to be ourselves."

"The information derived through the senses, therefore, rests upon the same ground as the truths of revelation, namely, the Divine veracity.

"The testimony of the senses, therefore, in relation to the existence and attributes of matter, must be admitted. Coming from the same source, it has equal authority with the dictates of reason or the voice of inspiration. We cannot question it without questioning the truthfulness of our constitution, nay, the veracity of God himself,—without questioning everything, through whatever channel derived."—Pp. 346, 347.

Did we not know that our senses are now imperfect, this strong confidence in their proper testimony, which we think no one, from his individual experience, now feels, might exist. But as a result of this imperfection, the same sensations are not always experienced in like circumstances, as in the case where two individuals gazing on the same object suppose it to be of different colours. There are many instances in which individuals fail to distinguish even all the primary colours, and are made sensible of their defect only through the teaching of others. The concurring testimony of many is requisite to produce that strong confidence which results from the voice of inspiration. Here reason comes to the aid of the senses.

The assertion of Professor Chace, that the senses directly give us a knowledge of the existence of matter and its properties, cannot be sustained. The knowledge thus imparted is very limited. Each sense gives us one class of simple ideas only: thus, by sight, we learn of colours; by hearing, sounds, and so of the other senses. So far from giving us a knowledge of the existence of matter generally, no one of the senses reveals to us directly the existence of its own organ. This knowledge, like most, the origin of which is ascribed to the senses, must be referred to reason and experience. Neither is it true that the senses reveal to us the attributes or properties of matter. The terms applied to sensations have a double meaning, including both the cause and the effect. All sensation is, properly speaking, in the mind. When standing before a landscape in summer, if we open our eyes we are immediately conscious of a sensation which we may call green, and we apply the same term to the vegetation which we believe to exist around us. But in this case the sense of sight is only the medium through which an effect has been produced on us,—of the external cause it tells us nothing. A sensation may be experienced when no external cause is present. If we place a red wafer on a sheet of white paper exposed to the sun's rays, and gaze steadfastly on it a few moments, we shall see, when the wafer is removed, another in its place of the same size, but of a different colour. In this, and many other instances that might be named, a simple sensation gives us no correct knowledge of the external cause. Moreover, the consideration that, previous

to investigation, men confound sensations and their causes, and also original and acquired perceptions, must detract from any practical results of the infallibility ascribed to the testimony of the senses. All at first confound sensation with its cause, and suppose that something like it exists in the external world. Till convinced by reason, when looking on a portrait, or a painted landscape, men suppose there is more before them than mere canvass covered with pigments possessing different properties of reflecting light, which at midnight present only an even, colourless surface. It is now well established, that the eye gives us no knowledge of the place, distance, or form of bodies. These are all matters of experience. We cannot tell, by the sense of sight simply, whether an object is on our right hand or our left; whether it is a sphere or a cube; a few feet distant, or many rods. As we gaze on nature, the eye does not reveal to us whether a great mountain or a deep valley is before us. It gives us no knowledge of the position of the heavenly bodies; we never see the stars in their true places; and we suppose we see the sun after it has been several minutes below the horizon.

Professor Chace, denying the direct Divine agency in the production of material phenomena, maintains that they must be ascribed to properties which God gave matter at its creation. He seemingly settles the whole question at the outset, by asserting, in the strongest terms, that our senses in the clearest manner support his views. They declare that material bodies are

"actual substances, possessing properties, and acting by virtue of those properties. This testimony bears on it the impress of certainty. We cannot doubt it if we would. It brings with it the Divine sanction, and God himself is responsible for its truth. God has so made us, and placed us in such relations to these bodies, that we are naturally and instinctively led to take this view of their constitution. Nay, further, such is the structure of our minds, that this view is forced upon us, so that we cannot avoid it without doing the greatest violence to our understandings."—Pp. 346–348.

Denying, as we do distinctly, the main position of the author, that our senses reveal to us directly the existence of matter in its various forms, possessing properties, and acting by virtue of those properties,—it seems we become liable to serious charges, no less than blasphemy, and a want of common sense. As, however, we have not been "led instinctively and naturally" to his conclusions, we hope that under the plea of natural inability we may escape the imputation of guilt.

We have but indicated a course of argument we should pursue against the assumptions of Professor Chace which he has not attempted to prove.

We suppose there are few, if any, at the present day who really doubt, however the conviction may have been acquired, the existence of matter, or that, in our connexion with it, we experience sensations which become the sure foundation of much of our knowledge. All our researches, as well as our experience, show us the perfection and harmony of the works of God. We are astonished when we learn how few are the elements that compose the infinitely varied forms in which matter appears, and how few, simple, and general are the laws by which these forms are governed. Design is everywhere manifest, and man cannot comprehend the wisdom displayed. All parts of inanimate nature are fitted to each other, when the least mistake would ruin all; and the whole is perfectly adapted to the wants and conditions of the various orders of animate beings earth sustains. Says Aristotle—"Whoever admires not the skill and contrivance of nature, must either be deficient in intellect, or must have some private motive which withholds him from expressing his admiration."—Lib. x, cap. 10.

In nature's vast expanse, wherever we turn, what new wonders rise! If we look upward, we are led to exclaim,—

> "O what a confluence of ethereal fires,
> From urns unnumber'd down the steep of heaven,
> Streams to a point, and centres in my sight!
> What involution! what extent! what swarms
> Of worlds that laugh at earth! immensely great!
> Immensely distant from each other's spheres!
> Nor think thou seest a wild disorder here:
> Through this illustrious chaos to the sight,
> Arrangement neat, and chastest order reign."

The question of controversy is not,—

> "What hand behind the scene,
> What arm Almighty put these globes
> In motion, and wound up the vast machine?
> Who rounded in his palm those spacious orbs?
> Who bowl'd them flaming through the dark profound,
> Numerous as glitt'ring gems of morning dew,
> Or sparks from populous cities in a blaze,
> And set the bosom of old Night on fire,
> Peopled her desert, and made Horror smile?"

"This prospect vast is nature's system of divinity." It is "elder Scripture writ by God's own hand." It tells us of his existence, and the origin of worlds his hand has formed.

But the question we are considering is scarcely less important. We ask, who guides these orbs in all their varied motions?

"On yon cerulean plain,
In exultation to their God and thine,
They dance, they sing eternal jubilee.
Mark how the labyrinthian turns they take,
The circles intricate, and mystic maze,
Weave the grand cipher of Omnipotence."

We ask, who gives origin to the various combinations of matter that are continually formed or dissolved on the surface of these worlds? Who causes the infinitely varied phenomena there displayed? The great majority of philosophers ascribe all these manifestations of power and wisdom to the laws, properties, and attributes of matter. They remove the agency of God far from the works of his hands. We consider this the first step towards Atheism. If we may suppose matter to sustain itself independent of God, and cause all the varied changes to which it is subject, it is but a step farther on the same road to suppose it equally independent in its origin. As a specimen of the kind of instruction given the young on this subject, we may select Comstock's Natural Philosophy, a work probably more generally circulated than any other of the same kind. The author defines matter, or a body, to be any substance of which we can gain a knowledge by our senses. The essential properties common to all forms of matter are said to be, Impenetrability, Extension, Figure, Divisibility, Inertia, and Attraction. There are several errors in this statement we shall not now notice, as the particular point is, that to these essential, and to certain peculiar properties of a similar character, must all the phenomena of the material universe be ascribed. Attraction and repulsion, indeed, are the great agents producing change. We should better understand Mr. Comstock's views if he had clearly defined his terms. We are at a loss what meaning to ascribe to the very important term *property.* Extension and impenetrability can only refer to the fact, that matter exists in certain states; but attraction and repulsion imply necessarily power as well as a state; no common definition can be applied to these properties. Moreover, a contradiction seems to be implied in calling both attraction and inertia essential properties of matter. Inertia he defines to be, "passiveness, or want of power. Thus matter is of itself equally incapable of putting itself in motion, or of bringing itself to rest when in motion." But attraction is defined to be, "that property or quality in the particles of bodies which makes them tend toward each other. . . . . This power pervades all material things; it not only makes the particles of bodies adhere to each other, but it is the cause which keeps the planets in their orbits as they pass through the heavens." It is made the chief cause of motion.

Thus matter is described as passive, not capable of producing any motion, and also as constantly producing motion, and exerting power at insensible and inconceivable distances. How can these views be reconciled?

There is much confusion as to the meaning of Attraction. It is described in all its operations as the same power, but manifested under different circumstances. It causes the descent of all falling bodies, and, at the same time, forces liquids to ascend through tubes and the pores of plants. It is said to be proportioned in its force to the quantity of matter; how, then, in opposition to the whole attractive force of the earth, can the capillary attraction of a tree cause liquids to ascend to its highest leaf, and even extend its leaves and twigs?

The most curious manifestation of this power is called Affinity, —sometimes single elective, at others, double. Under its influence, the particles of bodies, forsaking old combinations, form new ones; "for there seem," says Comstock, "in this respect to be very singular preferences and dislikes existing among the particles of matter." While some particles have this strong mutual affection, others have a degree of dislike amounting to aversion; hence repulsion is often so great that they cannot remain peaceably in the same neighbourhood. Some degree of knowledge of circumstances seems absolutely essential to the exercise of these preferences and dislikes; hence, we have the manifestation of intelligence and the passions by the inert, utterly powerless particles of matter.

That matter is impenetrable, inert, and has extension, we can readily conceive. These terms imply only facts relating to an existing substance. They leave the changes and phenomena of matter, usually ascribed to attraction, to be referred, as we think they ought, to an independent, intelligent cause. The supposition that there is power, energy, force, or intelligence in an inert lump of matter, we cannot regard otherwise than as absurd. Let any one point out, if he can, the connexion between what are usually denominated cause and effect in matter. It is said to be the nature or law of bodies mutually to attract each other; hence a stone falls to the earth. In this statement no efficient cause is described, no explanation given; but a fact is named, and referred to a class of results of a similar character previously observed. A law of nature is a term applied to a class of phenomena supposed to be similar; but to call this law their cause would be a perversion of language. Many of the phenomena of nature are incorrectly classed. Who at present is prepared to enunciate the general law of chemical composition and decomposition? The name attraction is given to the

affinity, by which we suppose the particles of the various ingredients of bodies to be aggregated; but who can point out any common feature between this and the attractions of which alone we know the exact effects?

Newton did not regard gravity as an inherent cause in matter. He did not pretend to have discovered the *cause* of a stone's falling to the ground, or of the revolution of the planets. Considering attraction as a phenomenon, he hesitated as to the cause, sometimes considering it as material, (*Optics*, p. 343,) and sometimes as immaterial, (*Ib.*, p. 325.) In a letter found in Bentley's Works, he says,—

"It is inconceivable that inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else, which is not material, operate upon and effect other matter without mutual contact, as it must, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it. And this is one reason why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity to me. That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance through a vacuum, without the mediation of anything else by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws."—*Bentley's Works*, vol. iii, pp. 211, 212.

The only reasonable mode of accounting for the phenomena of the material world is to refer the physical effects, usually ascribed to gravity and other laws of nature, to the direct action of the Deity. The laws of nature, such as the laws of motion, gravitation, affinity, are only a figure of speech, expressions of the regularity and continuity of one infinite cause. The course of nature is nothing but the will of God producing certain effects, in a constant and uniform manner. The changes in the external world, the least and the greatest, the fall of a stone, the motion of the planets in their orbits, the growth of plants, the murmuring rivulet, the gently rolling stream, the impetuous cataract, sunshine, dew, rain, storms, tempests, the flashing lightning and the rolling thunder, must be referred to the will and power of God. Matter is wholly passive and inert, having no powers or active inherent properties. Mind alone is active, and all changes must result from its volitions.

All the researches of science have not pointed out with certainty a single active cause apart from the operation of mind. In nature we see antecedents and consequents, yet no connexion but sequence in time can be discerned between them,—the former are the mere signs, not the causes, of the latter. We see regularity and similarity of effects, but the attribution of these effects to certain hidden

qualities inherent in particles or atoms, is inconceivable and absurd. Much of the language used relative to matter, in the generalizations of science, is figurative. Of this character are the terms force, power, agencies, action, &c. It is absurd to speak of one particle of matter as literally acting on another. These terms, properly speaking, are characteristic only of will, of mind. With reference to the cause of the changes in matter, the simple child of nature,—

> "The poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind,"

is far wiser than he who

> "Steps forth the sprnce philosopher, and tells
> Of homogeneal and discordant springs
> And principles; of causes, how they work
> By necessary laws their sure effects;
> Of action and reaction."

It is certainly incumbent on those who ascribe material phenomena to inherent power, or properties of matter, either to demonstrate their existence, or to show the plausibility of their supposed operation. But neither has been done. The effects witnessed are referred to the operation of what are called the laws of nature, because some cause must be assigned; but the mode of that operation is confessedly shrouded in deepest mystery. The fall of a stone is ascribed to the attraction of the earth. Let us for a moment examine this. Suppose a stone suspended in the air: it is itself inert, having no more tendency to approach the earth than to recede from it. Beyond the fact that these bodies meet, what shadow of proof is there that any force is exerted by the one on the other? If the earth draws the stone to itself, by what cords, what means, or in what conceivable mode is this done? If a stone were brought from a distant planet, and placed within our atmosphere, how would the earth become aware of its presence? Is it conceivable that the peculiar power necessary to cause its fall was exerted ere it came within the vicinity of the earth? If so, on what, or for what purpose, was it exerted? and what connected this force with this new mass?

Many other facts in nature may be mentioned, the explanation of which cannot be found in the alleged properties and laws of matter. By means of a lever a man can raise a weight which, with his hands simply, he cannot move; a force equivalent to a weight of ten pounds on the long arm of a lever ten feet in length, will move ninety pounds on the short arm one foot in length, and nine pounds on the long arm will exactly balance the larger weight.

In what law or property shall the cause of these facts be found? If it be referred to gravity, its force exerted on the two bodies evidently can only be the same it would be, were they placed in any other circumstances at the same distance from the centre of the earth. In what consists the difference between a body in motion and the same body at rest? A pebble may be thrown from the hand with a force that will carry it several yards; a train of cars will continue in rapid motion, which a very great force would be required suddenly to stop, long after the steam, which is supposed to originate that motion, has ceased to act on them, and frightful accidents often result from their momentum. We ask, what and whence this force? In these cases, and also in those of the lever, the effects are said to result from acquired velocity. Velocity is defined by philosophers to be rate of motion, and motion as change of place; hence the cause, literally interpreted, is, *acquired rate of change of place.* Is there anything more than the fact to be explained, contained in this statement?

The flowing of rivers is ascribed to gravity, which draws all bodies toward the centre of the earth; but the mouth of the Mississippi is several miles higher, that is, farther from the centre of the earth, than its source; hence, contrary to the law of gravity, it runs up hill. As an explanation of this, and other similar instances where streams run nearly south, it is said that the centrifugal force of the earth counteracts gravity. Centrifugal force is defined to be, "the effort of bodies, when moving in curves, to proceed directly forward in a straight line."* It is a result of the first law of motion, which asserts that all moving bodies have a tendency to move in straight lines. But shall we deem that sound philosophy which assigns as the *cause* of so important facts a mere *law*, an *effort* or *tendency* of inert matter?

As a specimen of a different class of facts in the operations of nature, we select germination. Soon after a seed has been placed in appropriate soil a change ensues, evidently resulting from design and intelligence. Shoots come forth, a part of them extend downwards and form roots; others, extending upwards, are developed into all the parts of the future plant. Will any modification of attraction or any property of matter be assigned as the cause why some of the shoots grow downwards, and others extend upwards? Before the seed was cast into the soil, was the power necessary to form the tree in exercise? If not, is it conceivable that the earth perceived its presence, and put forth the intelligence and power necessary to min-

* Olmsted's Rudiments of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, p. 34.

gle the diverse elements in due proportion, that constitute the trunk, juices, leaves, and fruit?

In the formation of compound bodies the elements unite in definite proportions, which cannot be changed. Thus, water is formed of one part hydrogen and one proportional of oxygen, whose atomic number is 8, making the representative number of water 9. Protochloride of mercury is composed of one part of chlorine 36, and one part of mercury 200, making its representative number 236. Perchloride of mercury is composed of two proportionals of chlorine 72, and one of mercury 200, making its number 272. No substances can be formed from these elements in any other than these proportions, or multiples of them. What property of matter, understanding when the requisite quantities are in contact, causes these combinations, which no power under other circumstances can effect?

We hold that it is inconceivable that ages ago a mere property implying no intelligence, no choice, was given matter, which now begins to operate in the production of a given plant or animal. There is nothing in the mere contact of elements to produce action, this being only one of the circumstances in which it takes place. Every action implies intelligence, and also choice, a direct volition, immediately preceding it. All the changes in nature must be referred to the will of some intelligent agent. Who is this agent?

> "Has matter more than motion? has it thought,
> Judgment, and genius? is it deeply learn'd
> In mathematics? has it framed such laws,
> Which but to guess, a Newton made immortal?—
> If so, how each sage atom laughs at me,
> Who think a clod inferior to a man:
> If art to form, and counsel to direct,
> And that which greater far than human skill,
> Resides not in each block,—a godhead reigns!"

Not only does he reign, but continually exerts his power in changing, combining, and dissolving the inert substances that constitute his material universe. If we exclude the immediate agency of God from the works of nature, we must suppose each atom of matter endowed with a voluntary intelligent spirit; the action of masses exhibiting the union of the power of particles, while the phenomena of repulsion manifest instances of disagreement. On this theory, the sun chooses to attract the earth, and the earth, by its own act, yields to his influence; and a tree standing exposed on a plain, perceiving its danger of being overturned by the tempest, extends its roots farther and deeper than it would were it standing in a grove. This theory would hardly be an improvement on one of the early conjectures of

Kepler, that the earth was an animal finding its way through the heavens by instinct.

If we are not prepared to admit that matter in all its forms is animated by an intelligent, voluntary spirit, we must admit the direct agency of God in natural phenomena, and consider the laws of nature and its course but as the manifestation of his power uniformly made in given circumstances. The properties and laws of matter have gained a hold of men's imagination as if they were secret powers; something which, besides expressing the fact of the changes in the material world, involves the idea of an influence compelling or producing these changes. But there is no propriety in using the term physical cause, if we mean more than simple antecedence. Nichol says:—

"The physical or immediate *cause* of any event is merely that other event without which, as a precedent, the other never occurs. We say that one event causes or brings about another, not because aught is visible—any peculiar virtue—in the first event, which *necessitates* the second; but because it is so arranged in the economy of the known universe, that when the first happens the second always follows it. And if we find events so ordered, that in a long series of changes they succeed each other in a certain recognizable plan, we term that observed plan the *law* of these events. The name or word Law does not thus involve the idea of any controlling power; it is the mere result of an observed succession, the mode by which we thread together in our minds the different events which befall; and if the slightest element involving control is properly connected with it, it can only be in reference to the relation of such succession to spiritual or mental phenomena, and ultimately as it represents that IDEA in the Almighty Mind, according to which the order in question was arranged. . . . . Regarding LAW, not as causative, but expressive,—as the simple indication of mighty arrangements,—a gleam into the finite mind from that of the Creator,—surely the farthest stretch of vision which man can ever achieve is only a further disclosure of Almighty glory and excellency."—*Nichol on the Solar System*, pp. 141, 146.

In the views we have expressed we do not deny that God may make use of means to accomplish his purposes, provided no power be ascribed to these means. Man uses machinery—a lever to move a weight—but we do not consider the power as in the machinery or the lever. As in this instance the machinery does not render unnecessary the agency of man, so do not secondary causes exclude the agency of God. But of the existence of secondary causes, in most of the operations of nature, we see no proof and no necessity for them.

The author of the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation" seems to have pushed the theory, that ascribes all material phenomena to the laws and properties of matter, to its legitimate results. His book has met with little favour from any who admit the existence and agency of Deity; yet he only develops to a greater extent

the principles and theory of Professor Chace, and others of the same school. They suppose God created the earth by an immediate exertion of his power, and gave it the properties that have produced all the changes it has undergone; that he also created the first of each species of plants and animals, and endowed them with the power of generating the series that has succeeded them. The author of the "Vestiges" goes further. By his iron chain of law we are dragged still further backward in search of the direct agency of God. He does not admit it as exerted when "man became a living soul;" not when every beast of the field, and fowl of the air, and everything that creepeth upon the earth appeared; not when the waters received their inhabitants; not when the all-prolific animalcules came into being. All these sprang from mere earth, without the intervention of direct creative power. We are carried back to the great abyss of "fire-mist," of "star-dust," to contemplate the universe in a nebular state, resolved into inconceivably thin air, and are told that *then* the whole work of creation was done; matter then received properties and laws, from the natural and necessary action of which every change that has since taken place, every form and grade of animate existence, even man himself, body and soul, resulted. He does not design to exclude God from nature, but declares his purpose is to show,—"That the whole revelation of the works of God presented to our senses and reason, is a system based in what we are compelled, for want of a better term, to call LAW; by which, however, is not meant a system independent or exclusive of Deity, but one which only proposes a *certain mode of his working*." He explains that by a *law*, must be understood "something independent of the Deity;" and that no one may suppose that he favours in any form the idea of specific creation, he states expressly that his object is to show:—

"That animals were indebted for their gradations of advance to a law generally impressed by the Deity upon matter; and that their external peculiarities are owing immediately to the agency of those very conditions to which they are supposed to have been adapted." ..... "Life is everywhere ONE. The inferior animals are only less advanced types of that form of being, perfected in ourselves."—*Explanations of the Vestiges*, pp. 2, 94, 95, 130, 131.

Law reduced the star-dust to this round solid earth, separated the water from the land, clothed the barren hills and valleys with the humblest forms of vegetation, and then in the seas made the first stock of rudimentary animals. The lowest kinds of plants and animals, acquiring at each step in an ascending scale, through the long lapse of ages, an improved organization, evolved at length the highest grades. Flowers and lofty trees are the progeny of humble

sea-weeds and lichens; all varieties of animals,—dogs, horses, elephants, fowls, fish, monkeys, and men, are but animalcules of a larger growth and more perfect development.

His theory of development is thus humorously set forth by one of his reviewers. In speaking of the author's theory of "the universal gestations of nature," he says:—

"That is to say, all the higher races of plants and animals were not, in any proper sense of the word, *created* at all, but they *grew*. The Deity did not concern himself with originating each species after its kind, according to the common acceptation of Holy Writ, but made certain Monads capable of producing any and all of them. . . . . Throughout his writings, our author explicitly teaches that the creation of species results necessarily from the operation of natural laws,—of laws as strictly natural as those through which the common changes on the face of the inorganic world are brought about, or the decomposition of a carcass effected, and no more than these requiring either in kind or degree the intervention of the Deity. He teaches not only that the origination of species and the production of progeny are equally natural and truly analogous, but in fact that the two are fundamentally the same. The one is merely a modification of the other. It is 'a law to which that of like reproduction is subordinate.'

* * * * * * * * * * *

"The animalcules, he says, produce animalcules in abundance, but they now and then produce a polype; the polype produces polypes, and also sometimes a mollusc; one of the latter occasionally engenders a fish; the fish stealthily gives birth to a salamander or a frog; the reptile plays the same trick, and behold a bird; and the unlineal offspring of a bird appears successively as an ornithorhynchus, a kangaroo, and a common mammal."—*North American Review.*

If we search in the "Vestiges" for a statement how this development, this transmigration is effected, we find:—

"That the immediate cause of the development of each line through its various general grades of being is to be sought in an *internal impulse*, the nature of which is unknown to us, but which resembles the equally mysterious impulse by which an individual embryo is passed through its succession of grades until ushered into mature existence."—*Explanations*, p. 50.

All this is sufficiently absurd; yet with as much reason may we attribute the changes in nature to "an internal impulse, the nature of which is unknown to us," or to "certain external conditions,"* or even to the Appetencies of Lamarck, as explained in the Philosophie Zoologique, as ascribe them to certain properties or qualities of matter of which we know as little as of either of the other alleged causes.

It seems inconsistent for those who deny the direct agency of God in nature, to charge on the author of the "Vestiges" that his system is Atheistical. If law or the properties of matter can cause that from a seed shall arise a lofty tree, perfect in all its varied

* Vestiges, p. 161.

parts; if by the same means, in connexion with the agency of animals, the reproduction of species and their growth to maturity are secured, surely it is not a great step further in the same course to suppose that these agents may have formed the seed and combined the parts of the body of the first parent animal. All the elements of either exist in the earth and air. If from the crude earth, in connexion with a single seed, a gigantic tree, bearing flowers, fruit, and myriads of seeds may be formed, by the properties of matter, without the interposition of Deity, shall we be greatly startled, and cry Atheism, when we are told that the first simple seed may be formed by these agents? One supposition as much excludes God from his works as the other. There is nothing more irreligious and Atheistic in asserting that creation is carried on by universal laws, than there is in ascribing reproduction to the same cause. Is the power and wisdom displayed in the production of the highest inorganic combinations so much inferior to that displayed in the lowest vegetable, or does the lowest rank of animals so much excel the highest class of plants in the same qualities, (especially as it is very difficult to find one characteristic that divides the two kingdoms,) that the mighty power which sustains the material universe without the agency of its Creator, cannot pass the great abyss that separates these classes? We consider the theory developed in the "Vestiges" as the natural result of principles long maintained relative to changes in nature. We object to those principles, as well as to this theory.

The learned Agassiz seems disposed to admit the direct Divine intervention, in part, in nature's operations, and seems at a loss where to fix its limits. He says:—

"If it is an obligation on science to proclaim the intervention of a Divine power in the development of the whole of nature, and if it is to that power alone that we must ascribe all things, it is not the less incumbent on science to ascertain what is the influence which physical forces, left to themselves, exercise in all natural phenomena, and what is the part of direct action which we must attribute to the Supreme Being in the revolutions to which nature has been subjected.

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"It is now time for naturalists to occupy themselves likewise in their domain, in inquiring within what limits we can recognize the traces of a Divine interposition, and within what limits the phenomena take place in consequence of a state of things immutably established from the beginning of the creation."—*Jameson's Journal*, 1842, *quoted in the Explanations of the Vestiges*, p. 99.

The proposed inquiry is a most important one; but if the great naturalist can show how "*a state of things*," with a degree of propriety, can be called a cause, he will remove a great obstacle in the way of successful investigation.

We now return to a further brief consideration of the article of Mr. Chace. We have already noticed his main argument, which is a mere assertion. He has not attempted to prove that our senses teach us, that the material bodies by which we are surrounded are actual substances, possessing "properties and *acting by virtue of those properties.*" This operation, for various reasons, we have denied, although he says, "We cannot question it, without questioning the truthfulness of our constitution, nay, the veracity of God himself; without questioning everything, through whatever channel derived." Although, in view of so positive an assertion, our course may be one of great temerity, yet we are not conscious of having become as yet a universal skeptic. In his remaining arguments and illustrations he assumes the point to be proved, and brings forward particular instances under a general law, themselves requiring to be established as proof of the existence and universality of that law. His first illustration is drawn from the adaptation of animals, their powers and capabilities, to the varying conditions of different parts of the earth, in respect to soil, climate, &c. He says:—

"Now in the actual constitution of animals, these powers and capabilities are not created, but developed. They are not brought into existence by the direct action of the Divine power, but attained by the proper employment of means fitted in their character to produce them. The material atoms are so combined with one another, and are wrought in such a manner into the fabric of the animal, as to develop by their own inherent endowments in each part the precise qualities required in it. The skeleton, which is the framework of the animal, and which, to a great extent, determines the character of the other parts, is constructed on strictly mechanical principles."—Pp. 348, 349.

The alleged adaptation of animals to the different regions of the earth, the development of their powers and capabilities, are admitted. The question at issue relates not to the *fact*, but the cause. Is the indefinite assertion, that it is "*the proper employment of means fitted in their character to produce them*," a satisfactory explanation? What is the proof of the existence of those means, and what is their character? They are said to be employed; who or what employs them? Does not the very nature of the assertion imply the direct agency of another power not described? Do the "inherent properties of matter" cause the diversity in the earth's surface, and then, with wonderful foresight, adapt animals accordingly? He says,—"The material atoms are so combined with one another," &c., as to constitute the parts of an animal. We ask, what combines them? Does blind, inert matter, the mere dust we tread, by its own choice, its own energy, with

knowledge surpassing the highest attainment of a human soul, take its place in the bones, adapt joint to joint, form the muscles, and arrange them in their places, design and construct every organ, and give the whole body its compactness, symmetry, and perfection in all its parts? Every distinct action must of necessity be immediately preceded by a choice and an exertion of power. If the capability of exercising these is not in matter, then in all these wonderful operations the direct agency of an intelligent being must be exerted: that being we assert is God.

The author tells us,—

"Thus far in the animal structure all proceeds upon purely mechanical principles. It is simple machinery, the several parts of which act upon one another in the same manner as the springs and wheels of a watch, or the pistons, levers, and valves of a steam-engine."—P. 349.

But what are mechanical principles? Are they a self-acting *cause*, or merely modes, as we assert, in which a power operates? Has it ever been proved that springs, wheels, pistons, levers, and valves, have any power to *act* in any way; or even that water, wind, or steam, by their own inherent energy, act on them?

It is true that, "with a full comprehension of the ends proposed, a thorough acquaintance with the means to be employed for attaining them, and the necessary skill in effecting combinations, we ourselves should form just such a structure." God has the requisite knowledge, and thus operates. In further illustrating the subject, he says,—"The circulation of the blood, through the agency of the heart and arteries, is conducted on mechanical principles, and governed by mechanical laws, as much as the irrigation of a field by means of ponds and canals." But has it been proved that ponds and canals by their own power irrigate fields? or that the heart and arteries are anything more than instruments through which the blood is conveyed? There is as much reason for one supposition as the other. We claim that Divine power is the agent in both cases, operating in certain modes called mechanical principles.

Again:—"The digestion of food in the stomach is as much a chemical process as the solution of marble in muriatic acid, or the production of alcohol from sugar." Granted: but has it been shown that muriatic acid, by its inherent energy, dissolves marble, or that sugar, through the properties of matter, is changed into alcohol? Further:—"The eye is constructed as strictly in accordance with the laws of optics as the telescope or microscope; and, in ministering to vision, it acts upon light in the same manner, and by virtue of the same properties." Is it certain that the laws of optics are a

cause, and does the telescope *act* on light? No more does the eye act on it.

In the discussion, the author's faith in the wonderful energy of the properties of matter increases, and he thinks that inquiries have already been entered upon,

"Which shall enable us to explain the vital phenomena by resolving life itself, so long regarded as a mysterious, unknown power, presiding over the mere physical properties of matter, into a simple modification of these properties, effected through the influence of organization."—P. 350.

As organization, he claims, results from the properties of matter, the amount of this explanation is this,—that the properties of matter modifying themselves to some extent constitute life. We confess that the comprehension of this is beyond the grasp of our understanding. He makes frequent use of indefinite terms, the force of which he does not explain, and which, in their connexion, can convey no clear meaning, such as "properties of matter," "inherent endowments," "means fitted in their character," to produce given results. He is perpetually substituting facts for principles. He speaks of things being done, "atoms of matter combined," &c., while the agent, namely, these indefinite, undefinable properties of matter, is not clearly brought to view. If his theory were more clearly stated, it would be instantly rejected as absurd by many, who may not in its present form perceive its inconsistency.

The next argument is drawn from the mode of counteracting harmful qualities and injurious tendencies found in the organization of animals, and resulting from the laws of matter. An illustration is found in the eye. Such is its structure, that it must be kept moist. A constant supply of liquid must be provided to meet the waste occasioned by evaporation, and, furthermore, to constitute a wash for the eye, since if all were allowed to evaporate, a residuum of various articles would collect, which would soon destroy vision. A delicate tube inserted at the inner angle of the eye conveys this liquid, it having answered its design, into the nose, when a warm current of air passing over it causes it rapidly to evaporate.

The inference is,—

"So complex is the lachrymal apparatus appended to the eye, for the express purpose of securing what, upon any one of the suppositions of idealism, required only a suspension of the Divine agency."

Further, the supposition of direct Divine agency,

"Presents to us the surprising fact of the Creator sustaining, by the immediate exercise of his power, an injurious quality in the lachrymal fluid, and then, by the further exercise of his power, preventing the evils that would naturally arise from it."—P. 352.

His argument might have force if he had shown how, on any supposition advanced, a mere suspension of Divine agency would render a less complicated apparatus sufficient for the purpose. No liquid having qualities common with any known liquid could consistently be left on the eye. We hold there is no conceivable mode of attaining the desired end more simple or natural than the one devised. The Creator acts by general, simple laws, and the uniformity, harmony, and simplicity manifest in all his works are seen in this instance.

The liability of the organization of animals to injury and disarrangement from various causes, furnishes another illustration of the author's argument. Bones are broken; limbs are severed; the teeth decay; the lungs inflame; the heart enlarges, or its valves ossify. There are ten thousand other accidents and disorders incident to our constitution, and the circumstances in which we are placed. From these causes much privation and suffering result. Remedial provisions are, moreover, found incorporated, to a greater or less extent, in the structure of all animals; provisions for the reparation of injuries, and the reproduction of those parts which have been lost by accident or disease. The author not only thinks these facts more consistent with his theory than any other, but says,—

"If we suppose the phenomena connected with matter to be immediately dependent upon the power of God, we must then refer these evils directly to his will, and suppose them to be as really and as fully intended by him as any of the most obvious ends of our creation; an idea not only contradicted by everything which we behold around us, but one from which our whole moral nature revolts; for it makes God responsible for the evil in the world, not inseparably connected with the means employed for the production of a greater amount of good, but as existing by itself and for its own sake." —P. 355.

In reply to this, we assert that the theory of direct Divine agency no more makes God responsible for evil than the other. If at first he gave matter laws and properties producing action, he foresaw their effects, and designed them. The difficulty, if any exist, is as great on one supposition as the other. The same remark applies to the alleged complexity of the animal organization. If it results from the properties of matter, God so constituted them as to produce it. Nearly all the difficulties suggested by Mr. Chace may be urged as strongly against his theory as the other. It is an error to represent that, according to our theory, the disarrangement and suffering in nature are "objects of Divine intention;" "as fully intended by Him as any of the most obvious ends of our creation." A few principles, marked by simplicity and uniformity in given

circumstances, characterize the manifestations of Divine power The greater part of human suffering results from ignorance or wickedness. If, through other agencies, the plans of Deity are interrupted, if the animal system is deranged, we cannot expect him to produce the results of a healthy organization by departing from the fixed principles of his government. It may not be conceivable, on any system, how this uniformity could be secured without some apparent evil.

The author's last argument is founded on simplicity, which he alleges is found in his system; while he says of the opposite, "it is wholly wanting in that beautiful simplicity which, as we have said, characterizes all the operations of nature. It cannot therefore be true." Apply this test in the strictest sense, and we think but a casual investigation will be required to determine which system is sustained by it. In the theory of direct Divine agency, we see the same Being who created all things, upholding them, and causing all the varied phenomena of nature, in accordance with a few fixed general principles. We see a cause adequate to produce all the results we witness. "We look through nature up to nature's God." In the opposite hypothesis matter is presented as inert, powerless, yet endowed with certain indefinite, indefinable properties, acting with power scarcely less than omnipotent, and intelligence more than human. One theory presents us *one* cause whose existence is clearly proved, whose action is harmonious; the other presents us with several, whose existence is at best but conjectural, and whose action is involved and discordant.

Mr. Chace thinks it a disparagement of the Deity to suppose his power

"To be exerted every moment about each one of all the innumerable atoms contained in the universe . . . following them through all their combinations and changes, varying its manifestation with every new condition under which they are placed."—P. 355.

We have already remarked on the harmony in the opinions of Mr. Chace and the author of the "Vestiges." They differ only in this, that one pushes their common principles further than the other. The author of the "Vestiges" thinks it

"The narrowest of all views of the Deity, and characteristic of an humble class of intellects, to suppose him constantly acting in particular ways for particular occasions."—P. 119.

Indeed, in his estimation, it is "a very mean view of the creative Power," which considers it as immediately exerted,

"At one time to produce zoophytes; another time to add a few marine mollusks; another, to bring in one or two conchifers; again, to produce crustaceous fishes; again, perfect fishes; and so on to the end."—P. 117.

He thinks more than a sufficient condemnation of the doctrine of original and separate creations is found

"In the single fact that it necessitates a special fiat of the inconceivable Author of this sand-cloud of worlds to produce the flora of St. Helena."—*Explanations*, p. 108.

Thus one thinks it unreasonable and absurd to suppose Deity would stoop to direct the atoms of matter, to uphold the universe directly by his power; and the other, that it is a supposition disparaging to the dignity of his character to suppose he would immediately *create* the various orders of beings whose existence is revealed to us. One view is as reasonable as the other; for if God could create the myriads of animalculæ that float on a sunbeam, or swarm in a drop of water, we surely may consider it no degradation to suppose him constantly employed in originating the magnificent operations his universe presents. This view, as maintained by both these authors, is but a revival of the old infidel argument against the doctrines of a special Providence and man's accountability, founded on the insignificance of the Creator's own works when compared with himself. It is a suspicious circumstance against any theory, that it is made in any way to depend upon it. Christian men in the present age surely cannot need its formal refutation. The Scriptures represent our heavenly Father as exercising a constant superintendence over his works, and giving them the most minute attention. He feeds the ravens; he hears the young lions when they roar, and seek their meat from him; he sees the sparrows when they fall; he feeds the fowls of the air; he gives beauty to the lily, and clothes the grass of the field. By him even the hairs of our heads are all numbered. It is the most unnatural and unreasonable view of God, that represents him as neglecting any of his works on account of their comparative insignificance. "Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly." "Though he warms the breast of the highest angel in heaven, yet he breathes life into the meanest insect on earth. He shines in the verdure that clothes the plains, in the lily that delights the vale, and in the forest that waves on the mountain. He supports the slender reed that trembles in the breeze, and the sturdy oak that defies the tempest."

The system that excludes the immediate Divine agency from nature, denies, of course, the doctrine of special Providence, and makes prayer, at least so far as relates to temporal blessings,

absurd. If the properties of matter produce all its changes, it is vain to pray to God for deliverance from the pressure of calamity in the day of evil. When the heavens are brass, the showers fail, the herbage is withered, the barren fields elude the tiller's toil, and the hopes of the husbandman perish; no fasting, fervent prayer of perishing thousands, no deep humility, can move God to change nature's dreary aspect. When the howling of the midnight tempest brings fearful agitation to a mother's heart, as she thinks of her sailor boy exposed to its fury on the ocean, we cannot tell her to have faith in God, and pray trustingly for the safety of her child, for such prayers are impotent and vain.

Scripture, indeed, assures us that God has not left himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons. "Whatsoever the Lord pleaseth, that did he in heaven and in earth, in the seas and all deep places. He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of the treasuries." Fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfil his word. He commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves of the sea. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. We might suppose that He who has promised to deliver all who in trouble call upon him, having such control over nature, might interpose his Almighty arm to save; but men considered wise tell us this is vain; that God rules not in the domain of nature.

From their theory it follows, that we might as well pray to the north wind, to the driving sleet, or the raging tempest, as to ask God for deliverance.

The views of Mr. Chace would seem to sanction those infidel, though beautiful lines of Pope:—

> "Shall burning Etna, if a sage requires,
> Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?
> On air or sea new motions be impress'd,
> O blameless Bethel! to relieve thy breast!
> When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
> Shall gravitation cease if you go by?
> Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
> For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall?"

With reference to the objection founded on prayer, it may be said that God, foreseeing all things, had reference to prayer in the original direction given to the properties of matter, and ordered events accordingly. From this it would follow that prayer is a part of the universal scheme of things, and is as directly governed

by the law of necessity as matter. When the Almighty created matter, and gave it those laws which make its phenomena fixed and sure, he made provision for a certain number of effectual prayers, neither more nor less, and these prayers must be offered: the stability of the universe depends on it. Of course, all anxiety relative to prayer may cease. If we were selected in the beginning to utter a part of these prayers, we *must* present them; if not, we cannot pray acceptably.

We are thus led into the wildest system of predestination and fatalism. We consider the objection to the views we oppose founded on the doctrine of a special Providence, and the duty of prayer, as conclusive.

Before leaving the article of Mr. Chace, we wish simply to notice a singular statement near its close. He propounds the question relative to the origin of matter, and states that it lies wholly beyond the reach of our faculties—reason does not take hold of it—aside from revelation, we have no means of forming an opinion upon the question whether matter is eternal and self-existent, or whether it had a beginning, and derived its existence from a power without itself.

This conclusion follows naturally from his theory. But if this be true, of course the existence of God cannot be proved from the existence and phenomena of the material universe, and reason has no argument from nature against Atheism. It tells us of matter as having real existence, possessing inherent and underived qualities, and, by virtue of these, capable of producing all the phenomena of the material universe; but surely it points not to God, but strengthens rather the hands of infidels. Such are the conclusions to which we must be led when we deny the immediate agency of God in his works.

We think it is time that more definiteness relative to the causes of natural phenomena should be exhibited in the works on natural science put into the hands of the young. It would seem as though many of their authors did not "like to retain God in their knowledge." Seldom do they make any attempt to lead the young mind "through nature up to nature's God." In many of these works the Deity is not named. The great First Cause, ever present and ever acting, is excluded, and we are told of nature, of inherent properties, of essential properties, and these are set forth as the causes of all events transpiring in the material world. This is the language of infidels. Meeting with these terms used as causes in their writings, the young mind is easily led to receive their speculations. Thus the teaching of philosophy in Christian

schools oft aids the progress of error and Atheism. This ought not longer to be tolerated. Many writers on this subject give us words and phrases that, to common minds at least, convey no meaning. Sir John Herschel says,—

"The Divine Author of the universe cannot be supposed to have laid down particular laws, enumerating all individual contingencies, which his materials have understood and obey—this would be to attribute to him the imperfections of human legislation; but rather, by creating them endowed with certain fixed qualities and powers, he has impressed them in their origin with the *spirit*, not the letter, of his law, and made all their subsequent combinations and relations inevitable consequences of this first impression."

We shall not stop to consider this reasoning, in which we can perceive no force, at length; but we ask, in what sense can the materials of the universe, the insensible clod, the rock, the dull, inert mass of earth, be said to "*understand and obey*" the laws of God? What intelligible meaning can be given to the terms "*qualities*" and "*powers*" in the above quotation? How shall we understand the phrase, "the *spirit* of his law impressed on matter?" or the assertion, that "the combinations and relations of the materials of the universe, subsequent to creation, are the inevitable consequences of this first impression of the *spirit* of a *law?*"

This is a fair specimen of much that is written relative to the phenomena of nature. To us it is perfectly incomprehensible. No consistent meaning can be given to many of the terms used as causes. Use has made them so familiar that at first this may not be perceived. Moreover, there is no propriety in using the terms that express actions of intelligent beings, to explain the changes that take place in the inert earth.

We trust the time is not far distant when the young shall be taught universally that God not only created the universe, but that he upholds it by the immediate and constant exertion of his power. The awe that will result from a knowledge of the nearness of God, as derived from the exhibition of his power in nature, will have a powerful influence to lead the inquirer to that true wisdom, the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord.

Art. II.—THE PRESENT STATE OF ASTRONOMY.

Outlines of Astronomy. By Sir John F. W. Herschel. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard.

Astronomy, which is the oldest of sciences, is emphatically a science of accumulation. The date of its beginning it is impossible to fix. Its first birth is commonly attributed to the shepherds of Chaldea. But there cannot be a doubt that its existence commenced with that of man himself. The heavenly bodies were ever before his eyes, and he must have begun immediately to discern some of the more grossly perceptible laws of their movement. As a science of observation it has been one of successive approximations to truth, so slow and so often repeated, that the immense period during which the process has been conducted has been sufficient to eliminate almost every vestige of error; and, by removing at last the most minute imperfections, to render this a perfect science.

In the chapter upon astronomical instruments, in the work whose title is at the head of the present article, the kind of process alluded to above is incidentally set forth in a very minute and striking manner:—

"The steps by which we arrive at the laws of natural phenomena, and especially those which depend for their verification on numerical determinations, are necessarily successive. Gross results and palpable laws are arrived at by rude observation with coarse instruments, or without any instruments at all, and are expressed in language which is not to be considered as absolute, but is to be interpreted with a degree of latitude commensurate to the imperfection of the observations themselves. These results are corrected and refined by nicer scrutiny, and with more delicate means. The first rude expressions of the laws which imbody them are perceived to be inexact. The language used in their expression is corrected, its terms more rigidly defined, or fresh terms introduced, until the new state of language and terminology is brought to fit the improved state of knowledge of facts. In the progress of this scrutiny subordinate laws are brought into view which still further modify both the verbal statement and numerical results of those which first offered themselves to our notice; and when these are traced out and reduced to certainty, others, again, subordinate to them, make their appearance, and become subjects of further inquiry. Now, it invariably happens (and the reason is evident) that the first glimpse we catch of such subordinate laws—the first form in which they are dimly shadowed out to our minds—is that of *errors*. We perceive a discordance between what we *expect*, and what we *find*. The first occurrence of such a discordance we attribute to accident. It happens again and again; and we begin to suspect our instruments. We then inquire, to what amount of error their determinations can, *by possibility*, be liable. If their *limit of possible error* exceed the observed deviation, we at once condemn the instrument, and set about improving its construction or adjustments. Still the same deviations occur, and, so far from being palliated, are more marked and better defined than before. We are

now sure that we are on the traces of a law of nature, and we pursue it till we have reduced it to a definite statement, and verified it by repeated observation under every variety of circumstances."—Pp. 89, 90, § 139.

Many of the changes detected in the manner here described are so slow, and require so long a period to amount to any appreciable quantity, that ages are sometimes requisite to bring them to light; and it is on this account that length of time is such an important element in astronomical investigations, and that the age of this science, owing to its peculiar nature, is a more than ordinary advantage.

Again:—space being the theatre of astronomic phenomena, the science of space and its relations, namely, geometry in the widest sense of the term, becomes directly applicable, and all the improvements, from the sublime geometry of the ancients to the most refined results of modern analysis, become available, and contribute to the perfection of astronomy. Finally, since the great discovery of the law of gravitation by Newton, astronomy has presented itself in another and new aspect; the movements of the heavenly bodies are brought under the laws of force and motion which constitute the science of mechanics,—a strictly mathematical science, requiring for its full development all, and even more than all, that the highest branches of mathematical calculus in their present imperfect state can furnish.

Astronomy, indeed, may be divided into four distinct branches:

1. Practical Astronomy, which includes the use of the instruments, the calculations necessary to free the observations with them from the effects of atmospheric refraction, parallax, and the aberration of light, and such solutions of spherical triangles as may be necessary to determine the co-ordinates of the places of the heavenly bodies, to wit, their right ascension and declination, or latitude and longitude.

2. Theoretic Astronomy, or the theory of the movements of the heavenly bodies in space, as derived from the results of practical astronomy:—as, for instance, the determination of the nature of the orbits of the planets; their eccentricities; their nodes, or points of intersection with the plane of the earth's orbit; the inclination of the planes of their orbits to that of the earth; the mean distance of the planets from the sun, and their periodic times or terms of revolution.

3. Descriptive Astronomy, which relates to the physical constitution of the planets, and requires for its prosecution the aid of powerful telescopes. This branch of the subject leads to inquiries into the existence of atmospheres, of oceans, mountain-ranges, volcanoes, and other features in the physical phenomena and topography of

the planets. In this field the elder Herschel and Schroeter of Lilienthal have been particularly distinguished.

4. Physical Astronomy, which, in the present acceptation of the term, is the investigation of the heavenly movements as a great mechanical problem, setting out from the simple law of gravitation, that the bodies attract each other with a force proportioned directly to the mass, and inversely as the square of the distance, and thence deducing all the grand and minor movements which result from the mutual influences of the numerous bodies, primary and secondary, in our system.

The complete solution of this grand problem, by the aid of that modern invention in mathematics, the calculus, is the boast of the immortal work of Laplace, known as the "Mécanique Céleste."

When it is considered that the number of bodies in the solar system now discovered, including the satellites, amounts to nearly forty; that of more than seven hundred comets, the orbits of one hundred and fifty have been computed; that of late years the bounds of the solar system have been passed, and the delicacy of modern instruments has detected the minute annual parallax of the fixed stars, thus furnishing the means of determining their distance; that orbitual motion in binary systems, each composed of two of these remote suns, has been discovered and exactly computed; that the motion of the solar system itself in space has been ascertained.—some conception may be formed of the extent and complication of the field which presents itself for the labours of the astronomer.

It is this science, of the nature and extent of which we have thus endeavoured to give a general notion,—a science so vast, so long prosecuted by mankind, so multifarious in its aspects, requiring for its full comprehension such profound knowledge of other sciences,—it is this science which the work before us attempts to present in popular form. Demanding but a schoolboy's knowledge of geometry in the reader, it seeks to furnish him with some just conception of every part of this great and varied subject. No easy task. With what success it is accomplished, we shall now endeavour to show.

The nature and difficulty of the undertaking are set forth by the author himself, as follows:—

"After all, I must distinctly caution such of my readers as may commence and terminate their astronomical studies with the present work, (though of such, —at least in the latter predicament,—I trust the number will be few,) that its utmost pretension is to place them on the threshold of this particular wing of the temple of science, or rather on an eminence exterior to it, whence they may obtain something like a general notion of its structure; or, at most, to give those who may wish to enter, a ground-plan of its accesses, and put them in possession of the pass-word. Admission to its sanctuary, and to the privi-

leges and feelings of a votary, is only to be gained by one means,—*sound and sufficient knowledge of mathematics, the great instrument of all exact inquiry, without which no man can ever make such advances in this or any other of the higher departments of science as can entitle him to form an independent opinion on any subject of discussion within their range.* It is not without an effort that those who possess this knowledge can communicate on such subjects with those who do not, and adapt their language and their illustrations to the necessities of such an intercourse."—Pp. 20, 21, § 7.

The author begins with the usual subject of the figure and motions of the earth. Our insensibility to the vast rapidity of the earth's motion through space is happily exemplified.

"When, for example, we are carried along in a carriage with the blinds down, or with our eyes closed, (to keep us from seeing external objects,) we perceive a tremor arising from inequalities in the road, over which the carriage is successively lifted and let fall, but we have no sense of *progress*. As the road is smoother, our sense of motion is diminished, though our rate of travelling is accelerated. Railway travelling, especially by night or in a tunnel, has familiarized every one with this remark. Those who have made aeronautic voyages testify that with closed eyes, and under the influence of a steady breeze, communicating no oscillatory or revolving motion to the car, the *sensation* is that of perfect rest, however rapid the transfer from place to place.

"But it is on shipboard, where a great system is maintained in motion, and where we are surrounded with a multitude of objects which participate with ourselves and each other in the common progress of the whole mass, that we feel most satisfactorily the identity of sensation between a state of motion and one of rest. In the cabin of a large and heavy vessel, going smoothly before the wind in still water, or drawn along a canal, not the smallest indication acquaints us with the way it is making. We read, sit, walk, and perform every customary action as if we were on land. If we throw a ball into the air, it falls back into our hand: or if we drop it, it alights at our feet. Insects buzz around us as in the free air; and smoke ascends in the same manner as it would do in an apartment on shore. When we look at the shore, we then perceive the effect of our own motion transferred, in a contrary direction, to external objects—*external*, that is, *to the system of which we form a part.*" —P. 28, § 15, 16.

The author passes on to the consideration of the atmosphere, which refracts the rays of light passing into it from the heavenly bodies, bending the rays downward, and making the bodies, which appear always in the last direction of the rays as they enter the eye, to look more elevated than they really are. Thence he goes on to consider the subject of parallax, which is the only correction of importance, besides refraction, to be applied to the observed altitude of a heavenly body, in order to obtain its true altitude. This subject appears to us confused from unnecessary profuseness of illustration. Parallax may be defined to be the difference in direction in which an object appears as viewed from two different points, as from the centre and surface of the earth, (which is diurnal parallax,) or from the centres of the earth and sun, which is called annual parallax. As

the difference of direction of two lines is the definition of the angle which they form with each other, parallax is therefore the angle subtended at the distant object by the radius of the earth. Observations made at different parts of the earth's surface, when corrected for parallax, all become as if made from the centre of the earth, and thus admit of direct comparison with one another, for the purpose of indicating the precise angular movement of the object itself.

Passing over the second chapter we come to the third, which is one of the best in the book. It explains the nature and use of the astronomical instruments. In the introduction to this chapter is an admirable exposition, in a general way, of the means by which the astronomer, with the necessarily imperfect workmanship of the most skilful human hands, arrives at perfect results in his observations.

"Astronomical instrument-making may be justly regarded as the most refined of the mechanical arts, and that in which the nearest approach to geometrical precision is required, and has been attained. It may be thought an easy thing, by one unacquainted with the niceties required, to turn a circle in metal, to divide its circumference into three hundred and sixty equal parts, and these again into smaller subdivisions,—to place it accurately on its centre, and to adjust it in a given position; but practically it is found to be one of the most difficult. Nor will this appear extraordinary, when it is considered that, owing to the application of telescopes to the purposes of angular measurement, every imperfection of structure of division becomes magnified by the whole optical power of that instrument; and that thus, not only direct errors of workmanship, arising from unsteadiness of hand or imperfection of tools, but those inaccuracies which originate in far more uncontrollable causes, such as the unequal expansion and contraction of metallic masses, by a change of temperature, and their unavoidable flexure or bending by their own weight, become perceptible and measurable. An angle of one minute occupies, on the circumference of a circle of ten inches in radius, only about $\frac{1}{3\,5\,0}$th part of an inch, a quantity too small to be *certainly* dealt with without the use of magnifying glasses; yet one minute is a gross quantity in the astronomical measurement of an angle. With the instruments now employed in observatories, a single second, or the 60th part of a minute, is rendered a distinctly visible and appreciable quantity. Now, the arc of a circle, subtended by one second, is less than the 200,000th part of the radius, so that on a circle of six feet in diameter it would occupy no greater linear extent than $\frac{1}{1\,1\,0\,0}$th part of an inch; a quantity requiring a powerful microscope to be *discerned* at all. The ever-varying fluctuations of heat and cold have a tendency to produce not merely temporary and transient, but permanent, uncompensated changes of form in all considerable masses of those metals which alone are applicable to such uses; and their own weight, however symmetrically formed, must always be unequally sustained, since it is impossible to apply the sustaining power to *every part* separately: even could this be done, at all events force must be used to move and to fix them; which can never be done without producing temporary, and risking permanent, change of form. It is true, by dividing them on their centres, and in the identical places they are destined to occupy, and by a thousand ingenious and delicate contrivances, wonders have been accomplished in this department of art, and a degree of perfection has been given, not merely to *chefs d'œuvre*,

but to instruments of moderate prices and dimensions, and in ordinary use, which, on due consideration, must appear very surprising. But though we are entitled to look for *wonders* at the hands of scientific artists, we are not to expect *miracles*. The demands of the astronomer will always surpass the power of the artist; and it must, therefore, be constantly the aim of the former to make himself, as far as possible, independent of the imperfections incident to every work the latter can place in his hands. He must, therefore, endeavour so to combine his observations, so to choose his opportunities, and so to familiarize himself with all the causes which may produce instrumental derangement, and with all the peculiarities of structure and material of each instrument he possesses, as not to allow himself to be misled by their errors, but to extract from their indications, as far as possible, all that is *true*, and reject all that is erroneous. It is in this that the art of the practical astronomer consists,—an art of itself of a curious and intricate nature, and of which we can here only notice some of the leading and general features.

"The great aim of the practical astronomer being numerical correctness in the results of instrumental measurement, his constant care and vigilance must be directed to the detection and compensation of errors, either by annihilating, or by taking account of, and allowing for them. Now, if we examine the sources from which errors may arise in any instrumental determination, we shall find them chiefly reducible to three principal heads:—

"1st. External or incidental causes of error; comprehending such as depend on external, uncontrollable circumstances: such as fluctuations of weather, which disturb the amount of refraction from its tabulated value, and being reducible to no fixed law, induce uncertainty to the extent of their own possible magnitude; such as, by varying the temperature of the air, vary also the form and position of the instruments used, by altering the relative magnitudes and the tension of their parts; and others of the like nature.

"2dly. *Errors of observation:* such as arise, for example, from inexpertness, defective vision, slowness in seizing the exact *instant* of occurrence of a phenomenon, or precipitancy in anticipating it, &c.; from atmospheric indistinctness; insufficient optical power in the instrument, and the like. Under this head may also be classed all errors arising from momentary instrumental derangement,—slips in clamping, looseness of screws, &c.

"3dly. The third, and by far the most numerous class of errors to which astronomical measurements are liable, arise from causes which may be deemed instrumental, and which may be subdivided into two principal classes. The *first* comprehends those which arise from an instrument not *being* what it professes to be, which is *error of workmanship*. Thus, if a pivot or axis, instead of being, as it ought, exactly cylindrical, be slightly flattened, or elliptical,—if it be not exactly (as it is intended it should) concentric with the circle it carries;—if this circle (so called) be in reality *not* exactly circular, or not in one plane;—if its divisions, intended to be precisely equidistant, should be placed in reality at unequal intervals,—and a hundred other things of the same sort.

"The *other* subdivision of instrumental errors comprehends such as arise from an instrument not being placed in the *position* it ought to have; and from those of its parts which are made purposely movable, not being properly disposed *inter se*. These are *errors of adjustment*. Some are unavoidable, as they arise from a general unsteadiness of the soil or building in which the instruments are placed; which, though too minute to be noticed in any other way, become appreciable in delicate astronomical observations; others, again, are consequences of imperfect workmanship, as where an instrument once well adjusted will not remain so, but keeps deviating and shifting. But the most important of this class of errors arise from the non-existence of natural indications, *other* than those afforded by astronomical observations themselves.

"Now, with respect to the first two classes of error, it must be observed,

that, in so far as they cannot be reduced to known laws, and thereby become subjects of calculation and due allowance, they actually vitiate, to their full extent, the results of any observations in which they subsist. Being, however, in their nature casual and accidental, their effects necessarily lie sometimes one way, sometimes the other; sometimes diminishing, sometimes tending to increase the results. Hence, by greatly multiplying observations, under varied circumstances, by avoiding unfavourable, and taking advantage of favourable circumstances of weather, or otherwise using opportunity to advantage—and finally, by taking the *mean or average* of the results obtained, this class of errors may be so far *subduced*, by setting them to destroy one another, as no longer sensibly to vitiate any theoretical or practical conclusion.

"With regard to errors of adjustment and workmanship, not only the *possibility*, but the *certainty*, of their existence, in every imaginable form, in all instruments, must be contemplated. Human hands or machines never formed a circle, drew a straight line, or erected a perpendicular, nor ever placed an instrument in *perfect* adjustment, unless accidentally; and then only during an instant of time. This does not prevent, however, that a great approximation to all these desiderata should be attained. But it is the peculiarity of astronomical observation to be the *ultimate means of detection* of all mechanical defects which elude by their minuteness every other mode of detection. What the eye cannot discern nor the touch perceive, a course of astronomical observations will make distinctly evident. The imperfect products of man's hands are here tested by being brought into comparison under very great magnifying powers (corresponding in effect to a great increase in acuteness of perception) with the perfect workmanship of nature; and there is none which will bear the trial. Now, it may seem like arguing in a vicious circle, to deduce theoretical conclusions and laws from observation, and then turn round upon the instruments with which those observations were made, accuse them of imperfection, and attempt to detect and rectify their errors by means of the very laws and theories which they have helped us to a knowledge of. A little consideration, however, will suffice to show that such a course of proceeding is perfectly legitimate."—P. 85–89, §§ 131–138.

Here follows the passage which we have already quoted: (page 32, *ante.*)

Certain classes of instrumental error may be known and provided for *a priori*. Such as arise from the foreseen impossibility of perfection in some particular of the construction.

"Suppose, for example, the principle of an instrument required that a circle should be concentric with the axis on which it is made to turn. As this is a condition which no workmanship can *exactly* fulfil, it becomes necessary to inquire what errors will be produced in observations made and registered on the faith of such an instrument, by any assigned deviation in this respect; that is to say, what would be the disagreement between observations made with it and with one absolutely perfect, could such be obtained. Now, simple geometrical considerations suffice to show,—1st, that if the axis be eccentric by a given fraction (say one thousandth part) of the radius of the circle, all angles read off on that part of the circle *towards* which the eccentricity lies, will appear by that fractional amount too small, and all on the opposite side too large. And, 2dly, that *whatever* be the amount of the eccentricity, and on *whatever* part of the circle any proposed angle is measured, the effect of the error in question on the result of observations depending on the graduation of its circumference (or limb, as it is technically called) will be completely annihilated by the very easy method of always reading off the divisions on two

diametrically opposite points of the circle, and taking a mean; for the effect of eccentricity is always to increase the arc representing the angle in question on one side of the circle, by just the same quantity by which it diminishes that on the other."—P. 91, § 141.

An easily apprehended elucidation of the spirit of astronomic method is given in connexion with the subject we are now upon:—

"Observant persons, before the invention of astronomical instruments, had already concluded the apparent diurnal motions of the stars to be performed in circles about fixed poles in the heavens, as shown in the foregoing chapter. In drawing this conclusion, however, refraction was entirely overlooked; or, if forced on their notice by its great magnitude in the immediate neighbourhood of the horizon, was regarded as a local irregularity, and, as such, neglected, or slurred over. As soon, however, as the diurnal paths of the stars were attempted to be traced by instruments, even of the coarsest kind, it became evident that the notion of exact circles described about one and the same pole would not represent the phenomena correctly, but that, owing to some cause or other, the apparent diurnal orbit of every star is distorted from a circular into an oval form, its lower segment being *flatter* than its upper; and the deviation being greater the nearer the star approached the horizon, the effect being the same as if the circle had been squeezed upwards from below, and the lower parts more than the higher. For such an effect, as it was soon found to arise from no casual or instrumental cause, it became necessary to seek a natural one; and refraction readily occurred to solve the difficulty. This new law once established, it became necessary to modify the expression of that anciently received, by inserting in it a *salvo* for the effect of refraction, or by making a distinction between the *apparent* diurnal orbits, as affected by refraction, and the *true* ones cleared of that effect. This distinction between the *apparent* and the *true*—between the *uncorrected* and *corrected*—between the *rough* and *obvious*, and the *refined* and *ultimate*—is of perpetual occurrence in every part of astronomy."—P. 92, § 142.

Another illustration of the incorrectness of first impressions is to be found in the time of diurnal revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars:—

"Again. The first impression produced by a view of the diurnal movement of the heavens is, that *all* the heavenly bodies perform this revolution in one common period, namely, *a day*, or twenty-four hours. But no sooner do we come to examine the matter *instrumentally*, that is, by noting, by time-keepers, their successive arrivals on the meridian, than we find differences which cannot be accounted for by any error of observation. All the *stars*, it is true, occupy the same interval of time between their successive appulses to the meridian, or to any vertical circle; but *this* is a very different one from that occupied by the sun. It is palpably shorter; being, in fact, only $23^h\ 56'\ 4.09''$, instead of twenty-four hours, such hours as our common clocks mark. Here, then, we have already *two different days*, a *sidereal* and a *solar*; and if, instead of the sun, we observe the moon, we find a third, much longer than either,—a *lunar* day, whose average duration is $24^h\ 54^m$ of our ordinary time, which last is *solar* time, being of necessity conformable to the *sun's* successive re-appearances, on which all the business of life depends.

"Now, all the *stars* are found to be unanimous in giving the same exact duration of $23^h\ 56'\ 4.09''$, for the *sidereal day*; which, therefore, we cannot hesitate to receive as the period in which the earth makes one revolution on its axis. We are, therefore, compelled to look on the sun and moon as exceptions to the general law; as having a different nature, or at least a differ-

ent relation to us, from the stars; and as having motions, real or apparent, of their own, independent of the rotation of the earth on its axis. Thus a great and most important distinction is disclosed to us.

"To establish these facts, almost no apparatus is required. An observer need only station himself to the north of some well-defined vertical object, as the angle of a building, and, placing his eye exactly at a certain fixed point (such as a small hole in a plate of metal nailed to some immovable support,) notice the successive disappearances of any star behind the building, by a watch."—P. 93, § 143, 145.

Exact observations upon the length of the sidereal day are best made by noting the instant at which a star *culminates*, or makes its *transit* over the meridian or great circle which passes through the poles and zenith of a place. The observation is taken with what is called a *transit instrument*, which is a telescope made with projections from the sides of the tube resembling the trunnions of a cannon, and called the supporting axis of the instrument; and, as a cannon is supported by the trunnions resting on the cheeks of the carriage, so the telescope is by the extremities of its supporting axis resting upon two stone piers, one of which is on the east, the other on the west side of the telescope, which points north and south; and, as it turns upon its trunnions, the line of vision, as one looks through the telescope, prolonged to the celestial sphere or blue vault of the sky, describes upon the latter the circle which is the celestial meridian of the place.

This instrument is used in connexion with what is called the astronomical clock, keeping sidereal time. A common clock, with the pendulum a little shortened, will answer the purpose; but the clock, to be as useful as possible, should be of the best workmanship, and have a mercurial or other compensating pendulum, which does not change its length with changes of temperature.

The zero of time by the astronomical clock, is the instant that the point of the heavens known as the vernal equinoctial point is on the meridian. This is the point in which the annual path of the sun amongst the stars crosses the celestial equator. When any star is upon the meridian, the astronomical clock will show the right ascension of the star in time; that is, the difference in time between the meridian transits of the vernal equinox and the meridian transit of the star. The right ascension in time being multiplied by 15, gives the right ascension in space, or in degrees and fractions of a degree. Because, as the earth turns round in 24 hours, 360° ÷ 24°, or 15°, will be the space that the earth turns in one hour.

The transit instrument is used by elevating the telescope till the altitude shown on a graduated circle at one extremity of the supporting axis is equal to the meridian altitude of the star, which depends

upon the latitude of the place of observation, or the distance of its zenith from the equator, and the declination of the star, or the distance of the star from the equator, and is found by simple addition or subtraction. The telescope being thus set to the meridian altitude of the star a minute or two before the time that the clock indicates the right ascension of the star, the star will be seen coming into the field of view of the telescope, and moving across horizontally towards the vertical wires, as they are technically called; of which there are five, (in large instruments seven,) made of the web of the spider, and placed at the focus of the object-glass, where the image of the star is formed and magnified by the eye-glass of the telescope, which is a mere microscope for examining the image. As the star approaches the first wire, the observer looks at the clock, and takes up the count of the second, which he keeps by the ear, applying his eye to the telescope; and, noting the instant that the star is bisected by the first wire, he records in a book the number of seconds, estimating the fraction of a second, then looks at the clock and records the minute,—the hour may be left till the end of the observation. By this time the star has approached nearly to the second vertical wire, over which its transit is observed in the same way; and so on for all the five wires. The sum of the times of transit over the separate wires divided by five, will give the time of transit over the middle wire, with a probable error of one-fifth of what would have been the error had the time of transit over the middle wire been alone observed. This affords a good illustration of what occurs so frequently with astronomers,—the taking a mean of a number of observations. The greater the number of observations that can be made for determining any element derived from observation, the better. Each will differ a little from the truth, but the mean of the whole will be very near it. The errors of the individual observations arise not only from the imperfection of the instrument, but the uncertainty in the observer. In this connexion there is a very curious fact developed by the experience in observatories. It is, that the same individual will usually fix the instant of occurrence of a phenomenon which he observes, on the same side of the truth; that is, invariably a little too early or a little too late, according to his personal peculiarity. This gives rise to what is called personal equation, a correction which has to be applied to an observation depending on the person observing, and hence his name is always recorded with the observation.*

* The star will often be seen bisected by a wire between two beats of seconds. The eye then notes how far from the wire the star was at the beat before the bisection, and how far at the beat after, and estimates the fraction of a second at which the bi-

To return for a moment to the transit instrument which we were describing. If the star observed be one whose right ascension is already accurately known, (and there are large catalogues of such,) the difference between its right ascension and the time of transit, as observed by the clock, will be the clock's error. If the star's right ascension

section took place. By the aid of electro-magnetism the exact instant, to a very small fraction of a second, may be not only observed, but recorded without the trouble of keeping count. The arrangement for the purpose is as follows: A wire is made to communicate from one pole of a voltaic battery to the brass work of the clock; the electricity perviates all the brass work, and passes down the pendulum rod; underneath the pendulum a globule of mercury is supported in a little metallic cup, from which a wire passes to a magnet, round which it coils, and then passes on to the other pole of the battery. Every time the pendulum vibrates on reaching the lowest point of its arc, it dips into the globule of mercury for an instant, and thus a communication is made between the two poles of the battery, and the magnet acts, drawing back a little hammer which is armed with a sharp point that pricks a narow strip of paper made to pass along under it, at a uniform rate, by clockwork. The intervals between the points on the paper will correspond to seconds. Two wires communicate also from the opposite poles of a battery (one of them coiling round a magnet close beside the magnet already mentioned) to a wooden block held in the hand of the observer at the instrument, by touching a button in which he connects the wires communicating with it, and the magnet then acts, causing a small hammer to prick with its sharp point the narrow strip of paper a little on one side of the line of points which mark the seconds. The precise position in the interval between two even seconds, of the instant of bisection of the star by the wire, is thus indicated with great precision, and by applying a scale with a vernier, the fraction of a second may be obtained to thousandths, the space on the strip of paper corresponding to a second being usually from half an inch to an inch. The observer, at the end of the observation, notes on the clock the minute with which the observation closes, and writes it with the hour on the strip of paper in pencil.

The even minutes in the line of dots which marks the seconds on the strip of paper are indicated by the omission of a dot, which is effected as follows: To the axis which carries the second hand of the clock is attached a fork of two prongs, projecting perpendicularly from the axis; when the second hand has made a complete revolution of the clock dial, the two prongs of the fork dip into two globules of mercury communicating with the two poles of the battery, one of which wires is the same that communicates the electricity to the brass work of the clock from which it goes down the pendulum as before described. When the connexion is made by the fork dipping into the two globules of mercury, the electricity goes back to the battery by the shortest path instead of taking the course down the pendulum, and that beat is lost on the magnet.

A number of rapid strokes of the button, which impress a corresponding number of points on the paper, serve to indicate the commencement of the observation.

This invention also affords the means of determining the velocity of the electro-magnetic current.

Experiments have been made between Washington and Cincinnati, by transmitting the beats of the clock from the former to the latter place and back, and marking them simultaneously at the point of departure. The difference indicates the time employed in passing and repassing over the distance between the two cities.

The result is a velocity of 16,000 miles per second.

be unknown, the time of meridian transit will determine it, if there be no error of the clock, or the error be corrected by observation upon a known star. True sidereal time, being known, is easily converted, by a very simple calculation, into mean solar time; and observation with the transit instrument upon the stars, affords the best method of correcting common clocks.

It will be seen, from what has been said above, 1. That, in observation with the transit instrument, the supporting axis ought to be exactly horizontal, so that the line of vision, in looking through the telescope, will describe a vertical circle; and, 2. That this circle should coincide with the meridian, neither of which can be exactly attained. This, however, is of no consequence; for the observer has but to apply a spirit-level to the supporting axis, and to take the transits of two known stars differing but little in right ascension,—one near the zenith, and the other nearer the horizon,—and he is provided with the means of calculating the exact deviation of the instrument from the meridian, and its influence, as well as that of the error of level upon the time of meridian transit of the star.

This somewhat minute description will serve to give an idea of the delicacy and accuracy of the results arrived at in modern observations, not only in consequence of the superiority of the instruments, but of the power of deducing the true from the erroneous possessed by the astronomer. We will only add a word upon the other two instruments principally employed.

The *mural circle* is used for measuring the declinations of the stars when the latitude of the place of observation is known, and *vice versa*. It is a circle of brass, five or six feet in diameter, turning on an axis which passes through a stone wall, the circle being flat against the vertical face of the wall, which stands north and south. The telescope is a diameter of the circle, and turns round with it, its visual axis, like that of the telescope of the transit instrument, moving in the meridian. The degrees, minutes, &c., pointed out on the circle by the index when the telescope is directed to the north pole of the heavens, are called the polar zero. The difference between this reading and the reading when the telescope points to a star as it crosses the meridian, is the polar distance of the star, which is given in the new catalogues instead of the declination:—

"The declination of a heavenly body is the complement of its distance from the pole. The pole, being a point in the meridian, might be directly observed on the limb of the circle, if any star stood *exactly* therein; and thence the *polar distances*, and, of course, the declinations of all the rest, might be at once determined. But this not being the case, a bright star as near the pole as can be found is selected, and observed in its *upper* and *lower* culminations; that is, when it passes the meridian *above* and *below* the pole. Now, as its distance

from the pole remains the same, the difference of reading off the circle in the two cases is, of course, (when corrected for refraction,) equal to twice the polar distance of the star."—P. 107, § 170.

The star in crossing the meridian is made to thread a horizontal wire in the telescope.

Instead of a polar zero a horizontal zero is oftener employed, which is obtained by observing the star on one night as reflected in a basin of mercury,—the telescope pointing obliquely downwards,—and the next night observing the same star direct in the heavens. Half the difference of the readings is the altitude of the star above the horizon, which, by addition or subtraction with the latitude of the place, gives the declination of the star:—

"By a peculiar and delicate manipulation and management of the setting, bisection, and reading off of the circle, aided by the use of a movable horizontal micrometic wire in the focus of the object-glass, it is found practicable to observe a slow moving star (as the pole star) *on one and the same night*, both by reflection and direct vision, sufficiently near to either culmination to give the horizontal point, without risking the change of refraction in twenty-four hours; so that this source of error is thus completely eliminated.—P. 109, *note*.

Recently a nadir zero has been introduced, obtained by placing a basin of mercury directly under the telescope, and pointing it downward till the wires reflected in the mercury coincide with them as seen direct. The telescope then points to the nadir. The method of procedure afterwards, to obtain the declination of a star, is obvious.

To correct for error of figure, of graduation and eccentricity in the circle, six microscopes are placed at equal intervals, or 60° apart, outside the circumference. They are fastened firmly to the wall, and the circle moves past them. For every position of the telescope the reading is taken with all six, and a mean of the seconds which they give employed. The minutes will usually agree. The contrivance of these microscopes for measuring the fraction of a second is most ingenious and beautiful, but it would be entering too much into details for us here to describe them.

The two instruments above noticed, are the essential ones of a modern observatory. It is with such that the voluminous labours of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in England, have been performed. The Germans use but one instrument in place of the two,—a sort of transit instrument, with a large circle attached:—

"Such an instrument is called a TRANSIT CIRCLE, or a MERIDIAN CIRCLE, and serves for the simultaneous determination of the right ascensions and polar distances of objects observed with it; the time of transit being noted by the clock, and the circle being read off by the lateral microscopes. There is much advantage, when extensive catalogues of small stars have to be formed, in this simultaneous determination of both their celestial co-ordinates: to which

may be added the facility of applying to the meridian circle a telescope of any length and optical power. The construction of the mural circle renders this highly inconvenient, and indeed impracticable beyond very moderate limits." —P. 110, § 174.

Prof. Airy is about introducing one with a very powerful telescope at Greenwich.

At the risk of being tedious, we will barely mention a third instrument, which is a very valuable one in an observatory for observations out of the meridian, those already described being confined in their use to the instant in which a heavenly body crosses that great circle of the heavens, and hence called meridian instruments. We allude to the *equatorial instrument*, so called because it is contrived in such a manner that the visual axis of the telescope, prolonged to the heavens, describes on the celestial sphere a circle parallel to the equator. This is accomplished by placing a strong axis of iron, with proper supports, in the meridian, and under an inclination equal to the latitude of the place, so that this axis points to the pole of the heavens. This is called the polar axis of the instrument. Its lower end is enlarged into a sort of clock dial, called the hour-circle, perpendicular to the polar axis; at its upper end, at right angles, is fastened another strong axis, called the equatorial axis, at one end of which the side of the telescope's tube is fastened, and the other end is enlarged into a circle which is divided into degrees and fractions of a degree, called the declination circle. To find any object in the heavens whose right ascension and declination are known, set the index of the *declination circle* to the given declination of the object, and that of the *hour circle* to the hour angle of the object,—which is the time that has elapsed since it passed, or must elapse before it comes to the meridian, and is equal to the difference between the right ascension of the object and the time at the instant by the sidereal clock. This being done, the object will be seen in the centre of the field of view of the telescope. By turning the telescope on the polar axis, it will follow the object as it passes out of the field of view by the diurnal rotation of the earth.

Clock-work is sometimes attached, which gives the instrument a motion about its polar axis, at the same rate that the earth turns, and then the object thus continues steadily in the centre of the field, as if the observer were looking at a stationary firmament. A peculiar eye-piece is used with this instrument, called a position micrometer. The wires in this are movable, so as to be separable, continuing parallel by means of a screw, and the number of turns of the screw indicates the distance apart of the wires. They have also a motion of revolution round the visual axis of the telescope.

If they be turned so that a star will run along them like a bead upon a thread by the diurnal motion, they are then parallel to the equator. If one of them in this position be made to pass through a known star, and the other separated from it till it passes through another object —as a comet, for instance—in the same field of view, the distance of the wires apart, as indicated by the screw, (or, rather, by a magnified notched scale seen near the wires, over one notch of which a pin moves at every turn of the screw,) will be the difference of declination between the known star and the comet. Again: if the transits of the star and comet over a wire perpendicular to these, or over these themselves after the micrometer has been turned in position 90°, be taken by the clock, the difference in their time of transit will be the difference of right ascension of the comet and star. So that thus, by simple addition or subtraction, the absolute right ascension and declination of an unknown object may be obtained out of the meridian. This instrument is particularly suitable for observations of comets, which emit too faint a light to be seen till after sunset with the telescope, and are then often in the west near the sun. It is also specially adapted to observations upon double stars, as will be seen in the sequel.

The *author's* description of the astronomical instruments, though somewhat voluminous, is neither as full nor clear as many other parts of the work. Many of his descriptions, however, are admirable, such as that of the double image micrometer, (§ 203.)

The fourth chapter is entitled Geography, and includes not so much what is usually understood by that term, as the determination of the exact elliptical figure of the earth; the action of gravity at its surface; the methods of determining geographical positions, or latitudes and longitudes; and the modes of conducting a trigonometric survey, including the making of maps or projections of the sphere. As a specimen of the author's happy manner often of first presenting a subject, we quote the following under this head:—

"As we cannot grasp the earth, nor recede from it far enough to view it at once as a whole, and compare it with a known standard of measure in any degree commensurate to its own size, but can only creep about upon it, and apply our diminutive measures to comparatively small parts of its vast surface in succession, it becomes necessary to supply, by geometrical reasoning, the defect of our physical powers, and from a delicate and careful measurement of such small parts to conclude the form and dimensions of the whole mass."—P. 131, § 209.

The tendency of the earth to assume the elliptical form, composed as it is of land and water, is very happily shown at §§ 224–228, and concludes as follows:—

"We are far from meaning here to trace the process *by which* the earth really assumed its actual form; all we intend is, to show that this is the form to which, under the conditions of a rotation on its axis, it must *tend;* and which it would attain, even if originally and (so to speak) perversely constituted otherwise."—P. 142, § 228.

At page 152 is given a very simple and clear exposition of the mode of obtaining the latitude of a place, with the prime vertical transit, that is, by means of a transit instrument placed east and west, instead of north and south, moving in the precise vertical, as the vertical circle perpendicular to the meridian is called. Instruments of this kind, so constructed as to admit of rapid reversion, by which error of level is eliminated, by Pistar of Berlin, are in use at the Observatories of Pulkova and Washington.

The nature of local time, and the modes of obtaining difference of longitude between two places, are very plainly and succinctly set forth at page 155 *et seq.* Under this head we have the following curious statement:—

"Suppose an observer now to set out from any station as above described, and constantly travelling westward to make the tour of the globe, and to return from the point he set out from. A singular consequence will happen: he will have lost a day in his reckoning of time. He will enter the day of his arrival in his diary, as Monday, for instance, when, in fact, it is Tuesday. The reason is obvious. Days and nights are caused by the alternate appearance of the sun and stars, as the rotation of the earth carries the spectator round to view them in succession. So many turns as he makes absolutely round the centre, so often will he pass through the earth's shadow, and emerge into light, and so many nights and days will he experience. But if he travel once round the globe in the direction of its motion, he will, on his arrival, have really made one turn *more* round its centre, and if in the opposite direction, one turn *less*, than if he had remained upon one point of its surface: in the former case, then, he will have witnessed one alternation of day and night more, in the latter one less, than if he had trusted to the rotation of the earth alone to carry him round. As the earth revolves from west to east, it follows that a westward direction of his journey, by which he counteracts its rotation, will cause him to lose a day, and an eastward direction, by which he conspires with it, to gain one. In the former case, all his days will be longer; in the latter, shorter, than those of a stationary observer. This contingency has actually happened to circumnavigators. Hence, also, it must necessarily happen that distant settlements, *on the same meridian*, will differ a day in their usual reckoning of time, according as they have been colonized by settlers arriving in an eastward or in a westward direction,—a circumstance which may produce strange confusion when they come to communicate with each other."—P. 157, § 237.

In presenting the method of obtaining longitude by lunar distances, the author fancifully compares the starry sky to the dial-plate of a clock, and the moon moving amongst them to the hands; an irregular and complicated clock truly, as he admits.

"Such a clock as we have described might, no doubt, be considered a very bad one; but if it were our *only* one, and if incalculable interests were at

stake on a perfect knowledge of time, we should justly regard it as most precious, and think no pains ill bestowed in studying the laws of its movements, or in facilitating the means of *reading* it correctly."—P. 165, § 272.

The whole analogy is entertaining, but scarcely aids the student. The whole subject of difference of longitude, whether determined by chronometer or lunar distances, lies in a nut-shell. If the local time at any place be determined by observation with the transit instrument, or on shipboard by an altitude of the sun, taken with the sextant, from which, the latitude and declination of the sun being known, the time may be calculated, and then this be compared with the Greenwich time, carried by a chronometer, the difference will be the longitude in time, converted into space by multiplying by 15. If there be no chronometer carrying Greenwich time, the distance of the moon from some one of the large stars near her course must be measured with a sextant. This measured distance, cleared of the effects of parallax and refraction, being found in the table of lunar distances in the Greenwich Nautical Almanac, against it will be found the Greenwich time at the instant of observation. No other heavenly body, except the moon, moves with sufficient rapidity among the stars, thus to indicate distinctly small differences of time.

The fifth chapter treats of Uranography, or Celestial Maps and Globes. This subject is exceedingly well managed. It contains a very detailed exposition of the precession of the equinoxes, and the consequent change of longitude in all the stars: and in this connexion we have the following example of the light which astronomy sometimes throws upon history:—

"At the date of the erection of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, which precedes by 3,970 years (say 4,000) the present epoch, the longitudes of all the stars were less by 55° 45′ than at present. Calculating from this datum the place of the pole of the heavens among the stars, it would be found to fall near *a* Draconis; its distance from that star being 3° 44′ 25″. This being the most conspicuous star in the immediate neighbourhood was therefore the pole star at the epoch. And the latitude of Gizeh being just 30° north, and consequently the altitude of the north pole there also 30°, it follows that the star in question must have had at its lower culmination, at Gizeh, an altitude of 26° 15′ 35″. Now it is a remarkable fact, ascertained by the late researches of Col. Vyse, that of the nine pyramids still existing at Gizeh, six (including all the largest) have the narrow passages by which alone they can be entered (all which open out on the northern faces of their respective pyramids) inclined to the horizon downwards at angles as follows:

1st, or Pyramid of Cheops	26°	41′
2d, or Pyramid of Cephren	25	55
3d, or Pyramid of Mycerinus	26	2
4th,	27	0
5th,	27	12
9th,	28	0
Mean	26	47

"Of the two pyramids at Abousseir also, which alone exist in a state of sufficient preservation to admit of the inclinations of their entrance passages being determined, one has the angle 27° 5′, the other 26°."

After treating of aberration of light, the author sums up much of the foregoing part of the work in the following brief, but well-expressed passage:—

"The complete *Reduction*, as it is called, of an astronomical observation consists in applying to the place of the observed heavenly body, as read off on the instruments, (supposed perfect and in perfect adjustment,) five distinct and independent corrections, namely, those for refraction, parallax, aberration, precession, and nutation. Of these the correction for refraction enables us to declare what would have been the observed place, were there no atmosphere to displace it. That for parallax enables us to say from its place observed at the surface of the earth, where it would have been seen if observed from the centre. That for aberration, where it would have been observed from a motionless, instead of a moving station; while the corrections for precession and nutation refer it to fixed and determinate, instead of constantly varying celestial circles."—P. 198, § 336.

The sixth chapter is a long and interesting one relating to the sun, its apparent motions and physical constitution. Speaking of the greater proximity of the sun to the earth in winter, owing to the eccentricity of the orbit, than in summer, the author says:—

"This does not prevent, however, the direct impression of the solar heat in the height of summer,—the glow and ardour of his rays, under a perfectly clear sky, at noon, in equal latitudes and under equal circumstances of exposure,—from being very materially greater in the southern hemisphere than in the northern. One-fifteenth is too considerable a fraction of the whole intensity of sunshine not to aggravate in a serious degree the sufferings of those who are exposed to it in thirsty deserts, without shelter. The accounts of these sufferings in the interior of Australia, for instance, are of the most frightful kind, and would seem far to exceed what have ever been undergone by travellers in the northern deserts of Africa.

"A conclusion of a very remarkable kind, recently drawn by Professor Dove, from the comparison of thermometric observations at different seasons in very remote regions of the globe, may appear on first sight at variance with what is above stated. That eminent meteorologist has shown, by taking at all seasons the mean of the temperatures of points diametrically opposite to each other, that the mean temperature *of the whole earth's surface* in June, considerably exceeds that in December. This result, which is at variance with the greater proximity of the sun in December, is, however, due to a totally different and very powerful cause,—the greater amount of land in that hemisphere which has its summer solstice in June, (that is, the northern, see art. 362;) and the fact is so explained by him. The effect of land under sunshine is to throw heat into the general atmosphere, and so distribute it by the carrying power of the latter over the whole earth. Water is much less effective in this respect, the heat penetrating its depths, and being there absorbed; so that the surface never acquires a very elevated temperature even under the equator."—Page 214, §§ 369, 370.

As the author's father is the originator of the best received theory

respecting the solar spots, it will be interesting to our readers to hear it from himself:—

"When viewed through powerful telescopes, provided with coloured glasses, to take off the heat, which would otherwise injure our eyes, the sun is observed to have frequently large and perfectly black spots upon it, surrounded with a kind of border, less completely dark, called a penumbra. They are, however, not permanent. When watched from day to day, or even from hour to hour, they appear to enlarge or contract, to change their forms, and at length to disappear altogether, or to break out anew in parts of the surface where none were before. In such cases of disappearance, the central dark spot always contracts into a point, and vanishes before the border. Occasionally they break up, or divide into two or more, and in those cases offer every evidence of that extreme mobility which belongs only to the fluid state, and of that excessively violent agitation which seems only compatible with the atmospheric or gaseous state of matter. The scale on which their movements take place is immense. A single second of angular measure, as seen from the earth, corresponds on the sun's disc to 461 miles; and a circle of this diameter (containing therefore nearly 167,000 square miles) is the least space which can be distinctly discerned on the sun as a *visible area*. Spots have been observed, however, whose linear diameter has been upwards of 45,000 miles;* and even, if some records are to be trusted, of very much greater extent. That such a spot should close up in six weeks' time, (for they seldom last much longer,) its borders must approach at the rate of more than 1000 miles a day.

"The part of the sun's disc not occupied by spots is far from uniformly bright. Its *ground* is finely mottled with an appearance of minute dark dots, or *pores*, which, when attentively watched, are found to be in a constant state of change.

"Lastly, in the neighbourhood of great spots, or extensive groups of them, large spaces of the surface are often observed to be covered with strongly marked curved or branching streaks, more luminous than the rest, called *faculæ*, and among these, if not already existing, spots frequently break out. They may, perhaps, be regarded with most probability as the ridges of immense waves in the luminous regions of the sun's atmosphere, indicative of violent agitation in their neighbourhood. They are most commonly, and best seen, towards the borders of the visible disc.

"But what *are* the spots? Many fanciful notions have been broached on this subject, but only one seems to have any degree of physical probability, namely, that they are the dark, or at least comparatively dark, solid body of the sun itself, laid bare to our view by those immense fluctuations in the luminous regions of its atmosphere, to which it appears to be subject. Respecting the manner in which this disclosure takes place, different ideas again have been advocated. Lalande (art. 3,240) suggests, that eminences in the nature of mountains are actually laid bare, and project above the luminous ocean, appearing black above it, while their shoaling declivities produce the penumbræ, where the luminous fluid is less deep. A fatal objection to this theory is the uniform shade of the penumbra and its sharp termination, both inwards, where it joins the spot, and outwards, where it borders on the bright surface. A more probable view has been taken by Sir William Herschel,† who considers the luminous strata of the atmosphere to be sustained far above the level of the solid body by a transparent elastic medium, carrying on its upper surface (*or rather*, to avoid the former objection, *at some considerably lower level within its depth*) a cloudy stratum, which, being strongly illuminated from above, re-

* Mayer, Obs. Mar. 15, 1758. "Ingens macula in sole conspicicbatur, cujus diameter $=\frac{1}{20}$ diam. solis"

† Phil. Trans., 1801.

flects a considerable portion of the light to our eyes, and forms a penumbra, while the solid body, shaded by the clouds, reflects none. The temporary removal of both the strata, but more of the upper than the lower, he supposes effected by powerful upward currents of the atmosphere, arising, perhaps, from spiracles in the body, or from local agitations."—Pp. 222–224, §§ 386–389.

The author seems to anticipate that when the periodic laws of the changes producing the spots shall be known, by regular and long-continued observation, changes of temperature upon the earth may, with greater certainty, be predicted; for, says he,—

"The inquiry is one of singular interest, as there can be no reasonable doubt that the supply of light and heat afforded to our globe stands in intimate connexion with those processes which are taking place on the solar surface, and to which the spots in some way or other owe their origin."—P. 228, § 394.

We had marked for quotation several interesting passages on the solar atmosphere, but cannot find room for them.

The seventh chapter treats of the physical constitution of the moon, and is one of the most excellent in the volume. Our limits, however, will not allow us to quote largely from it.

"A circle of one second in diameter, as seen from the earth, on the surface of the moon, contains about a square mile. It should, however, be observed, that, owing to the small density of the materials of the moon, and the comparatively feeble gravitation of bodies on her surface, muscular force would there go six times as far in overcoming the weight of materials as on the earth. Owing to the want of air, however, it seems impossible that any form of life, analogous to those on earth, can subsist there. No appearance indicating vegetation, or the slightest variation of surface, which can, in our opinion, fairly be ascribed to change of season, can anywhere be discerned."—Pp. 251–254, §§ 429–433.

The Rosse Telescope would show an object of the size of a large cathedral on the moon.

The appearance of the earth from the moon is thus described:—

"If there be inhabitants in the moon, the earth must present to them the extraordinary appearance of a moon of nearly 2° in diameter, exhibiting phases complementary to those which we see the moon to do, but *immovably fixed in their sky*, (or, at least, changing its apparent place only by the small amount of the libration,) while the stars must seem to pass slowly beside and behind it. It will appear clouded with variable spots, and belted with equatorial and tropical zones corresponding to our trade-winds; and it may be doubted whether, in their perpetual change, the outlines of our continents and seas can ever be clearly discerned. During a solar eclipse, the earth's atmosphere will become visible as a narrow, but bright luminous ring of a ruddy colour, where it rests on the earth, gradually passing into faint blue, encircling the whole or part of the dark disc of the earth, the remainder being dark and rugged with clouds."—P. 255, § 436.

Chapter eighth, which relates to the causes of the celestial motions, opens with a short metaphysical disquisition:—

"Whatever attempts may have been made by metaphysical writers to reason away the connexion of cause and effect, and fritter it down into the

unsatisfactory relation of habitual sequence, it is certain that the conception of some more real and intimate connexion is quite as strongly impressed upon the human mind as that of the existence of an external world,—the vindication of whose reality has (strange to say) been regarded as an achievement of no common merit in the annals of this branch of philosophy. It is our own immediate consciousness *of effort*, when we exert force to put matter in motion, or to oppose and neutralize force, which gives us this internal conviction of *power* and *causation* so far as it refers to the material world, and compels us to believe that whenever we see material objects put in motion from a state of rest, or deflected from their rectilinear paths and changed in their velocities if already in motion, it is in consequence of such an EFFORT *somehow* exerted, though not accompanied with *our* consciousness. That such an effort should be exerted with success through an interposed space, is no more difficult to conceive, than that our hand should communicate motion to a stone, with which it is *demonstrably not in contact.*

"All bodies with which we are acquainted, when raised into the air and quietly abandoned, descend to the earth's surface in lines perpendicular to it. They are therefore urged thereto by a force or effort, which it is but reasonable to regard as the direct or indirect result of a *consciousness* and a *will* existing *somewhere*, though beyond our power to trace, which force we term *gravity*, and whose tendency or direction, as universal experience teaches, is towards the earth's centre."—P. 257, §§ 439, 440.

This opens, but does not go into fairly, the great question of the intrinsic character of the forces of nature. Are they direct and immediate results of the Divine energy, as muscular action is of human will; or are they mere resident properties of matter?

One of the three laws of Kepler is here made the basis of an interesting reflection, having an indirect theological bearing:—

"It required no ordinary penetration in the illustrious Kepler, backed by uncommon perseverance and industry, at a period when the data themselves were involved in obscurity, and when the processes of trigonometry and of numerical calculation were encumbered with difficulties, of which the more recent invention of logarithmic tables has happily left us no conception, to perceive and demonstrate the real law of their connexion. This connexion is expressed in the following proposition:—'The squares of the periodic times of any two planets are to each other, in the same proportion as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun.' Take, for example, the Earth and Mars,* whose periods are in the proportion of 3,652,564 to 6,869,796, and whose distance from the sun is that of 100,000 to 152,369; and it will be found, by any one who will take the trouble to go through the calculation, that—

$$(3{,}652{,}564)^2 : (6{,}869{,}796)^2 :: (100{,}000)^3 : (152{,}369)^3.$$

"Of all the laws to which induction from pure observation has ever conducted man, this *third law* (as it is called) *of Kepler* may justly be regarded as the most remarkable, and the most pregnant with important consequences. When we contemplate the constituents of the planetary system from the point of view which this relation affords us, it is no longer mere analogy which strikes us—no longer a general resemblance among them, as individuals independent of each other, and circulating about the sun, each according to its

* The expression of this law of Kepler requires a slight modification when we come to the extreme nicety of numerical calculation, for the greater planets, due to the influence of their masses. This correction is imperceptible for the Earth and Mars.

own peculiar nature, and connected with it by its own peculiar tie. The resemblance is now perceived to be a true *family* likeness; they are bound up in one chain—interwoven in one web of mutual relation and harmonious agreement—subjected to one pervading influence, which extends from the centre to the farthest limits of that great system, of which all of them, the earth included, must henceforth be regarded as members."—Pp. 285, 286, §§ 487, 488.

Speaking of the variety in the physical constitution of the planets, the author takes occasion to notice the scope thus afforded to Divine benevolence, in providing for the happiness of sentient beings:—

"Three features principally strike us as necessarily productive of extraordinary diversity in the provisions by which, if they be, like our earth, inhabited, animal life must be supported. These are, first, the difference in their respective supplies of light and heat from the sun; secondly, the difference in the intensities of the gravitating forces which must subsist at their surfaces, or the different ratios which, on their several globes, the *inertiæ* of bodies must bear to their *weights;* and, thirdly, the difference in the nature of the materials of which, from what we know of their mean density, we have every reason to believe they consist. The intensity of solar radiation is nearly seven times greater on Mercury than on the Earth, and on Uranus 330 times less; the proportion between the two extremes being that of upwards of 2,000 to 1. Let any one figure to himself the condition of our globe, were the sun to be septupled, to say nothing of the greater ratio! or were it diminished to a seventh, or to a 300th of its actual power! Again, the intensity of gravity, or its efficacy in counteracting muscular power and repressing animal activity, on Jupiter, is nearly two and a half times that on the Earth; on Mars not more than one-half; on the Moon one-sixth; and on the smaller planets probably not more than one-twentieth,—giving a scale of which the extremes are in the proportion of sixty to one. Lastly, the density of Saturn hardly exceeds one-eighth of the mean density of the Earth, so that it must consist of materials not much heavier than cork. Now, under the various combinations of elements so important to life as these, what immense diversity must we not admit in the conditions of that great problem, the maintenance of animal and intellectual existence and happiness, which seems, so far as we can judge by what we see around us in our own planet, and by the way in which every corner of it is crowded with living beings, to form an unceasing and worthy object for the exercise of the Benevolence and Wisdom which preside over all!"—Pp. 299, 300, § 508.

The tenth chapter treats of satellites, and the eleventh of comets. The comet of Encke, which is one of the very few which have elliptic orbits, and makes its revolution in the short period of 1,211 days, affords the only incontestable evidence of a fluid medium, called ether, pervading all space.

"On comparing the intervals between the successive perihelion passages of this comet, after allowing in the most careful and exact manner for all the disturbances due to the actions of the planets, a very singular fact has come to light, namely, that the periods are continually diminishing, or, in other words, the mean distance from the sun, or the major axis of the ellipse, dwindling by slow and regular degrees at the rate of about $0^d.11$ per revolution. This is evidently the effect which would be produced by resistance experienced by the comet from a very rare ethereal medium pervading the regions in which

it moves; for such resistance, by diminishing its actual velocity, would diminish also its centrifugal force, and thus give the sun more power over it to draw it nearer. Accordingly this is the solution proposed by Encke, and at present generally received. It will, therefore, probably fall ultimately into the sun, should it not first be dissipated altogether,—a thing no way improbable when the lightness of its materials is considered."—P. 340, § 577.

We quote the following interesting passage at the conclusion of the chapter upon comets:—

"It is by no means merely as a subject of antiquarian interest, or on account of the brilliant spectacle which comets occasionally afford, that astronomers attach a high degree of importance to all that regards them. Apart even from the singularity and mystery which appertains to their physical constitution, they have become, through the medium of exact calculation, unexpected instruments of inquiry into points connected with the planetary system itself, of no small importance. We have seen that the movements of the comet of Encke, thus minutely and perseveringly traced by the eminent astronomer whose name is used to distinguish it, has afforded ground for believing in the presence of a resisting medium filling the whole of our system. Similar inquiries, prosecuted in the cases of other periodical comets, will extend, confirm, or modify our conclusions on this head. The perturbations, too, which comets experience in passing near any of the planets, may afford, and have afforded, information as to the magnitude of the disturbing masses, which could not well be otherwise obtained. Thus the approach of this comet to the planet Mercury, in 1838, afforded an estimation of the mass of that planet the more precious, by reason of the great uncertainty under which all previous determinations of that element laboured. Its approach to the same planet in the present year (1848) will be still nearer. On the 22d of November their mutual distance will be only fifteen times the moon's distance from the earth."—P. 356, § 598.

One of the most able papers upon the tails of comets, has appeared recently in Silliman's Journal, by Professor Norton, of Newark College, in Delaware. There was also, a few years since, in the same Journal, a theory of the tails of comets, which deserves more attention than it has received. It is, that the rarer parts of the nucleus of the comet act as a lens, through which the light of the sun being transmitted, the rays, crossing each other, illuminate the particles of ether beyond the comet, or on the side opposite to the sun. A regular comet's tail may be seen every night from the brilliant light upon the top of the American Museum in this city, which is most distinct when the atmosphere is filled with particles of moisture. The rapid movement of the tail, contrary to all the laws of matter, gives much plausibility to this theory.

"The tail of the great comet of 1680, immediately after its perihelion passage, was found by Newton to have been no less than 20,000,000 of leagues in length, and to have occupied only two days in its emission from the comet's body! a decisive proof this of its being darted forth by some active force, the origin of which, to judge from the direction of the tail, must be sought in the sun itself."—P. 332, § 566.

And again:—

"In no respect is the question as to the materiality of the tail more forcibly pressed on us for consideration, than in that of the enormous sweep which it makes round the sun in perihelio, in the manner of a straight and rigid rod, in defiance of the law of gravitation, nay, even of the received laws of motion, extending (as we have seen in the comets of 1680 and 1843) from near the sun's surface to the earth's orbit, yet whirled round unbroken; in the latter case through an angle of 180° in little more than two hours. It seems utterly incredible that in such a case it is one and the same material object which is thus brandished."—P. 357, § 599.

The tails occasionally seen directed towards the sun, may be produced by reflection from an inner stratum of the nucleus under favourable circumstances, and the various capricious appearances of the tails may be caused by accidental changes, the result of explosive or other actions in the comet's surface.

Part 2d, which commences at chapter twelve, is a long and laboured exposition of the subject of planetary perturbations, occupying one hundred and twenty-six pages. This is a novel experiment, and would be so for treatises which profess to require much more mathematical knowledge than the present one does. It requires much patience to follow the author through the whole of this part of his work; and it may be questionable whether the result is proportionate, inasmuch as, after all, only an idea of the nature of the perturbations is gained, and not the modes of calculating them.

Under the head of perturbations of Uranus, the author introduces a somewhat minute account of the discovery of the planet Neptune, the Theoretic planet, as it has been called. The ordinary problem is as follows: Given the elements of the orbit of disturbing body and those of a disturbed body, to find the amount of disturbance as affecting each of the elements of the latter. Adams and Leverrier reversed this problem, taking for data the elements of the orbit of the disturbed body and their perturbations, to find the elements of the orbit of the disturbing planet, which had never yet been seen. The problem was simplified by assuming the mean distance of the unknown planet about double that of Uranus, in accordance with Bode's empirical law:—

"The idea, however, of setting out from the observed anomalous deviations, and employing them as data to ascertain the distance and situation of the unknown body, or, in other words, to resolve the inverse problem of perturbations, '*given the disturbances to find the orbit, and place in that orbit*, of the *disturbing planet*,' appears to have occurred only to two mathematicians, Mr. Adams in England and M. Leverrier in France, with sufficient distinctness and hopefulness of success to induce them to attempt its solution. Both succeeded, and their solutions, arrived at with perfect independence, and by each in entire ignorance of the other's attempt, were found to agree in a surprising manner when the nature and difficulty of the problem are considered; the

calculations of M. Leverrier assigning for the heliocentric longitude of the disturbing planet for the 23d of Sept. 1846, 326° 0′, and those of Mr. Adams (brought to the same date) 329° 19′, differing only 3° 19′; the plane of its orbit deviating very slightly, if at all, from that of the ecliptic.

"On the day above mentioned—a day forever memorable in the annals of astronomy—Dr. Galle, one of the astronomers of the Royal Observatory at Berlin, received a letter from M. Leverrier, announcing to him the result he had arrived at, and requesting him to look for the disturbing planet in or near the place assigned by his calculation. He did so, and *on that very night actually found it.* A star of the eighth magnitude was seen by him and by M. Encke in a situation where no star was marked as existing in Dr. Bremiker's chart, then recently published by the Berlin Academy. The next night it was found to have moved from its place, and was therefore assuredly a planet. Subsequent observations and calculations have fully demonstrated this planet, to which the name of Neptune has been assigned, to be really that body to whose disturbing attraction, according to the Newtonian law of gravity, the observed anomalies in the motion of Uranus were owing. The geocentric longitude determined by Dr. Galle from this observation was 325° 53′, which, converted into heliocentric, gives 326° 52′, differing 0° 52′ from M. Leverrier's place. 2° 27′ from that of Mr. Adams, and only 47′ from a mean of the two calculations."—Pp. 477, 478, §§ 767, 768.

We had the following anecdote, in connexion with this first *sight* of the new planet, from fountain-head:—"A young American astronomer, who was studying at the Observatory of Berlin, asked Dr. Galle, when Leverrier's letter arrived, if he intended to look for the planet whose existence had been announced in such an unheard-of way? The doctor replied in the negative, characterizing the communication as French nonsense. 'Will you permit me, then, to look?' 'Certainly,' replied the doctor; and the young man took a light to go to the dome of the equatorial. 'If you will go,' said the doctor, 'I may as well accompany you?' They both went, the doctor placing himself at the telescope, and our young friend holding a map to read off the stars in the field of view. 'Is that all?' said the doctor, as he finished. 'All!' was the reply—'Es ist noch ein grosser Kerl,'* slowly enunciated the doctor; and this proved to be the hitherto unseen planet, one of the largest in the solar system.

Soon after the intelligence of this discovery reached America, Mr. Sears C. Walker, then of the Observatory at Washington, computed the orbit of the planet on the hypothesis of its differing little from a circle, from the few observations already obtained of its places, making use of the method of least squares, to eliminate as much as possible the effect of the inadequate data. The result was an orbit differing considerably from that announced by M. Leverrier. Tracing back the path of the planet, in accordance with his orbit, to the time when Lalande's celebrated catalogue of 50,000 stars was made, Mr. Walker discovered a star of the proper magnitude (about

* There is still a big fellow.

the ninth) occupying the very place which should have been occupied by the planet. He requested that the equatorial of the Washington Observatory might be turned to the spot, confident that this star would be found missing, believing it to be identical with the planet which must, of course, have disappeared from the place in question by its movement in its orbit. One or two cloudy nights were passed over impatiently. At length the sky became clear, the large equatorial was brought to bear upon the point of the heavens in question, and no star was to be seen. Professor Pierce, of Harvard, who happened to be in Washington about this time, was disposed to attribute the circumstance to error of observation on the part of Lalande, especially as the observation in question was marked with a dagger, Lalande's index of uncertainty. It appeared, however, on inspecting the manuscripts of Lalande in Paris, that he had made two observations of the star on two successive nights, and that in consequence of their giving different places for the star, he had marked the one which he selected doubtful. A strong confirmation this of Mr. Walker's hypothesis, as, if the star were really a planet, its places ought to differ slightly on two successive nights. This was an important discovery, inasmuch as it gave the arc of the orbit for fifty years, an immense advantage for determining with exactitude its elements.

Professor Pierce, on returning home, had the elements of the orbit computed from the Cambridge observation made by Mr. Bond, and on finding the results to agree with Mr. Walker's, set about examining the problem theoretically, as Messrs. Leverrier and Adams had done, assuming, however, a mean distance of thirty, which was much less than theirs. The results which he obtained agreed remarkably with the observed perturbations of Uranus. M. Leverrier had asserted that the mean distance could not be less than thirty-six; Mr. Adams told the writer of this article, he knew that it ought to be thirty,* within three weeks from the time of the discovery, by the Cambridge (England) observation of Mr. Challis. The merit of M. Leverrier's achievement has been called in question, in consequence of the wide difference between his theoretic orbit and the actual orbit of Neptune, as determined subsequently by observation. He attempts to show, however, that his results were as near the truth as the data which he had to go upon would permit, and calls attention to the fact, that his error is not so great, being only one-fifth of the whole, as was the error in the first discovered distance of the sun by the parallax of Mars, which was an error of one-fourth the whole distance.

Yet the only notice taken by our author of the agencies of Mr.

* In these numbers, the mean distance of the earth from the sun is the unit.

Walker and Professor Pierce, in setting this whole matter right, is given in a brief and unsatisfactory paragraph. Professor Pierce's name, in fact, is only mentioned in connexion with the determination of the mass of the planet by means of observations of its satellite with the large equatorial at Harvard, (page 482.)

Part Third of the work treats of Sidereal Astronomy. Chapter fifteenth, with which it commences, includes, amongst a variety of matter, the subject of the annual parallax of the fixed stars, which is unfolded very clearly and distinctly. We regret that we cannot cite the explanation in full.

The subject of *variable* STARS, with which the sixteenth chapter opens, is prefaced thus :—

"Now, for what purpose are we to suppose such magnificent bodies scattered through the abyss of space? Surely not to illuminate *our* nights, which an additional moon of the thousandth part of the size of our own would do much better, nor to sparkle as a pageant void of meaning and reality, and bewilder us among vain conjectures. Useful, it is true, they are to man as points of exact and permanent reference; but he must have studied astronomy to little purpose, who can suppose man to be the only object of his Creator's care, or who does not see in the vast and wonderful apparatus around us provision for other races of animated beings. The planets, as we have seen, derive their light from the sun; but that cannot be the case with the stars. These doubtless, then, are themselves suns, and may, perhaps, each in its sphere, be the presiding centre round which other planets, or bodies of which we can form no conception, from any analogy offered by our own system, may be circulating.

"Analogies, however, more than conjectural, are not wanting to indicate a correspondence between the dynamical laws which prevail in the remote regions of the stars and those which govern the motions of our own system. Wherever we can trace the law of periodicity—the regular recurrence of the same phenomena in the same times—we are strongly impressed with the idea of rotary or orbitual motion. Among the stars are several which, though no way distinguishable from others by any apparent change of place, nor by any difference of appearance in telescopes, yet undergo a more or less regular periodical increase and diminution of lustre, involving in one or two cases a complete extinction and revival. These are called periodical stars."—Pp. 520, 521, §§ 819, 820.

Our author gives a list of some forty variable stars, with descriptions of the more remarkable. His examination of the subject closes with an interesting conjecture :—

"What origin can we ascribe to these sudden flashes and relapses? What conclusions are we to draw as to the comfort or habitability of a system depending for its supply of light and heat on so uncertain a source? Speculations of this kind can hardly be termed visionary, when we consider that from what has before been said, we are compelled to admit a community of nature between the fixed stars and our own sun; and when we reflect that geology testifies to the fact of extensive changes having taken place at epochs of the most remote antiquity in the climate and temperature of our globe; changes difficult to reconcile with the operation of secondary causes, such as a different distribution of sea and land, but which would find an easy and na-

tural explanation in a slow variation of the supply of light and heat afforded primarily by the sun itself."—P. 527, § 830.

"The whole subject of variable stars is a branch of practical astronomy which has been too little followed up, and it is precisely that in which amateurs of the science, and especially voyagers at sea, provided with only good eyes, or moderate instruments, might employ their time to excellent advantage. It holds out a sure promise of rich discovery, and is one in which astronomers in established observatories are almost of necessity precluded from taking a part by the nature of the observations required."—Pp. 528, 529, § 832.

Many stars which appear single to the naked eye, on the application of the telescope to them are found to be composed of *two* or *more*:—

"To the amateur of Astronomy the double stars offer a subject of very pleasing interest, as tests of the performance of his telescopes, and by reason of the finely contrasted colours which many of them exhibit, of which more hereafter. But it is the high degree of physical interest which attaches to them, which assigns them a conspicuous place in modern Astronomy, and justifies the minute attention and unwearied diligence bestowed on the measurement of their angles of position and distances, and the continual enlargement of our catalogues of them by the discovery of new ones."—P. 534, § 839.

The physical connexion between the individuals of some of the *binary* stars was first discovered by accident, by Sir William Herschel, whilst engaged in the pursuit of parallax, which he hoped to detect, on the hypothesis that the smaller of these double stars being greatly more distant, and situated nearly behind the larger, its relative place would change by the motion of the earth in its orbit, which change would be due to parallax. He found, in many instances, the distance of the two stars from each other undergoing a change, as also the position in the heavens of the line joining them; but this change not completing its period in a year, but going on in the same direction for many years. This led to the discovery of what are termed binary systems; that is, suns revolving about each other, or rather about their common centre of gravity. A list of fourteen of these binary systems is given, with the elements of the orbits.* Their periods of revolution vary from thirty-one to seven hundred and thirty-six years:—

"Many of the double stars exhibit the curious and beautiful phenomenon of contrasted or complementary colours.† In such instances, the larger star is usually of a ruddy or orange hue, while the smaller one appears blue or

* These are calculated from the distance apart and angle of position, measured with a position micrometer, at distant intervals of time. The angle of position is the angle which a line joining the two stars makes with the declination circle of the larger.

† "——————— other suns, perhaps,
With their attendant moons thou wilt descry,
Communicating male and female light,
(Which two great sexes animate the world,)
Stored in each orb, perhaps, with some that live."
Paradise Lost, viii, 148.

green, probably in virtue of that general law of optics, which provides, that when the retina is under the influence of excitement by any bright, coloured light, feebler lights, which seen alone would produce no sensation but of whiteness, shall for the time appear coloured with the tint complementary to that of the brighter. Thus a yellow colour predominating in the light of the brighter star, that of the less bright one in the same field of view will appear blue; while, if the tint of the brighter star verge to crimson, that of the other will exhibit a tendency to green—or even appear as a vivid green, under favourable circumstances. The former contrast is beautifully exhibited by ε Cancri—the latter by γ Andromedæ, both fine double stars. If, however, the coloured star be much the less bright of the two, it will not materially affect the other. Thus, for instance, η Cassiopeiæ exhibits the beautiful combination of a large white star, and a small one of a rich ruddy purple. It is by no means, however, intended to say, that in all such cases one of the colours is a mere effect of contrast, and it may be easier suggested in words. than conceived in imagination, what variety of illumination *two suns*—a red and a green, or a yellow and a blue one—must afford a planet circulating about either; and what charming contrasts and 'grateful vicissitudes,'—a red and a green day, for instance, alternating with a white one and with darkness,—might arise from the presence or absence of one or other, or both, above the horizon. Insulated stars of a red colour, almost as deep as that of blood, occur in many parts of the heavens, but no green or blue *star* (of any decided hue) has, we believe, ever been noticed unassociated with a companion brighter than itself."—Pp. 543, 544, § 851.

We come now to a subject, under the vastness of which the mind staggers:—

"No one, who reflects with due attention on the subject, will be inclined to deny the high probability, nay, certainty, that the *sun* as well as the stars must have a proper motion in *some* direction; and the inevitable consequence of such a motion, if unparticipated by the rest, must be a slow *average* apparent tendency of all the stars to the vanishing point of lines parallel to that direction, and to the region which he is leaving, however greatly individual stars might differ from such average by reason of their own peculiar proper motion. This is the necessary effect of perspective; and it is certain that it must be detected by observation, if we knew accurately the apparent proper motions of all the stars, and if we were sure that they were independent, that is, that the whole firmament, or at least all that part which we see in our own neighbourhood, were not drifting along together, by a general *set*, as it were, in one direction, the result of unknown processes and slow internal changes going on in the sidereal stratum to which our system belongs, as we see motes sailing in a current of air, and keeping nearly the same relative situation with respect to one another.

"It was on this assumption, tacitly made indeed, but necessarily implied in every step of his reasoning, that Sir William Herschel, in 1783, on a consideration of the apparent proper motions of such stars as could at that period be considered as tolerably (though still imperfectly) ascertained, arrived at the conclusion that a relative motion of the sun among the fixed stars in the direction of a point or parallactic apex, situated near λ Herculis, that is to say, in R. A. $17^h\ 22^m = 260^\circ\ 31'$, N. P. D. $63^\circ\ 43'$ (1790,) would account for the chief observed apparent motions, leaving, however, some still outstanding and not explicable by this cause."—P. 546, §§ 583, 584.

Subsequent investigations by the best observers and ablest astronomers have confirmed this result, fixing the precise direction of the motion of the solar system with greater accuracy.

Not long since, the discovery of the centre about which that portion of the universe which constitutes the *Milky Way* was revolving, was announced to have been made by Maedler, of Dorpat. He (1.) supposes this centre to be somewhere in the Galactic circle, or circle marked out on the heavens by the Milky Way: (2.) That it is in a circle, the pole of which is at the point near λ Hercules, toward which the solar system is tending; and (3.) therefore near the intersection of these circles. On examining the stars in the neighbourhood, he is obliged to depart as far from this point as the constellation of the Pleiades, before he can find stars having their proper motions all in one direction, as those near the great centre must have, in consequence of the motion of the sun about it. The writer of this article found that the principal astronomers of Europe, most of whom he saw about a year since, placed very little confidence in this discovery of Maedler, which would seem to be indicated also by the following paragraph of our author:—

"Speculations of this kind have not been wanting in astronomy, and recently an attempt has been made by M. Mädler to assign the local centre in space, round which the sun and stars revolve, which he places in the group of the Pleiades, a situation in itself improbable, lying as it does no less than 26° out of the plane of the galactic circle, out of which plane it is almost inconceivable that any *general* circulation can take place. In the present defective state of our knowledge respecting the proper motion of the smaller stars, especially in right ascension, (an element for the most part far less exactly ascertainable than the polar distance, or at least which has been hitherto far less accurately ascertained,) we cannot but regard all attempts of the kind as to a certain extent premature, though by no means to be discouraged as forerunners of something more decisive."—P. 552, § 861.

The seventeenth chapter relates to *Clusters of Stars and Nebulæ*:—

"There are a great number of objects which have been mistaken for comets, and, in fact, have very much the appearance of comets without tails: small round, or oval nebulous specks, which telescopes of moderate power only show as such. Messier has given, in the *Connois. des Temps* for 1784, a list of the places of 103 objects of this sort; which all those who search for comets ought to be familiar with, to avoid being misled by their similarity of appearance. That they are not, however, comets, their fixity sufficiently proves; and when we come to examine them with instruments of great power, —such as reflectors of eighteen inches, two feet, or more in aperture,—any such idea is completely destroyed. They are then, for the most part, perceived to consist entirely of stars crowded together so as to occupy almost a definite outline, and to run up to a blaze of light in the centre, where their condensation is usually the greatest. Many of them, indeed, are of an exactly round figure, and convey the complete idea of a globular space filled full of stars, insulated in the heavens, and constituting in itself a family or society apart from the rest, and subject only to its own internal laws. It would be a vain task to attempt to count the stars in one of these *globular clusters*. They are not to be reckoned by hundreds; and on a rough calculation, grounded

on the apparent intervals between them at the borders, and the angular diameter of the whole group, it would appear that many clusters of this description must contain, at least, five thousand stars, compacted and wedged together in a round space, whose angular diameter does not exceed eight or ten minutes; that is to say, in an area not more than a tenth part of that covered by the moon.

"Perhaps it may be thought to savour of the gigantesque to look upon the individuals of such a group as suns like our own, and their mutual distances as equal to those which separate our sun from the nearest fixed star: yet, when we consider that their united lustre affects the eye with a less impression of light than a star of the fourth magnitude, (for the largest of these clusters is barely visible to the naked eye,) the idea we are thus compelled to form of their distance from us may prepare us for almost any estimate of their dimensions. At all events, we can hardly look upon a group thus insulated, thus *in seipso totus, teres, atque rotundus*, as not forming a system of a peculiar and definite character."—P. 556, 557, §§ 865, 866.

"Double nebulæ occasionally occur—and when such is the case, the constituents most commonly belong to the class of spherical nebulæ, and are in some instances undoubtedly globular clusters. All the varieties of double stars, in fact, as to distance, position, and relative brightness, have their counterparts in double nebulæ; besides which, the varieties of form and gradation of light in the latter afford room for combinations peculiar to this class of objects. Though the conclusive evidence of observed relative motion be yet wanting, and though from the vast scale on which such systems are constructed, and the probable extreme slowness of the angular motion, it may continue for ages to be so, yet it is impossible, when we cast our eyes upon such subjects, or on the figures which have been given of them, to doubt their physical connexion. The argument drawn from the comparative rarity of the objects in proportion to the whole extent of the heavens, so cogent in the case of the double stars, is infinitely more so in that of the double nebulæ. Nothing more magnificent can be presented to our consideration than such combinations. Their stupendous scale, the multitude of individuals they involve, the perfect symmetry and regularity which many of them present, the utter disregard of complication in thus heaping together system upon system, and construction upon construction, leave us lost in wonder and admiration at the evidence they afford of infinite power and unfathomable design."—Pp. 567, 568, §§ 878.

One of the principal achievements of the great reflector of Lord Rosse, is the discovery of what he terms *Spiral Systems*. The following is an account of one of these:—

"The 51st nebula of Messier, viewed through an 18 inch reflector, presents the appearance of a large and bright globular nebula, surrounded by a ring at a considerable distance from the globe, very unequal in brightness in its different parts, and subdivided through about two-fifths of its circumference as if into two laminæ, one of which appears as if turned up towards the eye out of the plane of the rest. Near it (at about a radius of the ring distant) is a small bright round nebula. Viewed through the 6 feet reflector of Lord Rosse, the aspect is much altered. The interior, or what appeared the upturned portion of the ring, assumes the aspect of a nebulous coil or convolution tending in a spiral form towards the centre, and a general tendency to a spiroid arrangement of the streaks of nebula connecting the ring and central mass which this power brings into view, becomes apparent, and forms a very striking feature. The outlying nebula is also perceived to be connected by a

narrow, curved band of nebulous light with the ring, and the whole, if not clearly resolved into stars, has a 'resolvable' character which evidently indicates its composition."—Pp. 569, 570, § 882.

Another feat of this enormous instrument has been the resolution of the great nebula in Orion, and the consequent overturning of one of the bases upon which rests the celebrated nebular theory of Laplace.

The Fourth Part, which contains but one chapter, relates to the different kinds of time and the calendar. With this the work concludes.

In the Christian Examiner for September is a review of Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy, supposed to be from the pen of a young American astronomer, for whom we anticipate a very brilliant career. It treats the work with great severity, and its strictures, which are numerous, are in the main just, especially those relating to the parts which treat of Cometary orbits and the discovery of the planet Neptune. How far an eminent writer is excusable for inaccuracy in some of the details of his science, to which his attention may not have been particularly drawn, we shall not attempt to decide. One thing is certain, that no eye would be more sure to detect errors in the recently discovered planetary and cometary orbits, than that of the reviewer in question, who, if we are not mistaken in the person, has been most industriously and successfully occupied with these matters during the last two years.

We could ourselves, if disposed to be hypercritical, find many faults. It is easier to do this than to produce an unexceptionable work for popular reading upon such a science.

We have preferred to give such an analysis of the work as should at the same time convey an idea of the present improved state of astronomy. The impression left upon the mind after the contemplation, is one of the vastness of the field which is opened, and the immense amount which still remains to be done in this stupendous science. Every one, however humble his sphere, who contributes anything towards its improvement, confers a possession for eternity, for it becomes incorporated in the great mass of intelligence which has been accumulating and preserving for ages, and which it is impossible to conceive can ever be lost by any of the vicissitudes of human affairs. It is in the hope of exciting a more general taste for astronomical pursuits—pursuits so ennobling and so rich in their immediate rewards to those who engage in them—that the preceding pages have been prepared, and for which the appearance of a work from such a high source, designed for the instruction of the uninitiated, afforded a fitting occasion.

Art. III.—CAMPBELL'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

1. *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell.* Edited by William Beattie, M. D., one of his Executors. In two vols., 12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.
2. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell, complete; with a Memoir, &c.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1845.

The republication in this country of the "Life and Letters" of Thomas Campbell makes this a fitting occasion to take a passing notice of his personal and literary history. Among the heavy taxes imposed on greatness, not the least onerous is that levied by the biographer. No sooner does the child of genius or renown go down to the house appointed for all the living, than this public administrator seizes upon all his *memorabilia*, and proceeds to appropriate them for the benefit of his heirs at law,—to wit, the great public. The task is generally performed either with a deep veneration for the illustrious dead, or else with a patronizing officiousness, as if the sun had indeed consented to act as usher for the morning star. Very few, however, can afford to have the secrets of their private affairs thrown open to the gaze of an unsympathizing public. There are joys and sorrows that belong exclusively to the domestic and social being, with which the world ought not to intermeddle, and into which it is not often inclined to intrude, unless invited by the excessive communicativeness of ostentatious sorrow.

Biographies of persons recently deceased are generally productions *pro tempore*,—a further lapse of time is requisite to remove the object a little way from the beholder, that it may be contemplated as a whole as well as in its details. Such temporary memoirs, however, answer a valuable purpose in preserving and making accessible the materials out of which, in due time, the real biographer will construct his work. Much discrimination is required in making such collections of memoirs, for, since they are designed for the public, they should contain nothing that does not properly belong to that distinguished personage. The man who, in the privacy of domestic or social life, should never do or say anything unfit to be made public, might be a very safe man, but he would also be a very reserved, if not indeed an austere one; and any other than such a one could suffer no greater calamity, in his posthumous fame, than to fall into the hands of some admirer, who, with more zeal than judgment, should, *à la Boswell*, expose to public gaze the picture of his private life.

The "Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell" is a work in some degree obnoxious to these criticisms. Dr. Beattie, the compiler,

was the intimate personal friend of the poet during the later years of his life, and an ardent admirer of his genius; was appointed one of the executors in his will, and by consent of surviving friends, became his biographer. Of course, he came to his literary task with much zeal, and has pursued it with an unfailing interest. But while he everywhere manifests the interest that he himself feels, he fails to communicate it to the reader, who is often only a spectator when he should be a participant of the joys or sorrows of the occasion. He seems to have thought that whatever Campbell had said or done, ought to be remembered and admired, and, therefore, that it was his duty to detail everything for public use; and though the example of his admired subject is evidently an unsafe one, yet are his faults and follies all spread out before us, but with so kind a hand as to seem only as the venial aberrations of a gifted spirit, or the exuberances of genius. This method of writing biography is most pernicious. Either let the faults of the sons of genius be forgotten, or, if they must be remembered, let them be branded with their real character, lest the lustre of mental greatness gild the deformities of vice, and cause crime itself to appear no longer odious.

As a writer, Dr. Beattie is not destined to attain great eminence. He is fitted rather to be the companion of literary men than to assume a high place as one of the craft. He has more taste than genius,—and his taste is rather appreciative than discriminating. Yet has he given us a very readable work,—too large, indeed, by nearly one-half, which is so common a fault among that class of books, that it must be endured as a kind of destiny. But in this case the reader may readily abridge for himself by omitting any portion of the documentary matter with which these volumes abound,—unless, indeed, he fears that he may lose some of the good things that are scattered among these voluminous extracts. The work will unquestionably find readers.

With these notices of the work spoken of above, we take leave of it for the present, designing to devote this paper rather to the subject than to the book,—the life and literary history of Thomas Campbell the poet.

The old Scottish crone was somewhat in error, who, when her little grandchild read to her the story of the patriarch of Uz, at the mention of the three thousand camels, exclaimed, "Och, lassie! the *caumels* are an auld clan, then,"—for, in fact, the Campbells were among the most recent of all the clans of Scotland, dating back no further than the eleventh century. Among the adventurers who followed the Norman Conqueror into England was Gilespie de

Camille, who afterward engaged in the service of the king of Scotland, in which service he

> "—— won the Lady of the west,
> The daughter of Macaillan Mor,"

and with her the lairdship of Lochawe. From that stock sprang the famous clan of the Campbells. The line of their chieftains may be traced downward through Sir Neil, a contemporary and compatriot of Robert Bruce, to Archibald, whose name stands as a pillar of history in the records of his clan. This Archibald died in 1360, leaving three sons;—Colin, who succeeded to the honours of the family,—Tavis, ancestor of Dunardric,—and Iver, from whom sprang the Campbells of Kirnan, the family of Thomas Campbell. The fame of the poet, however, rests but slightly upon his ancestry, and he had the good sense not to pride himself upon a title so precarious. Only once is the subject introduced in his poems, and then with a highly commendable modesty. In his "Lines on Receiving a Seal with the Campbell Crest," after denominating that crest the same—

> "That erst the adventurous Norman wore,"

he adds,—

> "Yet little might I prize the stone,
> If it but typed the feudal tree,
> From whence, a scatter'd leaf, I'm blown
> On Fortune's mutability."

Before the birth of the poet, (Sept. 27, 1777,) the family estate at Kirnan had been alienated. His father was the youngest of three brothers, all of whom went from home to better their fortunes. Robert, the oldest, went to England, and was a political writer under Walpole's administration, but sunk into obscurity upon the decline of that minister, and afterward died in penury. Archibald, the second brother, came to America, and was settled as a Presbyterian minister in Westmoreland, Virginia, where he died in 1795, full of years, and greatly honoured. Alexander, the father of the poet, having been bred to the mercantile profession, followed his brother to Virginia, and was for several years occupied as a merchant at Falmouth, in that State. He then returned to his native country, and established himself in his profession, in the city of Glasgow, where he married when past middle life, and afterward reared a large family. His business, being mostly in American trade, was ruined by the war of the Revolution, so that he was greatly embarrassed during his subsequent life-time, and at last died in poverty. He was a man of singular integrity of character, and, true to the reli-

gious affinities of his countrymen, he was a Presbyterian. In after times, his gifted but more wayward son used to speak of his father's daily family devotions, and pronounce them the most correct and eloquent extempore prayers to which he had ever listened.

Thomas was the youngest of eleven children that were born to his parents,—the son of his father's old age, and peculiarly an object of parental affection and earnest hope. His father's smiles were always most radiant when they beamed upon his boy,—his junior by almost seventy years,—

> "While, like a new existence to his heart,
> That living flower uprose beneath his eye."

And even the native severity of his more youthful and energetic companion relaxed into fondness as she gazed upon the last of her progeny budding into adolescence before her. The feelings with which her indomitable spirit lingered around the object of her maternal affections and ambitious expectations are happily delineated in one of the most exquisite passages of the "Pleasures of Hope," —the mother's apostrophe to her sleeping infant:—

> "Sleep, image of thy father, sleep, my boy:
> No lingering hour of sorrow shall be thine,
> *No sighs that rend thy father's heart and mine;*
> Bright as his manly sire the son shall be,
> In form and soul; *but, ah! more blest than he:*
> Thy fame, thy worth, thy filial love at last,
> Shall soothe his aching heart for all the past—
> With many a smile my solitude repay,
> *And chase the world's ungenerous scorn away.*"

Johnson's observation relative to Goldsmith, that "he was a plant that flowered late," will not apply to Campbell; for he was evidently and eminently a vernal flower. His poetical genius was especially precocious, for at ten years old he produced verses of very considerable merit. His school exercises, consisting of translations from the classics, were rendered in verse, as a matter of preference, and large portions of the Latin poets were committed to memory. But the Greek became at length his favourite pursuit, and to the end of his life he seemed more ambitious of the reputation of a first-rate Greek scholar than of that of the first of English poets.

At thirteen years old he entered the University of Glasgow, where his progress was one uninterrupted triumph. Though the youngest member of his class, he won nearly all the first prizes; and in classics and belles-lettres he had no competitor. Not satisfied with his college triumphs, nor sufficiently occupied with the labour

they cost him, he was accustomed to indulge his satirical muse in good-natured attacks upon his rivals, and to touch off their several peculiarities with rather a free hand.

At sixteen, an event occurred that made a deep impression upon his mind, and probably gave direction to his subsequent career. He visited Edinburgh for the first time, and, while there, witnessed the trial and condemnation of a number of notable political offenders. The whole affair, with its attendant circumstances, was well adapted to impress the mind of a country youth possessed of a highly susceptible and active imagination. The stately eloquence of the advocate and counsel commanded his admiration; but the impassioned and highly eloquent address of one of the prisoners—who, passing by mere conventional forms, and appealing to a higher authority than legislatures can give, claimed for himself and his associates the inalienable rights of men—quite overwhelmed him. He returned home, and resumed his duties at the university, but he seemed a very different person from his former self. His wit and vivacity were replaced by a cold reserve and moping meditativeness. Politics for a season took the place of poetry, and "human rights" were more thought of by him than taste and philosophy. His application to his college duties, however, was rather increased than diminished, and the award of two prizes, at the ensuing examination, convinced his associates that if indeed he was mad, there was some "method in his madness."

During his fourth session at the university, the increasing exigencies of the family caused him to wish for some means by which to provide for his own subsistence. His father was bending over the grave, burdened with old age and accumulated misfortunes; and from the other members of the family our young student could expect but little assistance. He wished to gain a profession; but the relief promised in that direction was distant and problematical, while his case demanded a certain and speedy return. A situation was accordingly procured as tutor in the family of a widowed relative, Mrs. Campbell, of Sunipol, in Mull, one of the Hebrides. Here he devoted himself to his new duties, and divided his large intervals of leisure between his favourite classics and his out-door rambles. For these his situation was highly auspicious, for here he communed with nature in her sublimest aspects, and imbibed from the contemplation a deep and awful inspiration.

But it was a new and somewhat painful change of situation, for one so young and susceptible to be torn away from his cherished associations, and placed, almost in solitude, in his far-off island

retreat. The tedium of his summer's stay at Mull was, however, relieved by at least one "angel's visit," which, as it was the occasion of his first preserved poem, demands a passing notice. Miss Caroline F., daughter of a clergyman at Inverary, made a protracted visit to his patroness at Sunipol, and, of course, there grew up some intimacy between them; for nothing is more natural than

"Love in such a wilderness as this."

She was his junior by about a year, and her personal graces, both of form and manners, are described as sufficient to justify the admiration of the youthful poet, as uttered in his "Caroline." Of that poem, the first part was written during his stay at Mull, and the second was forwarded to the object of his earliest amorous aspirations the next summer. Of that affair we shall hear again by and by.

After a residence of five months at Sunipol, young Campbell returned to the university and resumed his studies, which, from this time, were of a more grave and serious cast than at any earlier period. He was especially interested with the lectures on Law and Jurisprudence, and his half-formed political notions were perfected from the models of the Pandects. So completely was he captivated by the ennobling beauties of the Justinian code, that with a full heart he gave himself to be a devotee at its shrine forever. For a while he was tutor in the family of Sir William Napier, at Downie, where he also continued his application to his favourite study and its kindred themes, anticipating, at the same time, the period when he should be able to pursue an easy independence in the law-offices of Edinburgh.

The anticipations of youth are like the blossoms of spring upon fruit-bearing trees, which are mostly destined to perish, yet are they lovely in their season, and of them come all the golden stores of autumn. So were young Campbell's expectations destined to perish, but not till he had dallied with the illusion, and, by anticipation, realized its pleasures. But disappointments, that in after life beget despondency and despair, are in youth only stimulants to greater efforts and to higher hopes. So in this case: there were no discouragements occasioned by disappointed hopes and thwarted purposes. He had also at this time an additional motive to noble aspirations,—one that often proves ennobling in itself, as well as a powerful incentive to self-respect and virtuous emulations. His susceptible heart had become the victim of a more pleasing, but not less controlling authority than even that of his muse, and his spirit revelled in an imaginary elysium, while he sang lays of love to the

Evening Star, that shone upon the "sweetly-scented road" of his own "Caroline." But the stern decree of poverty forbade him to press his earnest suit, which probably would not have been wholly unsuccessful, till at length one more favoured by fortune possessed the charms that had won his heart, and so he was freed from the witching toils of love.

The next year opened with brightening prospects upon the ardent spirit of Campbell; for a place was actually obtained in the office of an attorney in Edinburgh as copyist, and the highway to the legal profession lay plain before him. But he soon found the realities of legal practice so utterly unlike the ideas he had entertained respecting it, that after a few months he abandoned it in disgust. He next attempted to do something toward helping himself by his literary labours, but with very partial success. He, however, made the acquaintance of some of the most distinguished scholars of the Scotch metropolis, as well as gained an increased knowledge of men and of the world,—an acquisition that he greatly needed. A literary "job," undertaken for an Edinburgh bookseller, at length induced him to return to the country, where he spent most of the following winter. He also devoted himself anew to poetry, and his productions began to assume a remarkable vigour and a truly classical elegance. A portion of this winter was passed at the residence of Mr. Sterling, at Courdale, whose daughter played several Scottish airs very skilfully, to some of which Campbell composed appropriate songs. Among these was "The Wounded Hussar," a piece founded on an incident in one of the then recent battles on the Danube. This song immediately obtained a great and deserved popularity. It was sung in the streets of Glasgow, and soon found its way over the whole kingdom, and in its progress proved itself a successful rival to Burns' "Poor but Honest Soger," then all the rage throughout Scotland.

Upon his return to the capital the next spring, it began to be known that he had in hand a poem of considerable length, and in a state of forwardness approaching to completion. It was first recited among the young poet's youthful associates; but before many months had passed it had been read by most of the principal scholars in Edinburgh, and was especially admired and commended by Dr. Anderson, author of the "Lives of the British Poets."

It appears that the idea of such a poem was first conceived during his residence at Mull, though but little of it had been written before he came to Edinburgh, the year before the time now under consideration. During his stay in the country it had been prosecuted with new zeal, till it began to assume shape and proportions.

The favour expressed toward his unfledged bantling aroused the full powers of the young poet, and he recast, and in a manner reproduced the whole. A final revision was given to it under the judicious direction of Dr. Anderson, and the poem was pronounced finished. The introductory paragraph, as it then stood, was not exactly satisfactory to the rigidly correct taste of the friendly critic, and this he mentioned to the author, though he confessed his inability to suggest the needed improvement. One morning, soon after, the doctor called on his young friend, and though the morning was pretty far advanced, he found him still in bed, though sleepless and feverish. As soon as he entered the chamber, Campbell handed him a paper containing about a dozen lines, designed for an introduction to the new poem, instead of the first thirty as it stood before. The improvement was complete, so that what had before been considered a defective portion became one of the most beautiful of the whole poem.

From the day of its publication "The Pleasures of Hope" assumed a place among the first-class specimens of English poetry. It does not aspire to the venerable dignity of the epic,—a kind of poetical composition that has proved the field of adventure and defeat to many an ambitious aspirant to poetical eminence. It claims a place midway between that and the light ballad and sprightly song, and very successfully maintains that claim. Among productions of its own class, though the collection be so exclusively select that only Gray's "Elegy," and Goldsmith's two gems, and a few choice pieces from such great masters as Pope and Dryden, be admitted, we shall still find this poem, like a star, glittering in its own mild lustre, undimmed by the radiance of any other, and uneclipsed by the deep shades of the midnight heavens. After reading it, one is often at a loss to say what it is that has taken hold of his heart, and compelled him to admire even before he has consented to approve. Its theme, though naturally poetical, is, from its constant recurrence, somewhat common-place; and the images presented in its picture-gallery are little more than painted and burnished truisms. As a composition, it is a patch-work,—a mosaic—whose several parts, though naturally distinct, are so conjoined, that they seem to have been originally designed for the places they severally occupy. This is the triumph of the "art divine," and indicates the presence of real genius more surely than a thousand tumid descriptions of the sublime or terrible.

As a specimen of literary art, the "Pleasures of Hope" has many and decided excellences. Its versification, though it lacks the flexible smoothness of some of Pope's best pieces, or the fresh-

ness and naturalness of Goldsmith's, has fewer positive faults than that of almost any other writer; while it presents, in a high degree of perfection, many of the best properties of English verse. If, as some may be inclined to say, the author had less of the original elements of a poet than some others of much less reputation, his defect of creative genius was wonderfully compensated by his artistical ability. But even this excellence appears sometimes to be in excess, as the work bears the mark of the hand of the artist, and is rendered somewhat stiff by too much smoothing and polishing. This defect, however, is not a prominent one, nor such as obviously to characterize the poem, which is instinct with the very life of poetry, and makes its appeals directly to the deep feelings of the soul.

In moral and religious tone, this poem is deserving of our decided commendation. The author was yet under the influence of the good old Presbyterian elder of Clutha, and felt the impression of those fervid devotions that afterward so commanded his admiration; nor had he forgotten the lessons that he had learned from the Scriptures and the "Shorter Catechism." Many of his happiest illustrations are from Biblical subjects; and throughout the poem there is a most gratifying absence of even covert profanity and obscenity, and a reverential deference to Christian truth and morals, that cannot fail to please all who desire to see good taste in unison with good morals and Christian piety.

The success of "The Pleasures of Hope" was instantaneous and complete. Campbell was soon brought into acquaintance with the principal wits of the capital,—among whom were Dr. Gregory, Mackenzie, Dugald Stuart, Alison, and Telford. With Sir Walter Scott he had before enjoyed an intimacy, which now became closer; and with characteristic good-nature Scott delighted to introduce his young friend to the first circles in Edinburgh.

As has often been the case with the most successful literary productions, the copy-right of the "Pleasures of Hope" was sold for an inconsiderable sum. It ran through two editions very rapidly, and brought a golden harvest to the publisher, who, with a rare liberality, then permitted the author to issue a superb edition for his own benefit. His finances were thus greatly improved, and, at the same time, a permanent reputation obtained, that secured his future success in the profession of letters.

The changed circumstances of the young poet now enabled him to realize a wish that had been long, but hitherto almost hopelessly indulged by him;—that was, to visit the continent. His attention had been attracted by the fame of the German Universities, and he

earnestly desired to pursue his favourite studies at these celebrated seats of learning. Accordingly, after spending the year next following the issuing of his poem in a succession of rather aimless, but highly flattering engagements, he set out on his literary pilgrimage.

He passed over to Hamburg, where he was received by the British residents in a highly flattering manner; and a letter of introduction to Klopstock, who was then in Hamburg, brought him into an acquaintance with that great luminary, through whom he obtained a ready access to the inferior lights in literature in that place. It was his design to proceed directly to Jena, but as that city was then in the hands of the French, he was compelled to change his purpose, and accordingly he turned his course toward Ratisbon. His arrival at that place was highly opportune,—not, however, for the prosecution of his studies, but for the attainment of a higher class of ideas and impressions than can be acquired from books.

Three days after his arrival, Ratisbon was taken by the French forces, after a stubborn and bloody engagement, of which he was an eye-witness. From an eminence near the city he witnessed the evolutions and manœuvring of the hostile forces previous to their collision; and at length the conflict itself, with its consequences of rout and slaughter. The impressions of that terrible day were deep and enduring. They may be still traced in some of his battle-pieces, which were composed soon afterward. Toward the latter part of his life he remarked, relative to this matter, "These impressions at seeing numbers of men strewn on the field of battle,—or, what was worse, seeing them in the act of dying, are so horrible to my memory that I study to banish them. At times, when I have been fevered and ill, I have awoke from night-mare dreams about these dreadful images." Copies of these images may doubtless be seen in such poems as "Hohenlinden," and the "Soldier's Dream."

The fall of Ratisbon placed Campbell in rather awkward circumstances. He was, however, treated with much courtesy by General Moreau and his officers, and permitted to go in and out through the city; yet he was actually a prisoner, as he could neither leave without great danger, nor while he remained have any communication with his friends. There were at that time very few British residents in that place of whose society he could avail himself; but there was a college of Scotch monks, of the order of St. James, whose hospitality he enjoyed during a portion of his stay at Ratisbon. But as both his religious and political sentiments were the antipodes of those of his ghostly entertainers, their communion was

not always the most cordial. But in the president of the monastery (Arbuthnot) he found a kind and faithful friend, of whom he has left an honourable memento, which is also an evidence of his own appreciation of the favours there received. In the "Ritter Bann" we have the following sketch, which is generally recognized as a picture of his reverend friend:—

> "There enter'd one whose face he knew,
> Whose voice he was aware
> He oft at mass had listen'd to
> In the holy house of prayer.
> 'Twas the abbot of St. James' monks,
> A fresh and fair old man;
> His reverend air arrested e'en
> The gloomy Ritter Bann."

It was his design to travel pretty extensively in Germany, accompanied by a young friend whom he expected from Edinburgh, but the unsettled state of affairs again frustrated his purposes. Before finally leaving Ratisbon, however, he made a hasty excursion to Munich, and returned again by the valley of the Iser; and as there were increasing indications of the renewal of hostilities, which would probably expose him to some inconvenience, and perhaps personal danger, he soon after returned to Leipsic, and thence to Altona. Here he found Anthony M'Cann, "the Exile of Erin," who, with several compatriots, for having been concerned in the local disturbances in Ireland, about 1798, had been forced to quit their native country, and were now residing at Altona. M'Cann had risen to a good degree of respectability in the home of his exile, and had even attained to a considerable estate, so that the picture given by the poet, describes rather what was the condition of the exiles at their first landing than anything that the poet witnessed; or, rather, it is most likely that he drew pretty largely on his imagination for the materials that he has used with such exquisite ability. The poet himself informs us, that it was after meeting M'Cann one evening on the banks of the Elbe, lonely and pensive at the thoughts of his situation, that he wrote the "Exile of Erin." The piece was highly appreciated by the exiles at Altona, and, having been set to music, it became a favourite at their convivial meetings. It was soon after sent over to the British Islands, where it at once became a universal favourite.

Campbell had at this time an engagement with the London Morning Chronicle to furnish poetical matter for that paper. Hitherto he had been hindered from performing that duty, but during his stay at Altona he devoted himself with much industry

to his engagement. The first piece of the series thus contributed was his "Lines Written on Visiting a Scene in Argyleshire." That piece was first written during his last visit to his father's residence in that part of the country, but was now, and by this medium, communicated to the public. The pictures that it presents of the desolations that had come upon "the home of his forefathers" are painfully true to nature, and impart an agreeable tinge of melancholy to that delightful production. The closing stanza contains a fine moral, and gives us some intimation of his own mental history at that period. It was about this time that his "Caroline" gave her hand to a more fortunate suitor than the youthful bard, and hence his occasion to rally his "dark spirit" to fortitude and hope:—

> "Through perils of chance, and the scowls of disdain,
> May thy front be unalter'd, thy courage elate!
> Yea! *even the name I have worshipp'd in vain*
> Shall awake not the sigh of remembrance again:
> To BEAR IS TO CONQUER OUR FATE."

"The Beech Tree's Petition" was the second of the series. Its story is briefly this:—In the kitchen-garden of a gentleman at Ardwell, near Craigie Burn, was a large and beautiful beech-tree, which, as it exhausted the soil, was doomed by the proprietor to the axe. But just before the sentence was to be executed, the garden was visited by a number of gentlefolks, who greatly admired the stately tree, and when they learned what had been decreed against it, they strongly remonstrated with the proprietor, and petitioned for a reversal of the sentence. Campbell was intimate with all the parties, and, at the request of some of the fair petitioners, reduced the remonstrance to the form and proportions of a poem. The petition did not fail of its purpose; the beech-tree was permitted to enjoy a green old age, even after it had suffered a poetical apotheosis. After this he forwarded to London, and thus gave to the public, "The Exile of Erin," "The Ode to Winter," the "Mariners of England," and the "Name Unknown." This list, with those before named, it will be seen, comprises many of Campbell's best pieces, and shows that at that early period he had attained to great maturity of thought, and a strength of genius that he scarce excelled in after life.

Though denied the much-coveted privilege of studying at the German universities, he devoted himself to the pursuit of the German language and literature, and even made some brief essays upon the interminable ocean of German philosophy. He actually studied Kant for three months, presuming, all the while, that as every-

body about him extolled the work, there must be some latent excellence about it that he would find at length; but having sought in vain for so long a time, he had the sense to abandon the pursuit, and the honesty to declare his want of success. A closing remark in the letter in which he humorously narrates his ill success in studying Kant, shows that his failure was not for want of either acuteness of perception or ripeness of judgment. "In belles-lettres," he remarks, "the German language opens a richer field than in their philosophy."

Though Campbell's visit to the continent seemed to be ill-timed, and his return premature, yet his time and expense were well remunerated by what he saw and learned. He visited some of the principal cities of Germany, and saw much of German life and manners, and—which he could have done at scarcely any other time—he saw two battle-fields,—one (that near Ratisbon) during the action, and the other (Ingoldsby) very soon after the conflict had ceased. He did not, however, as is often supposed, witness the battle of Hohenlinden, which, indeed, did not occur till the year after his visit to the Danube.

Early in the spring of 1801 Campbell returned from the continent, going first to London, where he was very cordially received by a number of distinguished persons, who knew him only by his writings and through mutual friends. He had designed to spend some time in the metropolis, and, if possible, settle himself there in some remunerative employment; but the news of the decease of his venerable father, which met him in London, caused him to hasten at once to Edinburgh, to condole with his relatives in their common bereavement.

The death of his father increased his pecuniary embarrassments rather than brought him a patrimony, as the property consisted only of a life-annuity from a mercantile association of Glasgow; and the family, consisting of the mother and three unmarried sisters of the poet, were left in most destitute circumstances. With true generosity of heart, the youthful bard devoted himself to the care of his needy relatives,—a duty that he continued to perform as long as they had need of his kindness. These domestic affairs detained him most of the following year in Edinburgh, whither the family had removed before the death of his father. He also contemplated a second tour to the continent, in which he purposed to visit the south of Europe, and spend some time among the classical associations of Italy. His muse in the mean time was not idle. Having returned to London, he found a quiet retreat at the residence of a distant relative at Sydenham, where he produced, and

gave to the public, some of his most spirited and exquisite minor poems. Among these were "Hohenlinden" and "Lochiel," pieces that have very few equals among the works of their author or elsewhere.

Lochiel was the chief of the warlike clan of the Camerons, who embarked in the cause of the house of Stuart against the Hanoverian dynasty, in 1745. When the Pretender was about to raise his standard in Scotland, Lochiel hastened to his quarters to dissuade him from so desperate an enterprise; but failing to do this, he united his own fortune to that of his legitimate prince. The approach of the conflict that ensued is the point of time occupied by the poem. Lochiel is met by an old man, gifted with the faculty of "second sight," who warns him of the certain and terrible overthrow that awaits him. Increased energy is given to the predictions of this wizard by the fact, that the whole scene was then passing in vision before him. There is a terrible directness in the vaticinations of this mysterious seer that might well carry terrors to the heart of the superstitious; but the responses of the chieftain are bold and haughty, though they betray some signs of doubt, which, however, are checked and overborne by a desperate purpose to peril everything in the coming conflict.

This poem was principally written during a brief residence by the poet at the mansion of Lord Minto. As first issued, it was of little more than half its present length, and wanted some of the most spirited verses of the poem, as it now is. One evening, while it was in process of composition, he retired to rest rather early, with his head full of the "Warning," but unable to put into suitable shape the wizard's announcement of his prescience. But during the night he awoke, repeating the long-sought distich in a form that struck him as peculiarly felicitous. He arose hastily, rang the bell, and, calling for a light, wrote off his midnight inspirations:—

> "'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
> *And coming events cast their shadows before;*"

in which form this common idea has since been almost universally enunciated;—a high encomium on the poetical conception and felicitous diction of the author.

Two events of great interest in the history of the young poet occurred about this time. One of them was the receipt of a substantial mark of royal favour, in the shape of an annuity of two hundred pounds,—a much-needed, and yet much-to-be-deprecated boon; the other was his marriage to Miss Sinclair, the daughter of his kind host at Sydenham. This latter event, of course, put an

end to his notions of going abroad, at least for a season, and Sydenham continued to be his residence for a number of years afterward.

Early in 1809 Mr. Campbell published his second great poem, and the one that has more than any other of his works, especially in this country, given celebrity to his muse,—"Gertrude of Wyoming." Among the productions of pensioned poets this stands pre-eminent; and without considering any qualifying circumstances, it must always, upon its own intrinsic merits, claim a high place among the works of the muse.

The history of this chief production of its author, like that of all the works of genius, is full of interest. It seems that when the poet had become settled in his own quiet domicil at Sydenham, his mind aspired to some literary exercise more worthy of himself than writing fugitive articles for the ephemeral press. Writing to Scott, in the spring of 1805, he remarks:—"I want some tolerable poem—French or German—to translate, and I wish you to choose it for me; any one of about the size of six hundred or a thousand lines." At the end of the same letter is the following bit of news, which, though evidently designed to answer no ulterior purpose, is, in this connexion, somewhat suggestive:—"There is *a Mohawk Indian* in town, who whoops the war-whoop to ladies in drawing-rooms, and is the reigning rage of the town at this season." Two years later he was occupied with a new narrative poem, some hints for which he seems to have taken from a tale from the German of August Lafontaine, which afforded both the name of his heroine and some of the incidents of the story. In a letter to a female correspondent, written early the same year, he communicated a copy of some verses that he had then just written, which verses are now found, with only slight modifications, making an integral and highly valuable portion of "Gertrude," the portraiture of Albert of Wyoming, the "gentle Pennsylvanian sire." Of the design of the lines thus communicated, the poet observed:—"They relate directly and solely, indeed, to the most venerable of mankind; they were written from the contemplation of his character—from the impulse which his benign and beautiful countenance occasioned. . . . The case is, I was engaged, about the time of the afflicting intelligence, [of the death of Mr. Mayow, the father of his correspondent,] in a poem, where a character such as his is one of the most important; the description of serenity in mature life—of that composure which is not the result of indifference—but of the fire, fervour, and sensibility of earlier life, subdued and sweetened by reflection." The reader will not fail to recognize in the above

extract the features of the good old Pennsylvanian, nor to admire that portrait the more, when it is thus seen to be a transcript from the warm heart of the poet.

A few months later we find him in full chase about London, hunting for a copy of Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," "for references and authorities in a work in which I am engaged." The poem was now rapidly approaching to completion. It had been read in its unfinished state in a private circle of his friends as early as the preceding Christmas. In July, he wrote to a literary friend that he had "given some touches of his best kind to the Second Part;" and then adds,—"I am growing a great deal more sanguine about the poem, which shall be out (*D. v.*) about Christmas." It was not out, however, till early the next spring.

The appearance of the new poem created a great sensation among the author's numerous personal friends, especially those at Edinburgh. The proof-sheets were sent to Alison, "the man of taste," by whom they were shown to Dugald Stuart, Jeffrey the reviewer, Telford, and a few others of the poet's intimate friends. Alison was enraptured, and forthwith returned a letter of strongly expressed congratulations. Stuart insisted on reading it first by himself; which when he had done, he came back to his company "as pale as a ghost, and literally sick with weeping." Jeffrey received this new candidate for public favour with a critic's cautiousness, and examined it with the discrimination of a practised reviewer; and though he detected what he deemed several slight blemishes and defects, he, nevertheless, commended the whole production with more than a critic's fervour. But Mrs. Stuart would not abide the cool criticisms of the reviewer, but insisted that the poem was perfect; and instead of confessing that it was too short, as had been suggested,—which itself sounded more like praise than censure—she declared that she "could not have read one page more for the world." Telford was too deeply concerned for the success of the new-comer to be able to satisfy his own judgment, though he ventured, with great modesty, to intimate his approbation; and writing to some of the poet's London friends respecting its reception in Scotland, he suggested that "such unqualified praise will either drive him frantic, or make him complete the epic poem on 'Bruce,' which he has threatened before he closes his eyes."

"At length, finely printed in quarto, and inscribed to his steady friend and patron, Lord Holland, 'Gertrude of Wyoming' was introduced to the public. The first perusal of the poem justified the character that had preceded it; and the cordial reception of his

heroine formed a bright epoch in the poet's life. On the same day appeared a number of the Edinburgh Review, opening with a brilliant article on 'Gertrude,' and the genius of its author. . . . . The character of genuine poetry, as defined in this critical analysis, is illustrated by many of those striking passages in which the poem so much abounds; and in confirmation of the opinion then expressed, may now be added the testimony and experience of nearly forty years, during which 'Gertrude' has been adding to the number of her admirers, and still appears as fresh, and lovely, and intensely interesting, as on the day of her first coming out."

Criticisms on a production of such a fixed reputation may seem quite superfluous; we will, nevertheless, venture a few additional observations. The distinguishing characteristic of the poem is its *tenderness*. Though the plot is laid among scenes of blood and rapine, the imagery of the whole is rather pastoral than heroic. The landscape sketch of the lovely valley is truly Arcadian; and though remarkably true to nature, yet such is the poetic charm thrown over the whole scene, that it seems rather Paradisiacal than earthly. The power of genius to consecrate to taste and the tender sympathies of the heart, what else were entirely common, was never better illustrated than in the witching air of romance that this poem has given to the very name of Wyoming. The eagle-eyed critic may indeed detect slight inaccuracies,—sins against natural history, and possibly against minor facts,—but there is a higher and broader truthfulness pervading the entire poem, that commends it to every heart that is capable of appreciating its worth.

The characters of the principal persons of the drama are sketched with the hand of a master. They resemble pictures that seem to stand out from the canvass, clear and distinct in their own individuality. And what is especially remarkable, and very unusual, all the characters are good ones. This contributes largely to that tenderness just referred to, and yet it is so managed as not to sacrifice the appropriate tone and elevation of the piece. Where will three more manly characters be met with than are those of the male persons of this poem? And even Gertrude, all gentleness as she is, is not destitute of that degree of energy that renders beauty itself more attractive.

The venerable patriarch, Albert, "this gentle Pennsylvanian sire," is the very embodiment of dignified age; where child-like tenderness blends with unyielding integrity, and over the whole the mellowed radiance of life's sunset casts its own brightness. Gertrude, the heroine of the tale, is the genuine *beau-idéal* of rural loveliness. Delicate and sensitive in a high degree,—susceptible to

every natural and intellectual charm, yet artless and timid as the fawns of her own wilderness home, she charms by her intrinsic amiableness, and unconsciously steals into the approving sympathies of every reader. Waldegrave, too, though not so fully delineated, is a well-sustained character; a youth of high purposes of soul; endowed with a vigorous understanding, and adorned with varied learning, and the peculiar polish given by extensive observation,—brave, ardent, and chivalrous, yet gentle as the dove, and as tenderly constant to the object of his youthful attachments. But perhaps the best-sustained character of the group is the Oneida chief, the man of "monumental bronze."

> "A soul that pity *touch'd*, but never *shook;*
> Train'd from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,
> The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook
> Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—
> *A stoic of the woods—a* MAN *without a tear.*"

The attempt to delineate Indian character has often been made, and with very uniform want of success. Especially have endeavours to embody the peculiar sentiments of our aborigines in their own language been unsuccessful. Here, however, the thing is done; and the excellence of the result compensates amply for the difficulty of its attainment. The old chieftain, Outalissi, is a real Indian,—no bedizzened and tattooed imitation, lisping a few stiff set phrases, mere counterfeits of the "talk" of the sons of the forest. His words and figures, his sentiments and philosophy, (for he was at once a savage and a philosopher,) are all in character. Now he bends with native tenderness to gaze upon "the little footprints" of his loved *protégée*, and anon he rouses his "flower"

> "To pay with Huron's blood his father's scars,
> And gratulate his soul rejoicing in the stars."

The closing song of the old chief is worthy of a place among the grandest conceptions of genius. Every word is alive with poetic inspiration, and every line presents some striking trait of the Indian character; while through the whole runs a deep and rich vein of the æsthetical philosophy of the genuine native American. His bosom is heaved with deepest sorrow; yet he may not weep, for he is the son of a warrior; but his smothered sorrow shall vent itself in vengeance upon his enemies. Still, he seems half conscious that there is a luxury in weeping, though he may not enjoy it; and so he commends it to him

> "——— Whose breath was given
> By milder genii o'er the deep,"

since he may weep without offence to *his father's spirit*, and without incurring the reproach of "the Christian host." The characteristic gloom of his race again comes over him as he recurs to his own desolate condition,—the common destiny of his people, whether leagued with or against the white man,—and he finds even vengeance no longer sweet, since there are none of his tribe remaining to enjoy it with him. But in the gatherings of despair, his religious faith supplies the lack of other motives to deeds of daring, and to the exercise of his vindictive prowess:—

> "Even from the land of shadows now,
> My father's awful ghost appears,
> Amidst the clouds that round me roll,
> *He bids my soul for battle thirst.*"

Another characteristic of this poem, and, indeed, of nearly all Campbell's poetry, is equally obvious to the discriminating reader. Whether it should be esteemed a blemish or a beauty, we will not attempt to determine, but there certainly is a kind of obscurity,—a mistiness, hanging over this whole production. Though perspicuity is very generally esteemed essential to good writing, yet we are not sure that in this case the want of it is not rather an advantage; for as the blue vapours of the Indian summer that veils "fair Wyoming," give a magic charm to its autumnal landscape, so this haziness of the poetical atmosphere may heighten the beauties that it half conceals. Through this we may view the whole scene, not less certainly, but as in "a fairy perspective," and apparently somewhat removed from the beholder; and here, as elsewhere,—

> "'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

This, we presume, was wholly undesigned by the poet, whose overscrupulous taste was ill-satisfied with his own best effusions till corrected and polished at the expense of both their vivacity and perspicuity. He was accustomed to rewrite and condense his first sketches till they often became obscure, and sometimes stiff, and both these properties are plainly seen, especially in his more elaborate productions. A poet should never have more taste than genius: and, especially as a poet, his self-esteem should exceed his love of praise, that he may dare to issue his effusions in their original freshness and natural vivacity.

"Gertrude of Wyoming" was issued during the thirty-second year of the age of its author, and evinces a remarkably precocious maturity. This seems, too, to have been the culminating point in the ascent of the poet's genius; for though he lived the greater part of his entire life-time afterward, yet was his course from this point

one of rapid and continuous descent; and through all that protracted period of declension he remained little more than the shadow of his former self.

In 1810 appeared "O'Connor's Child," a spirited and well-told tale,—one of a class of compositions in which the writer especially delighted. This, too, was a worthy sequel to its more pretending predecessor.. The Irish legend has all the tenderness of the Pennsylvanian story, with greater intensity of passion, blending in pleasing harmony the strong impulses of love, madness, and despair. The pathetic element, however, predominates throughout, and every heart is moved to sorrow rather than to fury, while seeing and feeling that "the flower of love lies bleeding."

One other of Campbell's minor poems requires a notice in this review of his works,—"The Last Man." This was issued in the New Monthly, in 1823, and may be called the *last poem* of its author, for what he wrote afterward was rather verses than poetry. This poem has one distinguishing property,—its obscurity, which is so studiously and successfully developed that the whole production appears as an embodiment of "the majesty of darkness." Every reader asks, Who and what is this "Last Man" that is so effectually *adumbrated* by the poet? Is he a sophist, a sage, or a Christian? as he seems to exhibit some of the characteristics of both of the former two, and yet, in his final song of triumph, he identifies himself with the last. These inconsistencies, however, all contribute to the chief property and poetical excellence of the piece—its obscurity.

The resemblance between this poem and Byron's "Darkness" is obvious; and as this last-named was published first, it gave to the "Last Man" the appearance of an imitation. But it seems that if either poet was obliged to the other, it was Byron rather than Campbell. In a letter to a friend, soon after the appearance of his piece, in which he speaks of the resemblance of the two poems, Campbell remarks:—"Many years ago I had the idea of this 'Last Man' in my head, and distinctly remember speaking of the subject to Lord B.... I am entirely disposed to acquit Lord Byron of having intentionally taken my thoughts. It is consistent with my own experience to suppose that an idea that is actually one of memory may start up, appearing to be one of the imagination." This extract is valuable, as a sufficient vindication of the author from the suspicion of plagiarism, and also as a felicitous statement of a curious but veritable psychological phenomenon.

Campbell's life was throughout devoted to literary pursuits; and though the promises of his youth and early manhood were not

realized in middle life, yet was he always an able and accomplished scholar, especially in the *belles-lettres*. In 1814 he published "Specimens of the British Poets," in three octavo volumes,—a selection that evinces much good taste, and a thorough acquaintance with that department of English literature. Ten years later, he published "Theodric, a Domestic Tale," a poem of greater extent than any other of his pieces except his two principal ones. Upon this he bestowed the most elaborate care, that it might make the nearest possible approach to absolute perfection in its kind; and as, in other cases, his excessive carefulness left its unfavourable impress upon his works, so, in this, the soul of poetry is sacrificed to the drapery of verse. Tried by the rules of rhetoric, and the art of poetry, "Theodric" is nearly faultless, and, at the same time, it is almost equally destitute of the positive qualities of poetry,—a production as unlike the genuine inspiration of the muse as a wax figure is less beautiful than the living and breathing human form. Indeed, nearly all Campbell's later productions, of which there were many, are little better than lifeless forms, negatively faultless, but almost entirely destitute of poetical inspiration.

Campbell was for some years editor of the New Monthly Magazine; and afterward he conducted the Metropolitan for a short time. In 1827, and the two succeeding years, he was Lord-rector of Glasgow University. During the latter portion of his life he devoted his pen to prose writings, and gave to the public in succession, biographies of Mrs. Siddons, Shakspeare, Frederick the Great, and Petrarch. His other prose works are, "A History of the Reign of George the Third," and "Lectures on Greek Poetry." None of these works add anything to his literary reputation, and most of them serve only as mementoes of the premature decay of his genius. His whole history presents the image of an early flowering plant, which in spring-time arrests the admiring gaze of every passer-by, but presently fades, and remains, through summer and autumn, an unsightly stock. The painful truth cannot, and indeed should not, be concealed, that Campbell fell a sacrifice to his evil habits, and his towering genius was balked in its midway flight by the undue indulgence of his grosser appetites. He died at Boulogne, in June, 1845, and his body reposes, with the ashes of kindred bards, in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey.

Before dismissing this subject, as an act of mere justice, some notice should be taken of Campbell as a familiar correspondent. His memoirs are chiefly made up of these spontaneous effu-

sions from the soul; and through them, as it could not be done by any other means, do we gain the most complete acquaintance with the character of the man. His friendship was ardent, and his expressions wholly unreserved; and he possessed the rare faculty of throwing his whole soul into the epistolary sheet when addressing any of his numerous personal friends. His letters constitute an almost unbroken sketch of his life, and form the best literary history of his works; and if they often betray both his foibles and his faults, they also exhibit his human sympathies, and the unselfish generosity of a genuine poet's heart. These letters may be studied as models of that kind of composition in which it is least of all true, that words are designed to conceal the real sense of the soul.

The most rigid moralist must concede great praise to Campbell as an author, however much he may condemn the waywardness of the man. Every line of his poetry may be read in a mixed company without exciting a blush upon the cheek of the most fastidiously modest; and every sentiment may be presented to the susceptible heart of youth without danger to the moral character. It was his own consolation, when the evening shades of life were upon him, that he had written no line that could inflict pain upon any but the enemies of mankind, nor seduce even the most wavering from the paths of virtue. We believe, indeed, that the perusal of Campbell's poems would in most cases be followed by decidedly favourable effects upon the moral character of young persons; while few compositions in our language are better adapted to develop a delicate and correct literary taste. We regret that we have no really good American edition of these poems. That of the Philadelphia press is the best, and, for the purposes of a plain edition, answers very well. But we need an edition in style and dress corresponding to the essential value of the matter, and we look to the publishers of these volumes of "Life and Letters" to follow up that publication with an illustrated edition of the poetical works of Thomas Campbell, as an appropriate companion to their own illustrated editions of Milton, Cowper, Thomson, and Goldsmith.

Art. IV.—THE YOUNG MEN OF THE CHURCH.

The Gospel demands of every human being an unreserved consecration of body and soul, with all their energies and capabilities, throughout the entire period of his probation. In thus claiming for God *all* the services which a mortal man, aided by Divine grace, can render, it puts forth a claim upon any peculiar powers, endowments, or faculties with which he may be providentially endowed or intrusted. In asserting its rightful dominion over our entire earthly career, it proclaims the Divine right to reign with an undivided and unrivalled authority over each period of life. Every talent is confided to us under the tacit condition that it shall be used and improved in accordance with the will and design of the great Giver. Days, and months, and years, are added to our existence here below, because they supply us with more opportunities and advantages for working out our own salvation, and promoting the well-being of others; for building up the kingdom of Christ, and making manifest the glory of God. For the attainment of these high ends, much reliance is placed upon human exertion, and the physical and intellectual resources of every age and station are tasked to the uttermost. Even the morning of existence, and the childhood of religious life, are pressed into this great enterprise. "I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake." The glow, and out-bursting, joyous gratitude of the new-born soul—the fervours of his "first love"—the fresh lustre of his "beautiful garments," become potent agencies for good, and no more pleasant incense than his ever rises up to Heaven.

The mature piety and deep acquaintance with Divine things, which are the result of long experience and habitual communion with God, also have their special vocation under the Gospel economy. "I write unto you, fathers, because you know Him that is from the beginning." These "old disciples" constitute the link of connexion between the existing Christian church and the church of history, as well as between the church militant and the church triumphant. They are the channels through which the tide of spiritual life has flowed down upon us from the ages of the past. They are the depositaries of reverend traditions, and the conservators and models of orthodoxy in opinion and purity of life. Without being conscious of exercising so high a function, they have made the church what it is. Our Christianity, with all its excellencies as well as its im-

perfections, has been derived from theirs. It has, no doubt, undergone some modifications. It has, in some respects, deteriorated in our hands. In others, it has grown better; but, as a whole, it is a natural and fair derivation from the waning Christian age, to which a new and vigorous religious generation are rapidly succeeding. We sometimes unconsciously look upon the company of venerable disciples who move in the van of our heavenward march, as having really, and to all important ends, accomplished their warfare and won the victory. Should all others forsake the Saviour, they, we feel quite sure, will never participate in the crime, for they have lived unto God till religion has, through grace, become a sort of second nature, in which all their habits, and sentiments, and aspirations, and joys have their source and support. To turn them away from God and the heavenly inheritance must require some great moral convulsion. It would be like the annulment of the law of gravitation—like thrusting a rolling planet from its appointed orb. We do not subscribe to the inamissibility of grace, and the inevitable salvation of all souls once regenerated,—and yet we firmly believe that these fathers and mothers in Israel will never fall. They will abide in the old paths, whoever turns back. They remember the days of old. They "know Him that is from the beginning." So long, at least, as they live, there will be true witnesses. Their trumpet shall give a certain sound. They are living epistles of Christ, which shall continue to be read of all men. So long as they constitute a part of the life of the church, the church cannot lose its vitality. While their presence and prayers among us will certainly conciliate the Divine favour, and perpetuate a holy seed, they reprove our backslidings, and warn us of dangers, and recall us to the old landmarks of truth, and experience, and duty.

Let us thank God for so bright a manifestation of his grace in the fathers, who still bless and guide us by their counsels, and in the yet large company of mature, established Christians who still bear the burden and heat of the day. We may yet rejoice in their light for a season, and there will be days of mourning when these luminaries, so long our guides and exemplars, shall one after another be exalted to shed their radiance upon brighter, holier regions. It will, however, readily occur to the thoughtful reader, that the high qualities, in virtue of which aged, mature Christians fulfil for the church offices so conservative and salutary, are partially or wholly incompatible with the performance of other functions connected no less intimately with the spread and efficacy of the Gospel. Conservatism, which spontaneously clings to the past, is less

favourable to progress. Zeal for traditional or hereditary opinions or usages is often indiscriminate, and is prone to resist not rash innovations and pernicious novelties alone, but needful improvements. It is no slight calamity that befalls religion and human society, when venerable truths and ancient institutions are guarded with a morbid jealousy, which rejects new discoveries and salutary changes. The church, under such unpropitious circumstances, is in danger of losing its power and vitality, and of wasting its energies in idle contests for dogmas and forms, which, however true or Scriptural, are no longer of any special significance or utility, now that their life and spirit have departed from them. And here we have occasion to adore the infinite wisdom of the great Head of the Church, in employing for its edification such a variety of gifts and agencies. In His wonderful economy, men of all ranks and capacities co-operate harmoniously for the production of a common result, each fulfilling his own special and appropriate function, and, at the same time, supplying some deficiency, or checking some exaggerated action of his fellow-labourer. The rich and the poor have assigned to them their proper sphere, and they contribute not alike, but equally, it may be, to the general weal. The faith, and prayers, and spotless example of an illiterate or obscure man may contribute as successfully to the great designs of Christianity as the counsels of the sage or the eloquence of the learned. Thus it is that "the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying itself in love."

For the satisfaction of wants and liabilities which find no adequate provision in the fixed ideas and unyielding habits of veteran piety, the Gospel makes its appeal to the special endowments and adaptations of the young. "I have written to you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." In the economy of Divine Providence, youth is endowed with peculiar attributes, on which the success of all great moral and social interests and enterprises is made dependent.

1. This responsibility for the well-being of the race, which accrues to the young in virtue of their providential endowments, is devolved upon them by an inevitable destiny. They are the predestined successors of all who now wield moral influence, and all who occupy positions of authority and power. They are moving incessantly onward toward this great inheritance, and the flight of years makes haste to bring them into contact with burdens and respon-

sibilities which they cannot elude or devolve upon others. Those who are now young *must* govern mankind. They *must* become the teachers of the race. They must become the world's lawgivers, and its dispensers of justice. They must manage its material interests —must plan and prosecute its improvements and ameliorations— must conduct its wars and negotiations—must meet the unseen exigencies of the great future. God has provided no other teachers for that coming generation, which, in its turn, is destined to occupy this great field of action and probation, and to transmit to a still later posterity its character—its virtues, and vices, and achievements. Were we able to divest this great law of human existence of its inefficiency as a hackneyed truism, and clothe it in the freshness and potency of a newly-discovered truth, we should need no other argument to impress upon the young the duty of diligence and faithfulness in their high vocation; for the young, though often rash and reckless of the future, are neither selfish nor malevolent. They would not thrust themselves upon the inheritance in reserve for them without qualifications to preserve and improve it. They would not bring back upon the world the ignorance of the dark ages, nor reproduce upon the face of civilized society the horrible scenes of the reign of terror. They would not tarnish the lustre of our national character by deeds of cowardice, treachery, or dishonour. They would not give to the country a race of incompetent or profligate statesmen. They would recoil from the thought of occupying the pulpits of this Christian land, the strongholds of its morality and stern virtues, without the requisite qualifications of intelligence and piety. They would not dwarf and taint the public mind with a feeble, polluted literature, nor degrade the schools and liberal professions to which this great republic looks for the men of the future—its orators, its teachers, the guides of its youth, and the leaders of its senates. And yet nothing is more certain than that these great interests, one and all, look to the present generation of young men as their sole hope and resource. Nothing is less a matter of doubt than that these potent agencies, on which the well-being of a great nation depends, must speedily come under the direction of the young men who are now forming their character, moral and intellectual—many of them wholly unconcerned about that future in which they have so deep a stake, and for which they will be held to a responsibility so fearful.

We should place before the youth of this land only a very humble standard of duty and ambition in urging them to such attainments as will merely enable them to maintain these institutions and social and moral enterprises in the present state of efficiency and useful-

ness. To do less than this would plainly be nothing less than treason against our country and common humanity. It cost our fathers infinite toil and sacrifices, and precious blood, to raise this country to its present position, and to form such a heritage of light, and liberty, and glory as they are ready to bequeath to their sons; and that young man must be dead to all high aspirations who does not burn with shame at the thought of transmitting it to posterity enfeebled, or dilapidated. One or two such recreant generations would plunge this free and glorious land into the darkness and wretchedness of its primitive barbarism, and make themselves the reproach of noble ancestors, and the scorn and byword of history. But the rising generation cannot even escape this foul dishonour of wasting its inheritance, and betraying the sacred interests intrusted to it for the benefit of posterity, without high attainments in knowledge and virtue. Our fathers were a brave, intellectual, noble race; and they who now sway the destinies of this country are educated, vigorous, laborious, enterprising men. The land is no doubt cursed with hordes of demagogues and pretenders, and its honours are too often bestowed upon the unworthy and incompetent. Still, the great body of our legislators, public officers, and professional men, are not grossly deficient either in literary attainments or intellectual vigour. There is a Vulcanic energy at work in our enterprises of science, and fabrication, and internal improvement. A mighty intellectual machinery is concerned in bringing forth the products of our vast literature, periodical and permanent. Many thousand of fine minds, and well cultivated, are labouring incessantly and intensely in our pulpits and schools of learning, to promote the moral and mental illumination of the people of this great country. We must not undervalue the past, or complain unjustly of the deficiencies of the present time. Our country has been made what it is, and is kept up to its actual high moral and social position, by the strenuous exertion of immense capacities and honourable virtues. It will be no easy task for our young men to outstrip their predecessors. It will even be well for them if they shall be prepared to act the part which awaits them without provoking unfavourable comparisons—if they shall acquit themselves as well in the sight of their country, of history, and of God.

Something more than this, however, will justly be expected of them. It is the glory of the men of the present generation that they have improved upon all past ages, and greatly enriched and beautified the inheritance which their fathers bequeathed them. It will be the undying reproach of their successors if this full tide of

improvement shall be stayed upon their accession to the high places of power and responsibility. They will enter upon their career with peculiar advantages. The accumulations of past ages constitute their resources for new enterprises. The light of rich and varied experiments shines full upon their pathway, and the wonderful discoveries of the last half century constitute the vantage-ground from which they are allowed to commence their new career. If with facilities so many and so great, unknown to their predecessors, they shall do no more than maintain the actual status of the intelligence, and happiness, and virtue of the community, they are destined to act but an inglorious part. They ought to contribute to the welfare of society such measures of new light, and vivacity, and momentum, as will quicken and multiply the energies of every ameliorating enterprise. This is their proper function and vocation, for which they should diligently equip themselves, as champions whose eyes are already fixed upon the arena of the coming conflict.

The actual state of education, morals, and happiness in a community, may be regarded as the true expression of the power of the moral and intellectual forces engaged for its improvement. The efficiency and usefulness of a church, for instance, are precisely what the zeal, purity, and intelligence of its members can make it. We may conclude, therefore, that the Christian enterprises of the present time must remain stationary, without some new accession of moral resources. If the rising generation shall come forward with only the same degrees of piety and intelligence that belong to their fathers, then the utmost that can be expected is, that the cause of religion and humanity shall not retrograde. Progress, under the circumstances supposed, is wholly out of the question. The church is now barely able to hold its ground against the opposing forces of sin and error, or to advance with a tardy step to future triumphs; and if it is to be recruited and reinforced by such members and ministers only as already wield its destinies, it must remain in essentially the same condition, while the accession of even a few persons of deeper piety, and stronger faith, and larger views, might sweep away the obstacles that retard its progress, and open a career of unexampled successes. A single individual of enlarged conceptions of duty, and burning zeal for Christ, is sometimes able to communicate new spirit to a whole church which has, for years, scarcely given a sign of vitality. It had just enough of moral power to maintain a bare existence, and resist the pressure from without; and now the additional impetus given by one true man of God puts everything in motion and triumphs over obstacles. What victories, then, might we not anticipate, what

enlargement for Zion, could the whole host of our young men be induced to gird themselves with strength, and enter upon the whitening field to which they are called, with something like the spirit of primitive Christianity? It would be as a new life from the dead. It would be as the birth of a new dispensation. They who are ready to perish would revive again, and all the islands of the sea would rejoice.

Manifestly it is such a revival of heavenly charity, and wisdom, and apostolic zeal, that is imperatively demanded by the present condition of all our social and Christian enterprises. The passing era will ever be recognized in history as an age of noble conceptions and of great moral convictions. It has planned, and begun to execute, godlike enterprises, but it evidently lacks the sinews needful for their successful accomplishment. It reels under the burdens it has assumed. The existing race of Christians has propagated sublime ideas, which it is appointed for their successors to realize in sublime achievements. This is in accordance with a great law. An age of discovery leads in an age of performance. First comes the science, and then its applications to life. The church is well furnished with grand ideas. It has on its hands comprehensive evangelizing schemes, whose successful accomplishment will usher in the millennium. What she now wants is agents to execute them. She wants an army of young men, large-minded and large-hearted, and deeply baptized into the Saviour's spirit. This is the great want to which all others are subordinate. Let it be supplied, and all other obstacles will vanish away. The cause of Christ and humanity calls for men—needs men—cultivated, sanctified, self-sacrificing, brave men, and it really wants nothing else to the completeness of its triumphs. Material resources with which the church overflows, only wait for the bidding of lips touched with holy fire to call them forth upon the altar of sacrifice. And now what Christian young man will endure the thought, that all these goodly enterprises for the improvement and salvation of the race shall fail or languish for want of worthy champions? The church has just now started forth from the ignominious repose of centuries, and trembles to recognise itself as charged by Christ with the evangelization of the world. Shall this work, so nobly begun, fail or languish for want of labourers? Is it tolerable to think of, that the triumph of Christ shall be postponed, and the deadly curse of sin continue to blight the hopes of three-fourths of the human race, because we love our ease and our money, and because our young men have shallow piety and huge ambition? We have discovered that the general diffusion of a more thorough and effective common education is

absolutely indispensable for a self-governing people, and that whatever else our republic has or lacks, the preservation of freedom and happiness without this great reform is an impossibility. The work is already begun, and the means for its extension and completion are at least partially provided. Will our young men accept of this holy trust at the hands of their fathers? Are they ready to offer themselves for a service equally commended to their favour by religion and patriotism? Good men, who are yet alive, were the first to know and proclaim that the exhilarating bowl, which fashion had long made indispensable in the high places of society, and appetite had made the tyrant and the scourge of common life—which was fondly kissed by ruby lips, and inspired the eloquence of grave ecclesiastics, is an accursed poisoned chalice, which has drugged our people with disease, and vice, and damning guilt. This fearful truth had nearly succeeded in penetrating the heart of our population, and making its lodgment in the public conscience, when, through the weariness of some of its advocates, and the indiscretions of others, the apathy of the church, and the sleepless efforts of interested dealers, their deluded victims, and demagogue abettors, a paralyzing reaction has befallen the great enterprise, and the polluting cup is again brought forth from its hiding-place—again sparkles at the feast, and maddens the joyous circle of our youth. Are our educated young men prepared to preach up another crusade, and march in the van of another holy war against this worse than the false prophet? Our own favoured land, and the entire Christian world, unquestionably labour under great and grievous social evils. Our intense and highly artificial civilization does, in some of its modes and operations, press with dreadful and almost exterminating severity upon the happiness, the hopes, and the virtues of large classes of the people. Ignorant quacks, and interested pretenders and demagogues, are everywhere prescribing absurd and pernicious remedies for this inveterate disease. Religion and education possess the true panacea, and they would enlist an army of valiant, wise philanthropists in an enterprise which must fail in ordinary hands. Are our young men ready for this good work also? Will this call to holy duties be able to make itself heard amid the incitements to selfishness and ambition which throng the avenues to professional and public life?

For the satisfaction of these, and other moral and social wants, which press so heavily upon our country and the human race, intelligent, pious young men are at this moment the only adequate resource. Others, who have a heart for such work, are already occupied, and their energies are already fully tasked in maintaining

these great moral enterprises in their actual state of advancement. They look to the young for the succour without which reaction and ignominious retrogression will be unavoidable. They boldly confront the foe and keep him at bay, whilst, with every muscle strained, they beckon to their sons to "come and help them."

Young men alone can be fully adapted to the special exigencies of their own times. Those who have been long engaged in any department of action acquire habits favourable to success in their particular pursuit, which often become disqualifications under a change of circumstances, or for new enterprises. The middle-aged pastor will generally be found essentially unfit for the new duties and ideas of missionary life. He cannot learn strange languages, and inure himself to new climates and modes of life. The young man, on the contrary, has nothing to unlearn. He is pliable and plastic, ready to be moulded into any form of physical and mental activity which the exigencies of the times may demand. When the French revolution had brought on a crisis in human affairs unknown in the world's previous history, old statesmen and old generals were found universally unfit for the new exigency, and supreme power, civil and military, passed, as if in obedience to some hidden law, to the vigorous hands of Napoleon, and Pitt, and Talleyrand, and Wellington, all young men, who took their character from the crisis, and in their turn impressed it upon the times. Several of our great benevolent enterprises, which are rapidly extending their influences to the remotest nations of the earth, were projected by young men, while they were still under-graduates; and Mills, and Judson, and Newell, passed immediately from the schools into the distant lands where they laid the foundations of Christian empires. Young men have usually been Heaven's chosen depositaries of new and great ideas, and its chosen instruments for effecting beneficent revolutions. They soonest hear, and most deeply feel, the appeals of suffering humanity, and their character most readily conforms itself to the hue and pressure of their era.

For prudent counsels, and the conduct of grave negotiations, for the conservation of holy truths and time-honoured institutions, for the safe management of the great trusts and established interests of human society, we are to look to the serene, unimpassioned wisdom of more advanced life; but new and difficult enterprises, and daring moral adventures that are without precedent in the memory of the aged, must, for the most part, expect to enlist their champions from the ranks of buoyant, unhackneyed youth. This is eminently the period of mental and bodily vigour and power. The warm blood courses bravely through the veins, and every limb and muscle re-

joices in action. The bosom swells with high hopes, which disappointment has not yet chilled with its paralyzing touch. The young are wont to place confidence in man, in human improvement, in truth, and in the power of endeavour. Experience has not yet made them timid, nor broken the spirit of adventure. The future rises up before them gorgeous with rich promise, and opulent in hidden resources. Religion chastens, but it does not dim these vivid conceptions and lofty aspirations of the young. Very often, indeed, the discoveries of faith far outstrip and outshine the visions of fancy; and what was sheer extravagance in the expectations of the natural man, becomes an object of sober and reasonable pursuit with him who has received an endowment of strength from on high. It is a great point gained when we can get young men, constitutionally prone to adventure and activity, who love labour, and fear nothing—whose bounding hearts impel them onward, as if conscious that to will and to achieve were tasks equally feasible—it is a great thing to get all these elements of efficiency fairly embarked in some holy enterprise in which the smallest degrees of success might satisfy the most ardent ambition, and the grandeur and certainty of whose triumphs can sustain the spirit of man under all the vicissitudes of hope deferred. Here is found precisely that conjunction of circumstances which is most favourable to the highest development of the best qualities of the heart and the intellect. The inspiration of an object divinely sublime, and yet in closest contact with all the benevolent feelings; the prospect of a glorious reward, acting without prejudice to conscious, disinterested philanthropy—infallible guarantees of ultimate, complete success—offer a combination of motives that cannot fail to exalt the human powers to their utmost capacity, and even to make ordinary men great.

In addition to the inspiration of ennobling pursuits acting upon the plastic nature and fervent temperament of fresh and buoyant life, Christianity furnishes to young men other and peculiar elements of strength. "*The word of God abideth in them,*" and they are thus supplied, from the beginning of their career, with rules of action and maxims of life perfectly adapted to all their circumstances and wants. It is not necessary to prove that the Bible, which is the expression of Divine wisdom, announces to man the true method of life. It contains the mind of God, and makes known to us the decisions of the highest intelligence. In all matters of high moral import it *reveals* to us, in anticipation of experience, those great practical lessons which cannot be learned elsewhere, if at all, but by years of careful observation and laborious experiment. Wisdom acquired by methods so tedious and expen-

sive, usually comes too late for any valuable purpose, after life has been exhausted in fruitless, misdirected endeavours, and its energies impaired, and the heart saddened by discouragement and discomfiture. Life commenced and prosecuted under the infallible guidance of the Divine oracles, escapes all such retarding influences. Its movements *begin* in the right direction. Its energies are saved from the wear and the waste of unsuccessful essays and of an endless empiricism. The character early acquires compactness and solidity, and that momentum which is derived from fixedness of purpose and singleness of heart.

There is great advantage in the Divine authority of the rules which religion prescribes for the conduct of life. Its announcements are so many of the decrees of Jehovah, of which it is not in human folly to question the wisdom, and to which nothing short of absolute madness could hope to offer successful resistance. Obedience, therefore, becomes the highest dictate of reason as well as of conscience. All the interests of time and eternity are involved in a frank, earnest concurrence with these expressions of the Divine will. After God has spoken, there are no doubtful questions to settle—no wavering probabilities for scrutiny and adjustment. It only remains for those who have heard his voice to gird up their loins and hasten to the accomplishment of an appointed task. It must be obvious to the slightest reflection how much the business of life is simplified by this authoritative settlement of doubtful questions, and the subordination of all its pursuits to one controlling principle. They who choose to follow other guides, necessarily lose this powerful element of efficiency. They must often hesitate in the choice of their rules of action—they must often falter in the pursuits to which they finally devote themselves, and often fail in the attainment of their objects, through the insufficiency of worldly motives to sustain untiring activity. They hang in equipoise, while others, obedient to the Divine lawgiver, advance in the race. They stop to reconsider where the demand is strongest for accelerated motion. They find the incentives to which they have yielded up the direction of life too feeble to sustain them. They doubt, under the pressure of toil and weariness, whether they have not consulted ambition and avarice at the sacrifice of higher interests—whether they may not have thought too little of the claims of repose, or too highly of reputation. They discover, too late, some lack of congeniality for the scenes or society upon which they have been precipitated by levity, or pride, or indolence. Above all, will the thought that God is not in all their schemes, and that they tend to an issue upon which Heaven's blessing has

never been asked nor promised, often obtrude itself, to relax the sinews of effort, and even to sadden the triumphs of success. Such misgivings are most likely to come upon the mind in its days of doubt and despondency, when the hand is tremulous and the heart faint. Just then it is that the Christian most feels the support of his principles. "The word of God abideth in him," and he travels on "from strength to strength." It is his infallible counsellor in a time of perplexity. It assures him of deliverance from all dangers and all disasters. It sustains him most completely when all other supports confess their insufficiency. Its light is most intense in the darkest day, and it raises the loudest notes of victory when its devoted champions are borne on their shields from the mortal conflict.

The Christian young man gains another element of efficiency in the permanence of the influences under which his character is formed. From youth to old age, through all of life's changes, he walks by the same unerring light. His eye is fixed upon one object. His pursuits obey one great law, and all tend to a common grand result. Life's entire energies are concentrated upon a point which becomes henceforth the goal of all his efforts and aspirations. Lower worldly maxims lose their force and application with the progress and mutations of time. The appetite becomes sated with enjoyment or paralyzed by age. Disappointment, or the sober second thought of experience, dissipates the illusions of ambition. Hardly any worldly motive but avarice, confessedly the lowest and the worst, is accustomed to maintain its sway to the close of life. Failure or change in the ruling principle, necessarily destroys unity and continuity of action; and enterprises eagerly begun in the thoughtlessness of youth, are abandoned as hopeless or unworthy by sober manhood. The tastes fluctuate. Imagination refuses any longer to gild the phantom with which it at first seduced the unwary. With these changes, come changes of purpose, and even middle life finds itself unsettled and wavering, shorn of its strength in its very prime and unwasted vigour; while the latter days of an irreligious life are almost invariably tasteless, unsatisfactory, and to all the higher ends of existence absolutely useless. Such a life has, and can have, no pervading unity. Its efforts are unsteady and fitful, as they needs must be from the variable and conflicting impulses of which they are the result. How different the history of him who has chosen God for his portion in early life, and made the Divine will his one rule of action! "The word of God, which abideth in him," is "quick and powerful," and ministers an unfailing supply of living, powerful resources. It has a

rule of action and a ministration of strong impulses for each period and exigency of our earthly existence. Buoyant youth and sober manhood it links together in an indissoluble unity of interest, and hope, and effort; and it quickens the slow pulses of hoary age with prospects more radiant and exhilarating than ever rose before the visions of childhood. Now it is chiefly in this steady and unfaltering devotion of the entire life to a single object, that we are to look for the secret of all eminent success. It was to this continuity and intensity of effort in a single direction, rather than to any special attributes of genius, that Davy, and Cuvier, and others were indebted for their eminent achievements in science. For the production of great characters or great actions, there is wanted the early adoption of some worthy object of pursuit—its steady prosecution through all the vicissitudes of life, and an earnest, fervent temperament, which stirs old age itself with living impulses. How completely religion, embraced in early life, satisfies these indispensable conditions, we have already seen.

The presence and supremacy of Divine truth which pervades the life with an influence so benignant, and produces such strength of character and efficiency of action, performs for the young another function very noticeable and important. It offers itself as a guide and counsellor at a period of life when there exists the strongest indisposition to listen to human advisers, and when submission to human authority is often deemed incompatible with a manly independence. This tendency to revolt against the admonitions of age and experience, is among the most unaccountable of the characteristics of young persons—especially of those who are early removed from parental control. Every teacher finds in it a chief obstacle in the way of a satisfactory discharge of his duties, and it often proves a fatal barrier to that moral and mental culture which is the proper business of education. Our reference here is not to that reckless folly peculiar to low and vicious dispositions, which makes a pastime of perpetrating petty crimes and violating good order, and slides into vulgar profligacy through the spontaneous tendencies of a base and intractable nature. Youths of a more ingenuous character, by no means deficient in good impulses and manly aspirations, often fall into the delusion of regarding obedience, and all manifestations of deference for age and authority, as some reflection upon their dignity of character, and an indication of a tame and timid spirit. They place *their point of honour* in violating the order which would protect their retired hours from intrusion, and in contemning the solicitude and counsels that would encourage and guide to mental improvement, and conserve their moral senti-

ments and character. They avoid, as a reproach and a stigma, all suspicion of recognizing the restraints and reverencing the ordinances of religion. They are ashamed of having it thought that they bear with them some respect for the holy influences of home recollections and sympathies—some tender remembrance of mother and sisters—some dutiful reverence for the authority and instructions of a father. This false honour and false shame too often tyrannize over conscience and the heart—prove too strong for the love of knowledge and distinction—too strong for the restraints of law and morality. We have seen fine young men, endowed with genius and high aspirations, in whom this absurd, unnatural controversy with their own real sentiments, as well as interests, had assumed the form of a monomania, directed against every influence solicitous to promote their well-being, and restrain them from recklessness. More distressing cases never occur than such as leave no power for good but in a rigid exercise of authority—a remedy little adapted to cure, though it may sometimes restrain the folly which so pertinaciously revolts against influence, and thinks it dishonour to listen to good advice. Religion offers, we think, the only remedy, and, in certain temperaments, the early inculcation of its principles constitutes the only preventive of the unmanageable evil under consideration. The fear of God, once established in the mind, will often prove an effectual antidote to the bad independence which denies respect to age and allegiance to authority. The most vaulting ambition may not deem it a degradation to do homage to Jehovah. The perverted sentiment of honour which spurns the advice of teacher and parent, may yet acknowledge that God's counsels are worthy of some respect. The pride that cannot stoop to confess a fault, or to avow purposes of amendment, may consent to bow in submission to an authority which is confessedly supreme, and to do homage to a power too high to provoke envy, or to tolerate disobedience.

The revival of early religious impressions has saved many a reckless youth, who obstinately refused to be guided by any human authority or influence. The dupes of bad example and perverted sentiments of honour sometimes discover, with surprise, that their awakened deference for Divine authority has, without provoking jealousy, or wounding their self-love, brought them into perfect harmony with laws and restraints against which it had been their pride and their business to wage perpetual war. It may be affirmed, without qualification, that there is always hope for a young man in whom the great truths of religion have made an early lodgement. They have a tenacity of life beyond what we are accustomed to think of. "The word of God abideth" in the in-

structed son of Christian parents, and makes disclosure of its latent energies at times and in ways which we least of all anticipate. It whispers good counsel, and utters notes of warning in hearts apparently dead to its influences, and into ears contemptuously closed against the most faithful admonitions. How often have our unbelieving fears in regard to thoughtless, reckless youth, been signally rebuked by their sudden and unexpected conversion! How often have we seen the graces of a backslidden young man revived again, after years of neglect and apparent indifference to Divine things! If we are compelled to admit that some cast off the restraints of early education, and even of a religious profession, and apparently "make shipwreck of their faith," we are also bound to acknowledge, for the honour of Divine grace, that a large proportion of them turn again to righteousness. Some good, reviving influence from Heaven visits them. Some array of affecting circumstances—some hour when tender remembrances come up to mingle with the fears and hopes of the future—perhaps the thoughtfulness which an actual entrance upon serious, active life forces upon them, is made the occasion of a recurrence to holy first principles. The slumbering elements of eternal truth then awaken into new life. Repudiated conscience trembles into new consciousness and power. The tender associations of childhood and home—the mother's tear—the family altar—the joyous, holy experiences of Christian fellowship and heavenly hopes, rise up before the soul's eye with the energy of a Divine resurrection. All honour to the powerful word, which through so many dark months and years slept, but did not die in these returning souls. "The word of God abideth in them," and is likely, some day, to make its power known. So strong is the evidence of past experience on this point, that we *expect* young men, who have been piously trained, to be converted. We expect to hear, if we do not personally witness it, that they who for a time yielded to worldly influences and strong temptations, to the dishonour of their Christian profession, have returned again to Zion with songs; and our reliance for all this is in the vitality and Divine potency of "the word of God." They *may* reject it altogether, but we rather expect impressions so early, so deep, and so Divine, to remain permanent and effectual for saving ends.

Christian young men have won, through the gospel, another victory. They have "overcome the wicked one." He secures a mighty advantage for life's entire career, who, at the outset, solves the great problem of his existence. The conflict between good and evil, in which the greater number of men pass all their days on earth, has formed a fruitful theme for moralists and theologians,

Pagan and Christian, ever since the phenomena of man's intellectual and moral nature became objects of research and observation. Some of the earlier Christian sects, as well as some schools of heathen philosophy, believed in the existence of two great principles, a good and an evil principle, engaged in a perpetual conflict for dominion over the universe and in the heart of man. Human life was exhausted in this terrible struggle, and its happiness or misery was very exactly proportioned to the relative ascendency of these warring elements. The undecided strife was thought to be often transferred to a future state of being, when other ages of undefined duration were spent by the soul in struggling onward to its ultimate destiny. This theory expresses very accurately the usual history of man's interior life. It does not exaggerate the fierceness of the protracted contest here, and only errs when it concedes to the hapless victim of an unequal fate another trial beyond the boundaries of the present life. The Gospel adopts this idea of human life in a modified form. The sore conflict is carried on, not between two demons, but between God's holy law and the sinful dispositions of man. It may be prolonged to the hour of death, but no "device or work" is done in the region beyond. It *may* be brought to a successful termination in early life, and even "young men" "have often overcome the wicked one." The true Christian idea of this inner conflict is expressed by St. Paul: "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh." Early piety puts an end to this doubtful strife, and leaves the young man free to enter, with an undivided heart, and untainted principles, upon the high moral vocation to which his whole existence is consecrated, with no evil habits to unlearn—no counteracting forces to resist—no internal insurrections to suppress beyond the infirmities of a fallen, but renovated nature. A career of virtue and usefulness, commenced under such auspices, has the fairest promise of certain, eminent, complete success. Whoever begins life without a settlement of this great preliminary question, with an unsubdued enemy ambushing his every step, has but two possible alternatives before him. He must either yield himself unresistingly to the foe, and consent to the forfeiture of life's great ends, or, what is more usual, spend his resources in an endless, bootless conflict, under conditions that render victory impossible, and deprive partial success of all its value. He writhes in a consuming fire, which, though partially smothered, is never extinguished. He never "overcomes the wicked one," nor ever attempts so much, but only to keep him at bay. He is, consequently, forever in the midst of the conflict of appetite and pas-

sion, but never clears his path of enemies farther onward than he can reach with the point of his sword. His life is spent in alternately rolling up the stone of Sisyphus, and starting back from its inevitable recoil. As he does not aim at being a thoroughly good man, real improvement is impossible, and partial reforms only serve to mark his varying gradations in vice. Meantime, his moral diathesis becomes more and more deplorable, by the lowering of his principles, by the growing obtuseness of his moral sentiments, and by the imperceptible formation of habits that strengthen the tendency to evil by something like the sanction of an organic law. The sort of moral progress which we are attempting to portray is illustrated by familiar phenomena of a student's life.

The ingenuous youth who holds himself obliged in conscience, and in all manliness, to make the best use of his opportunities for improvement, soon finds the performance of his duties easy and agreeable. Every day's industry and perseverance add to the facility and comfort of his progress, and he speedily attains to such feelings and habits that it would cost him a struggle to omit a duty. An hour spent in sleep, which ought to be devoted to improvement, wounds his self-respect, and really becomes a source of more annoyance than all the mental efforts of a month's toil in the study and the recitation-room. Such a student, it is obvious, must soon find himself within the range and action of impulses that ensure the highest mental improvement, while they quite disarm all petty temptations to indolence and irregularity. Another enters upon the scholastic career with lower, though not with dishonourable aims. He satisfies his sense of obligation and self-respect by such a performance of scholastic tasks, and such attention to order, as may leave a convenient margin for self-indulgence, and yet not be quite incompatible with proficiency and respectability. This theory of the student-life seldom fails to produce in practice an abundant growth of evils, and to lead to the ultimate forfeiture of the chief benefits of education. As some duties are to be neglected, each, in its turn, becomes a candidate for repudiation. As some liberties are to be taken, the mind is thrown upon the comparison of all minor irregularities, in order to make its selection judicious in number and kind—in time and degree. A few months passed under the auspices of such a code of scholastic morals usually stamp their complexion upon the whole college-life. The indolence and the irregularity, from being occasional, become habitual. They come to be regarded as privileges and enjoyments, and studious industry a burden and a bondage. What can be wrested from the claims of industry and order is won for pleasure and social enjoy-

ments, the rest is a painful sacrifice to necessity. In the end, the performance of duty inflicts a pang, and the period of education becomes a weariness to the flesh, too often a preparatory discipline for an unsuccessful, unhonoured subsequent career.

An illustration borrowed from the moral, rather than the mental, aberrations of the young, inculcates the same lesson in another form. A young man leaves the safeguards of home and of parental supervision, alive to all the seductions that beset his new and exposed career, and ambitious of forming a pure and lofty character. It is a wise, and not an unusual measure of precaution which he adopts, when he arms himself with high resolves, and sometimes with a formal pledge, against every approach toward deadly evils, from which he is purposed to keep his morals pure. From every circle and every incitement which might lead to the violation of his vow he stands aloof, and writes *accursed* upon every inebriating cup. In this position he stands secure, defended by an impregnable bulwark. He "has overcome the wicked one" by a single manly resolve. Appetite itself quails before decision of purpose, and the brave youth pursues the quiet tenor of his way hardly more exposed to the vice of intemperance than to commit theft or suicide. His associate is skeptical in regard to the danger, and scorns the cowardly precaution against himself. He does not intend to be intemperate, and still less to betray a suspicion of the strength of his own virtue. He will naturally test the value of his reserved rights by their occasional exercise. Bashfully at first, infrequently, stealthily, and only on fit occasions, and in reputable company, does he become initiated into mysteries over which not the songs and merry conceits alone shall be poured forth, but bitter tears and unavailing penitence. The restraints, meantime, which respect for public opinion or the dread of exposure impose, and the reproaches of a condemning conscience, constitute a serious drawback upon the pleasure of unlawful indulgence, while the ever-sinking scale of virtue, which honour, fear, and shame incite him to uphold, is maintained at its actual elevation by efforts of self-denial a thousand times more difficult and painful than it would cost to smite down the demon appetite, and at once deliver the falling spirit from its degrading bondage. It should be remembered, too, that this struggle to keep out of the lower depths of degrading vices by those who, in spite of all warning, resolve to disport themselves along the steep declivities that lead to the inevitable abyss, is not a struggle for virtue, nor entitled to any of its immunities or rewards. Every manly effort to break away from the power of a bad habit, and ascend to the dignity of a pure life,

is likely to improve the moral sentiments, and evolve some new moral force. Such an *attempt,* made in the integrity of the soul, always has in it a redeeming element, and even unsuccessful efforts, a thousand times repeated in the same spirit, never wholly lose their virtuous character. But he who proposes to do homage to honesty, or temperance, or chastity, or truth, or any other virtue, *to a certain extent only,* commits a crime against all real virtue by the hybrid conception. He fairly takes upon his conscience the guilt of all the degrees of vice from which a selfish prudence alone restrains him; and we may be sure that he only waits to obtain the consent of some low interest, or to secure guarantees or indemnity against some anticipated injury, in order to do all the evil from which any motive lower than the fear of God and the love of righteousness now restrains him. Of all the villanies committed under the sun, we most indignantly condemn the cautious, well-considered devices of a cool, forecasting man who aims to secure just so many of the gains of dishonesty as he can, and escape the disgrace and the penalty of detection. The morality of this righteous judgment is justly applicable to all those whose theory of life allows them to stop in the career of virtue whenever it becomes too rough and arduous, and to drink of the cup of vice till they get too strong a taste of its nauseous or its poisonous dregs. These are bad men—not only to the full extent of all the virtues which they discard on vicious principles, but also by the full measure of those which they practise from low and corrupt motives—not only to the extent of all the vices in which they unscrupulously indulge, but also by the whole number and degree of those which their hearts approve, and from which they reluctantly refrain from no higher sentiment than cowardice or cunning. In the sight of God, and of sound ethics, there is no such thing as partial virtue or piety in the man who has resolved to reserve to himself the practice of certain degrees of vice or sin, such as he may deem consistent with convenience or a good name. It is no doubt highly expedient to sin with moderation. Unlawful pleasure may be prolonged by subtracting some degrees from its intensity. They who never even aspire to "overcome the wicked one," may have good reasons for subjecting his acknowledged authority to certain limitations; but the compact that imposes these checks, and settles the conditions, betrays collusion with the foe, and is treason against God. True virtue and piety begin when all compromises with sin are at an end, and when the soul has pledged itself to unconditional obedience and devotion. Life begun and prosecuted under the sanction of so high a consecration, cannot prove a failure. Dark days may lower over its

pathway. Sore struggles may be appointed as tests of sincerity, and for the discipline of those who aspire to do the bidding of God in a higher sphere, but for ultimate discomfiture, there is no place in such a career. The spirit in which the enterprise is conceived is a pledge of success. Its lofty aims bring it into alliance with unfailing, Divine resources.

In passing on to apply some of the practical lessons suggested by this discussion, we shall transpose the order of its topics, and accept our first theme of exhortation from the conclusion of the argument,—"*Overcome the wicked one.*" Lay the foundation of success in all the moral and intellectual enterprises to which conscience and your own generous aspirations invite you in a decisive, unqualified, instantaneous renunciation of every bad or doubtful habit, and in a brave, unreserved, immediate, life-long devotion to every virtue and every duty to which you are held by any obligation, Divine or human. To young men, far more than to middle life or old age, is applicable that startling passage of Holy Scripture, "Behold, *now* is the accepted time; behold, *now* is the day of salvation." Genuine conversions are always sudden. Visible progress in virtue may be slow, and its beginning inappreciable; but the hour which witnesses the entrance of the new principle, and plants the germ of a new life, constitutes a well-defined era in the moral history of a man, as well as a memorable crisis in his moral character. The vacillations that precede, and the struggles that sometimes follow the moment consecrated by high resolves and heavenly grace, may be remembered as parts of the same period of doubtfulness and darkness, but they are historically distinct, and lie on opposite sides of the great turning-point in character and destiny. Whoever would reform his life, and "turn from the power of Satan unto God," must begin by having faith in his own deliberate purpose, formed in the fear of the Lord, and in reliance upon heavenly grace. Such a purpose is the starting-place of every successful enterprise of virtue and improvement. Let the young man who aspires to become either virtuous or wise, take his position on this high vantage-ground. Let him inquire, if he has not brought with him to the present moment some unsatisfied convictions of duty, and purposes of reform and improvement, which as yet have found no realization in the daily life? We need not admonish him that the tendency, the error, the sin, which now has but a feeble hold upon him, and will readily yield to the corrective force of virtuous resolution and manly effort, speedily makes for itself an impregnable stronghold in the inveteracy of habit, and is thus enabled to bid defiance to all ordi-

nary reformatory endeavours. These incipient vices make haste to expand into prolific sources of evil, and to pour their polluting streams into the tide of life. It has long been with us an established opinion, that the majority of educated men pass through life shorn of half their strength for want of a symmetrical, well-expressed mental and moral development. Hardly less considerable is the proportion of young men engaged in a career of education, who forfeit its chief benefits, and go forth unfurnished for the demands of life, just because they will not be at the pains of correcting petty faults before they become habits, and of forming a virtuous, manly, vigorous character, at the only time when such an achievement is possible. Some minds pertinaciously resist all attempts to ingraft more liberal ideas and elevated sentiments, more refined tastes, and more graceful manners upon their original stock. No skill or assiduity of the teacher is able to eliminate the provincialisms and vulgarisms of their spoken and written language, to correct an unnatural tone, or reform an ungainly attitude or gesture. No friendly converse can lure them away from the deteriorating, vulgarizing associations and affinities to which they yield up body and soul, from the moment they cross the threshold of a place of education. A few weeks or a few months of vigilant self-inspection and yielding docility, of vigorous resolution and manly effort, are sufficient to correct such faults and supply such deficiencies, and to purify the literary neophyte from the grosser elements derived from careless training or unfortunate associations; but this is a price which he can never be induced to offer for improvements indispensable alike to the success and respectability of his chosen career.

We dwell the more at large upon this lower and less important aspect of a great practical evil, not only because we would make manifest the baleful tendency of an error into which many fall with little forethought of consequences, but because we have here a palpable and unsuspected illustration of its higher moral bearings. We readily condemn the folly of the reckless youth who resolves to carry with him into life all the bad tastes, and vulgar sentiments, and coarse manners, and low habits which he brought to college, as well as all that the worst associations of a college can impart to him. What shall we say, then, of him who, with equal levity, passes through this forming period, not of life only, but of being, disfigured with moral blemishes, and making no effort to deliver the soul from the vicious habitudes and hateful malformations that are to be the burden and dishonour of its entire existence? It is by temptations as feeble, and for indulgences as worthless, as any that ever blinded and enthralled the victim of indolence and degrading

impulses, that many a thoughtful and high-minded young man consents to a forfeiture of all good hopes, and thwarts the great designs of Heaven's mercy in behalf of his soul. It is because he will not allow grave care to cloud the enjoyments and disturb the occupations of the present moment, that he goes on from year to year preferring dreams to realities. It is because he lacks the nerve to interfere with illusions which he knows can only deceive and ruin him, that he madly trifles with imperishable interests, and braves whatever there may be of danger in God's wrath, when provoked to the uttermost by a guilty man. Who can hope to break the spell by which "the wicked one" holds such a man in vile durance? Who to gain his audience for the sober lessons of truth? And yet he must pause and think—he must struggle and break his bands asunder—he *must* smite his enemy with a deadly stroke, or prepare for evils which an archangel's intellect cannot compute. This series of postponements must soon be exhausted, and that last hour come in which even prayer and a soul-struggle cannot be of any avail. Under such conditions, it is not like a man to shrink from this inevitable crisis. Young man, fear to plunge into life with life's great problem unsolved. You venture out upon a bottomless sea with a millstone hung upon your neck. Subdue the enemy within your own bosom, and then may you go with a whole and a brave heart into the great conflict before you. You would be strong, valiant men, fit for worthy enterprises. Begin this great conflict of life by trampling Satan under your feet. Make alliances with God, and holy men, and good angels, and you shall win the field. To-day, if ye hear his voice—to-day, if you will be wise or strong, "harden not your heart."

II. Let the word of God abide in you. Treasure it up in your heart as an unspeakably precious deposit. God hath bestowed upon you no better gift. It is the expression of his own ineffable wisdom. He sent you into this world of trial a stranger and a pilgrim; and this is the infallible guide which he ordained for your safety and salvation. Follow it implicitly. Obey it reverently. Listen to the oracles Divine with profound, absolute devotion. To profess faith in the Bible as the veritable word of Jehovah, and, at the same time, to withhold obedience, involves a gross inconsistency peculiarly unworthy of a rational, intelligent man. Without dwelling further upon the moral aspects of such a delinquency, we commend a reverent and habitual recognition of the "word of God" as the source of mental power, and an incomparable auxiliary to great intellectual achievements. It has been said, most erroneously, by a great ethical writer, that when a course of right action has become

habitual, it is no matter how soon the reasons for its adoption are forgotten. On the contrary, it is a radical defect in mere habitual virtue, that it speedily degenerates into dull, irksome routine, and gradually loses the vitality and earnestness which are essential to all high performance. For this paralyzing tendency there is in most constitutions no remedy but what may be supplied by the power and permanence of the actuating motive. So long as the mind is kept under the influence of strong and predominating considerations and interests, its energies are likely to be kept in full play, and neither habit nor old age can dry up the sources of its vigour and activity. We know of no mental habitude more favourable to the full development and lasting efficiency of the intellectual powers than that of keeping the soul in perpetual conscious communion with its highest sources of activity. It is an inspiring, as well as a hallowing thought, that we are performing a part assigned to us by the Divine wisdom, and in accordance with God's own specific directions. Something of a Divine influence, we had almost said of the divinity itself, rests upon and pervades that mind which derives its maxims, and imbibes its spirit, from Heaven's living oracles. "Whosoever drinketh of this water shall never thirst—it shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life." Once enthroned as the supreme arbiter of human pursuits, the word of God is able completely to harmonize the soul's jarring, conflicting impulses, and to bring the emotional and moral nature of man into fraternal alliance and co-operation with the understanding. The sublime principles and sublimer hopes which it supplies become incorporated with a new life, of which every purpose, and plan, and effort, is instinct with a power more than human. The indwelling monitor, heeded thoughtfully and reverently obeyed, grows to be the source of all genial aspirations and joys, as well as of authority. Obedience to such a rule of life, begun early, and carried out in all of life's pursuits, consciously and cordially, inspires our entire earthly career with something like the buoyancy and freshness of perpetual youth. It supplies an antidote for distaste and discouragement—it supplies all needful resources against the day of defeat or disaster, by making God a partner and co-worker in all our enterprises. It is the only expedient known either to philosophy or experience for furnishing with an adequate supply of cheering, invigorating motive, the rapidly approaching period of sere and sapless old age. The young man in whom the word of God abideth and reigneth, has discovered the fabled herb which cures the fell disease of age, and beautifies and refreshes the soul with perpetual youth. "He shall be like a tree

planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

Finally. "I write unto you, young men, because ye are strong." Bodily and mental vigour belong to the young, as physical attributes. Their energies are fresh and unwasted. They plan courageously, and execute with a strong hand. These are spontaneous tendencies of youth, and they indicate very intelligibly the duties of this period, so important in the history of human life. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth." Be strong. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Make the *most* of the powers intrusted to you. Cultivate the habit of *doing your best* in all your undertakings. Put your highest energies in requisition. Summon to your aid the strongest impulses which the enterprise in hand is entitled to enlist in its favour. You are a student. Strive to go to the bottom of every subject of investigation. Aim at nothing less than a thorough knowledge of every author and every branch of science to which you direct your attention, less for the scholarly acquisitions which it ensures, than for the mental habits it induces. Accustom yourself to superficial study and negligent investigation, and you soon become incapable of any other. The mind speedily learns the bad art of being satisfied with this degraded standard of performance, and of thinking well of its mean attainments. It ceases to know, or even to suspect, that there are depths beyond the measurements of its own short line, and in the very profoundness of its ignorance grows conceited, and egotistic, and flippant. Some years consumed in scholastic pursuits, conducted on such a plan, are likely to establish mental habits utterly incompatible with any masculine development or honourable achievement in after life, just as the prisoner, long confined to his cell, loses the power of vigorous and graceful locomotion, or as the invalid, bed-ridden for half a lifetime, never afterward aspires to do more than creep softly along covered piazzas and shady alcoves. On the contrary, earnest, vigorous intellectual effort soon becomes easier than any other, because it rallies the mind's best powers, and is sustained by its strongest impulses. Such occupation is always pleasant, because distastes and ignominious sloth fly from the presence of a manly, vigorous movement; and honourable success, which earnest, brave endeavour never fails to secure, is itself an independent source of interest and satisfaction perpetually renewed.

We would inculcate the same doctrine in regard to all of the

occupations in which an educated young man is likely to engage. Never enter upon any pursuit or profession which you do not deem worthy of your attention; and when your career is once resolved upon, devote to it your undivided energies. Aim at the highest excellence. *Do your best.* Some departments of professional life present stronger incitements than others to this generous outlay of earnestness and endeavour. The urgent competition of the bar, and the fact that its efforts are usually made in the presence of learned judges and advocates, who would not fail to detect and expose empty pretensions, afford, perhaps, the best guarantee against indolence and superficial attainments—a guarantee, however, which has not been able to exclude from the forum a considerable number of incompetent men. The physician performs his functions in a more private sphere, and, for the most part, in the presence of unprofessional spectators, where it is more easy to make pretension and bluster pass for science. The danger of being content with superficial attainments, and of falling into habits of mental lethargy, is proportionably increased, and with it the need of moral incitements to a faithful and wise discharge of duties as important and sacred as any which do not more directly act upon the moral and intellectual interests of man.

It is worthy of especial observation, that those professions which are most intimately concerned with the highest interests of the race, are more than others remote from the operation of ordinary worldly motives, and to a greater extent left to the power of conscientious and religious considerations. This is eminently the case with teachers of youth, whose functions are never effectively performed without such a degree of professional enthusiasm, or of conscientious devotion to duty, as will supply the resources of strong impulses and unfailing earnestness. The man who has nothing to bring to these duties but so much work for so much pay—who retires satisfied when he has read his lecture, and made his criticisms, and recorded delinquencies, may be pronounced wholly unfit for the responsibilities of a profession which acts upon *mind*. He might become a respectable artisan or labourer, but not a teacher of youth. He is not fit to be trusted with the culture of intellect. He does not sympathize with its wants or destinies. Whoever rightly comprehends these will shrink from the responsibilities of the teacher's profession, or he will labour to satisfy them with all the solicitude that a sense of personal and religious obligation can inspire. He will habituate himself to reflect that he is engaged in making impressions that must remain ineffaceable and immortal—that he is giving to mind such developments and tendencies as it

shall bear with it through eternity—that no other man can correct his mistakes, or supply his deficiencies, or atone for his faults. What he does, must remain forever essentially unchanged; what he neglects to do, will remain undone. Even professional enthusiasm, without this higher sense of the moral relations of his calling, will prove an insufficient incitement to fidelity to the claims of duty. It may ensure all due attention to pupils of quick parts and aspiring minds, but this is precisely the class which has least occasion for the teacher's aid. The less gifted, the tardier mind, the timid, the thoughtless, and even the indolent youth, has claims upon the teacher not less sacred, and the untiring zeal, and patient, conscientious fidelity with which he applies himself to the self-denying work of developing *such* minds, so far as they are susceptible of improvement, and of *doing his best* with every individual committed to his instruction, constitutes the highest test of excellency in his vocation. Whoever is above or below this toilsome detail—whoever does not think *any sane mind*, made immortal by its God, worthy to engage his solicitude and his labours—has no special calling to the work of a teacher. He may win a reputation by his success with apt, ambitious pupils; but his negligence, impatience, contempt for others, who are also to be trained for eternity, intellectually as well as morally, and the scantiness of whose resources the more urgently demands a painstaking culture, are offences against humanity and morality, which it would not be easy to characterize by epithets too strong. We dwell the more earnestly upon this topic, because a very considerable proportion of our educated young men engage either for a season or permanently in the business of teaching, and we would inspire them with a deep sense of the responsibilities they perhaps too inconsiderately assume. We would encourage them to enter upon this work with enlarged views and the most Christian purposes. It ranks next to the Christian ministry in its intimate relations with man's highest interests, and in the dignity of the greatest usefulness. More properly, it is itself a Christian ministry, co-operating with the Gospel in exalting the human family to intelligence and purity, and in fitting men for the joys and occupations of heaven. Lower views than these of the teacher's function will prove too feeble to sustain his vigour and fidelity under the trials and distastes incident to his vocation, and to resist the temptations to discouragement and relaxed effort, which perverseness, indolence, and inaptitude will never fail to supply; while the consciousness of toiling, not with the low ambition of qualifying a few more gifted pupils to acquire distinction in literary or professional life, but with the holy purpose of preparing *all*, according to

the measure of mental capacity bestowed upon them by the Creator, for the destinies of their endless being, is likely to prove an unfailing source of encouragement and strenuous activity.

In conclusion, we apply the teachings of this discussion to the Christian ministry. All who aspire to this holy function, our argument admonishes to come to its toils prepared to put forth the highest mental and moral energies with which nature, study, and the grace of God have endowed them. Here, more even than in any secular pursuit, success is proportioned to the spirit of consecration and self-sacrifice in which the work is done, rather than to the measure of native or acquired endowments. Such a spirit, however, supposes the most earnest endeavours to acquire qualifications for usefulness no less than earnestness in the use of them. It breathes itself forth in the preparations of the closet no less than in the efforts of the pulpit. God has joined these things together, and the man who presumptuously puts them asunder does it at the certain peril of his usefulness, no less than of his reputation. That Divine grace which, beyond all controversy, is the great element of saving power, does, with great uniformity, co-operate with the clearest, strongest, and most earnest inculcation of truth; while the preacher whose thoughts are feeble, puny, and obscure, and uttered heartlessly, is never likely to be honoured with a sanction which might be mistaken for Heaven's approbation of ignorance or indolence. The church has never more reason to be ashamed than of ministers who no longer *try to preach well*—who only go to their study to read newspapers and periodicals, and have nothing fresher and better for the pulpit than the dry, cold fragments of oft-tasted feasts, or the yet more refuse and unwholesome viands which the troublous agitations of the moment are able to galvanize into some of the lower forms of life. It is wonderful that the least spark of piety should not deter men from bringing such *cheap* offerings before God. And yet one often hears such moral enormities justified and defended on something like logical and Christian grounds. The minister should not be forever pressing upon his highest notes. He should guard against the danger of exciting expectations which he will not be able, without much inconvenience, to satisfy. It is not quite compatible with humility to labour so incessantly after uncommon thoughts and classical expressions. The minister must *come down* to the common mind if he would not lose the sympathies of his audience. The most common argument of all—it betrays an overweening confidence in human effort, and too little sense of dependence upon God, to lay so much stress upon great sermons. These truisms must all essen-

tially fail of sheltering laziness and folly under their philosophic or saintly garb, since in so far as they are of any application to the subject, they are embraced by the rule which ever demands of the preacher's hands the *best effort* he is able to make. It is great folly, as well as great arrogance, to talk of *coming down* to the popular mind. The sort of slip-shod, meaningless preaching to which we have adverted, is beyond all other human performances, incomprehensible by a popular assembly which grasps with ease and spontaneous intuition the luminous thoughts, and terse, clear argumentation and analysis of a really intelligent, earnest man. There is contagion in the movement of his spirit, and the hearer drinks in the deep import of his words without a tithe of the labour it costs to sift the eddying chaff of an empty, unimpassioned mind. The objection with which we are dealing takes it for granted that a sermon, which is the product of thoughtful, studious hours, must be dark with tantalizing metaphysics, or with turbulent scholastic or transcendental jargon, as if the man who thinks most vigorously, and prepares most carefully and systematically, were not more likely on that account to speak intelligibly. The theory suggested by our subject, as well as by every rational view of the Christian ministry, is not over-solicitous about the production of great, or learned, or highly-finished, or eloquent sermons; but it does imperatively demand that every preacher of the Gospel should put forth his utmost energies both for preparation and for performance—that he keep his soul all alive to the sacredness and fearful responsibilities of his calling—that he shun as a fatal, damnable dereliction, a negligent, perfunctory ministry, which satisfies itself with decent, easy routine, and deems it no offence to bring into the Divine presence a maimed sacrifice, that costs neither study nor prayer, and conciliates the favour of neither God nor man. So far as results are concerned, the measure of capacity or learning is of infinitely less importance than the spirit in which the work is done. God does unquestionably employ in his vineyard a great variety of talents and attainments, and he honours every man according to the fidelity and spirit of consecration with which he fulfils his mission; but there is no place for the idle—none for those who are only half awake—none for those who are not prepared to "make full proof of their ministry," who are not of a fervent spirit, ready to endure hardness, or bonds, or death, for Christ's sake.

It is a source of unspeakable satisfaction, that, in defiance of ever-multiplying temptations to worldliness and ambition, so many of our educated young men are devoted in purpose to this sacred calling. Let them be entreated to remember well that the Chris-

tian ministry is not a work for drones. "Be ye strong." "Quit yourselves like men." Make your sacrifices in a liberal, magnanimous spirit. Hold no base parleying with flesh and blood. Ask of the Crucified, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" and let the responsive oracle be henceforth the law of your being. O rejoice to lay your talents, and your scholarship, and your life at the foot of the cross! "I write unto you, young men, because ye are strong." By the grace of God you can achieve something worth living for. Be ever mindful of what Divine resources are at the command of your prayer of faith. Seize upon them all, and consecrate them all to the service of Him "who hath loved you, and given himself for you." Shun no labour—no sacrifices. Give the best of your life, of your learning, of your genius, and your eloquence, if you possess them, to Him from whom you have received much more than all of these. You will be enriched by what you give. You will be made strong by the efforts you shall put forth. Such a consecration opens the way to the only true distinction. The only ambition worthy of a Christian scholar here finds its appropriate field of display.

Art. V.—THE INCARNATION.

1. *God in Christ: Three Discourses delivered at New-Haven, Cambridge, and Andover, with a Preliminary Dissertation on Language.* By Horace Bushnell. Hartford: 1849.
2. *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church.* By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of East Riding. London: 1848.
3. *Theophany; or, the Manifestation of God in Jesus Christ.* By Robert Turnbull. Second edition. Hartford: 1849.
4. *The Person and Work of Christ.* By Ernest Sartorius, D. D., General Superintendent and Consistorial Director of Königsberg, Prussia. Translated by C. S. Stearns, A. M. Boston: 1848.
5. *Letters on the Eternal Sonship of Christ.* By Rev. William Beauchamp, with an Introductory Essay, by Leroy M. Lee, D. D. Charleston: 1849.

The Person and Work of Christ is emphatically the great theological question of the age. Underlying the whole fabric of Gospel truth, it has to do with the faith, the experience, and the hopes of all Christians. Interwoven as it is with all the doctrines and institutions of religion, it seems to constitute a part of each, or rather the grand centre from which they all radiate. In itself a question of paramount importance, it infolds all the minor questions of revelation and religion. The apostle terms it the "great mys-

tery of godliness; God manifest in the flesh." This is the sublime mystery of our holy religion. Our faith centres in it; our hope clings to it; and our very yearnings of soul impel us onward in humble effort to comprehend its majesty and glory. So long, then, as this sublime mystery stands in the gateway that opens to heaven, and mortals are looking and hoping to enter by "the door," this question must open freshly before the successive generations of men. From the very nature of the case it must always be mooted and discussed in every succeeding age, as it has been in every past age; unless, indeed, humanity shall succeed in fathoming the unfathomable mysteries of the Godhead—the finite grasp and encircle the Infinite.

But circumstances have given at the present time a momentous importance to this subject. Modes of thought and forms of expression, derived from a certain school in Germany, have been gradually working their way into our metaphysical and speculative philosophy, have also entered the domain of theology, and are endeavouring to subject its principles to new and untried, if not inapplicable tests. The cardinal and long-established doctrines of the Christian faith are to be subjected to a new and most searching re-examination, with a view to the general renovation of our established theological systems. These theological revolutionists are determined to dig down to the very foundations of Christianity, and to remodel the whole fabric upward. Without reverence, they enter the sanctuary of revelation, and assail its most sacred truths with a ruthless and arrogant criticism, that tramples everything Divine beneath its iron hoof. In this school, man becomes a critic and an umpire, inspecting Christianity as a system—not so much with a view of being instructed and blessed by it, as of discovering its defects, and making it more precise, critical, and philosophic in its character. Far different this from being a disciple in the school of Christ! In such a school of criticism and speculation, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, his essential divinity, and his atonement, or vicarious death, furnish fruitful subjects in which "old Christianity" is to be recast, newly moulded, modernized by the "new philosophy." The results of this attempt to philosophize Christianity, are seen in that rank denial of the inspiration of the Divine word which reduces the Bible to the level of common books, bating only its high antiquity, and its historical and literary character; also in that rank denial of the character and mission of Christ, which reduces him to the common level of humanity, or converts his whole history into a myth, having no foundation in historical fact.

We are not, however, protesting against the re-examination and

discussion of these questions. It is fitting, perhaps, that they should be re-examined, with all the advantages which modern science and method can offer. Nor do we fear the ultimate result of this investigation, whatever may be its more immediate consequences. Essential truth can lose nothing by the discussion. A clearer apprehension and a more precise statement of cardinal principles may possibly be reached. And even if, in reaching them, we should be compelled to surrender points we have been accustomed to regard as fundamental and essential, Christianity loses nothing, and we are infinite gainers. Indeed, we regard it as of no small moment that the public mind, and especially the thinkers of the age, have been awakened to recognize the importance of the subject. The dawn of a sounder and more healthful criticism is already discerned. Men no longer fear results. Error is looked boldly in the face; its arrogant assumptions and foregone conclusions are calmly and carefully weighed in the balance. The battle for truth is more than half fought.

Our object in this paper is less to review any of the able treatises that have recently been given to the world upon this subject, and the reading of which has been the occasion of our writing, than to examine briefly the subject itself. We search after truth, upon one of the profoundest and most momentous subjects that ever occupied the attention or tasked the powers of man.

The teachings of Christ were not given in the scientific forms of dogmatic theology. He spoke in sentences and in parables; but personally he stood forth the Mediator between man and God. This is the great religious and moral fact from which spiritual regeneration flows to the human race. It is the germ and central point of his doctrine. We cannot, therefore, separate his doctrine from his person. Humanity, divinity, and the union of the two, all are here. Biblical theology has then to ascertain, and classify, and express, under scientific forms, the contents of the Gospel history. The first disciples of the Lord Jesus followed the example of their Master in teaching and illustrating Christianity. But as the doctrine of Christ necessarily became a subject of theoretical consideration, as well as of experience and exemplification with them, they soon began to give scientific form and expression to it. Thus, St. John propounds the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ.* On the other hand, St. Paul develops the doctrine of justification by faith.† If a man wars against didactic theology, (*dogma,*) he wars against John and Paul.

* Introduction to his Gospel; also his First Epistle.

† Epistle to the Romans, &c.

In fact, when Christianity was brought into conflict with heresy, the polemic statement of the doctrines of Christ was no longer to be avoided. The first heresies in the early church appeared under the form of *Judaizing* and *ethnizing* tendencies. To counteract the former, St. Paul develops the doctrine of justification by faith in systematic form; to counteract the latter, St. John expresses in dogmatic form the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in the person of Jesus Christ. This was in the apostles' day.

During the second century, two new forms of heresy were developed—opposite in their character, but each seeking its correction in a more precise and rigid statement of the doctrines held by the church from the beginning. One of these errors appeared under the form of *Montanism*—which was an eccentric supernaturalism, conceiving the true nature of inspiration to consist in extraordinary emotions still continued in the church. The other error consisted in an attempt to adapt the mysteries of faith to the understanding, and thus to fill up the gulf between the natural and the supernatural. This, perhaps, was the first development of rationalism, and was the error of the *Alogi* and the first *Monarchians*.* From *Monarchianism* we have two branches of error, which were respectively germs of *Sabellianism* and *Arianism*, which, under the various forms of their development in subsequent ages, have continued to be the ever-present and pestilent heresies concerning the character and work of Christ.

§ 1.—*Symbol of the Church concerning the Logos.*

For the correction of these errors, a more precise and scientific statement of the doctrine of the Logos was felt to be necessary. The local councils of the church during the third century protested against the teachings of Noetus, Beryll, and Paul of Samosata, as heretical; but they lacked the plenary power to determine and impart general authority to the form in which the church should give utterance to this cardinal doctrine of the gospel. In the mean time, error became rampant and wide-spread. Sabellius had revived the errors of Noetus and Beryll, and given them scientific form and development. Arius, with a still more alarming success, had become the champion of the opposite phase of error. The necessity which led to the local councils had now become universal, and the first Œcumenical Council, held at Nice, in 325, was the result. A difficult task was before the council. To preserve orthodoxy in its purity, it must avoid Sabellianism on the one hand, and Arianism on the other. It must maintain sameness of essence

* Hagenbach, History of Doctrines, vol. i, § 24.

in the Trinity, but yet distinctness of persons. But how should this be done without giving countenance to the doctrine of subordination? How should the Arian shoals be escaped but by steering close to the Sabellian rock? Hence the term ὁμοιούσιος (of *similar* essence with the Father) would not do, and ὁμοούσιος (of the *same* essence with the Father) was adopted. Nor was the evasion of these errors the only difficulty the council had to encounter. It was now called by the force of circumstances, in the development of the doctrines of the Christian faith, to give scientific form, dogmatic expression, to one of the most sublime mysteries of the gospel.

The success of its effort to reach this result will be a matter of discussion by and by. But we will here premise, that the faith of the early church upon the doctrine of the Logos is made clearer to our apprehension by the struggles through which she passed, than by any subsequent dogmatic embodiment of it.

So much of the Nicene Creed as relates to this subject runs as follows:—

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only-begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, light of light; true God of true God; begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, both in heaven and upon the earth. . . . And those who say that there was a time when He was not, that before he was born he was not, and that he was made from nothing, or that he was of a different substance or essence, or that the Son of God was created, or is mutable, or is susceptible of change,—them the whole catholic and apostolic church anathematizes."

From this time forth the Nicene Symbol may be considered the accredited expression of the faith of the church. Subsequent modifications have never revoked its essential elements, and the ascendency of Arianism at a subsequent period was violent and temporary. The second Œcumenic Council, held at Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 381, confirmed and established the Nicene Creed, adding to it also a section affirming the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, which had been denied by Macedonius and his followers. The Council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century, (453,) set forth that, "in Christ there is *one person;* in the unity of person, *two natures,* the divine and the human; and that there is no change, or mixture, or confusion of these two natures, but that each retains its own distinguishing properties." The "Athanasian Creed," the date and authorship of which are alike in doubt, but which has been attributed to Hilary of the fifth century,* and is styled "Athanasian,"

* *Dr. Waterland, Crit. Hist.*—It is said that no mention of this creed is made in any of the works of Athanasius, nor any reference to it; but he, and all the divines

probably because it expresses the doctrines of which Athanasius was the great champion, is somewhat more precise in its statement:—

"Perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting—who, although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person; for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ."

The Westminster divines declare the three persons of the Godhead to be,—"the same in substance, and equal in power and glory;" that is, the Godhead is *numerically one*, while among the persons composing the Divine unity there is an equality of power and glory. The Church of England, in her First Article, tells us that,—"In unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity;" and, in her second, that "the Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father," &c. Such are the polemic statements of this doctrine that have from time to time been adopted. Between the Fathers and the modern Trinitarians we mark this difference of opinion. The Fathers held the communication *of the substance* (τῆς οὐσίας) of the Father to the Son; while the modern formula represents the Father as begetting only the *personality* (ὑπόστασις) of the Son, and the Father and Son, begetting only the *personality* (ὑπόστασις) of the Spirit. All these formulæ, however, make this radical distinction between the Father and the Son, namely, that the Father is *unbegotten*, and that the Son is *begotten*.

Let us apply ourselves to a careful scrutiny of this single feature of these symbols. But we must first premise, that our own convictions are clear and decided as to the distinct personality, the eternal and perfect equality, of the three that constitute the ever-blessed Godhead. Tertullian opposed to Arianism on the one hand, and to Sabellianism on the other, the doctrine, that while the Son—that is, that which was superhuman in him—was one *in substance* with the Father, yet was his personality distinct and real. Origen advances a step farther, and declares the "Son's eternal generation," thus excluding time from the generation of Christ, and

of his age, continually refer to the Nicene Creed. Nor do any of the writers immediately succeeding make any allusion to it, though abundant occasion was afforded them. Dr. Cave says it was not cited till about the year A. D. 800; and that it was not received in the church till about A. D. 1000. It is, however, of unquestionable antiquity, and quadrates well with the views of the most orthodox of the fathers.

endeavouring to cut off the objection to his divinity that might be based upon his generation. And this symbol, "eternal generation," has been handed down through every succeeding age. So far as these statements are regarded simply in their original design, namely, to oppose, in a polemic way, the doctrine that Christ is a being merely human, or that he was merely a manifestation of God, we can readily see how they reach their design.

But another question comes up here. How can they consist with the absolute equality of the persons in the Godhead? This we freely confess we do not see, nor have we ever been able to comprehend. The representation is that—The Father is unbegotten, but begets; the Son is begotten, but never begets. Here a capacity, that of *begetting*, is predicated of the Father, which is not predicable of the Son. How, then, can the Son in every respect be equal with the Father? And how can one be begotten without dependence, in that respect, upon him that begets? Is the *essence* of the superhuman in Christ begotten by the Father? Then is the Son dependent for that essence upon his Father, and the Father has this one prerogative above the Son. Or is the *personality* only of the Son—according to the refinements of modern scholastics—begotten by the Father? Then—leaving out of the question the difficulty of apprehending how a personality independent of essence can be begotten—is the Son dependent for his personality upon the Father, so that very little is gained. Nor is the difficulty removed by *eternal generation*. This may remove an incidental difficulty as to time; but the fact of generation, and the consequences deducible from it, remain.*

Now, *self-existence* and *independence* are essential elements of divinity; but derivation, whether by generation, procession, or emanation, implies *dependence*. Mr. Stuart has justly remarked:—

"A *derived* God, if words are allowed to have their appropriate meaning, cannot be a self-existent God; a *dependent* God cannot be an independent one. We may assert what we please respecting the indescribable, unspeakable, wonderful manner of generation or procession; we may disclaim all similitudes among created things ever so much or so strongly; yet all this goes

* The same objections lie against that form of expression which represents the Holy Ghost as "proceeding from the Father and the Son." Here a two-fold incapacity is implied on the part of the Holy Spirit. He neither *begets* nor *causes procession*. In both these respects these statements place the Father above the Holy Spirit; and, in the latter, the Son above him. We should, however, remark, that the Greek Church makes the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father only; so that the Son and the Holy Spirit are placed on similar ground in relation to the Father, he having a two-fold capacity above each.

only to the *manner* and not to the *matter* of the thing. The latter still remains. The idea of dependence and derivation is inseparably, and by absolute necessity, connected with the idea of generation and procession."—*Lib. Repos.*, vol. v, p. 282.

We must think that the Nicene Fathers surrendered more than half the ground in question to Arius, so far as their formula is concerned; nor do we wonder that Arius himself found so little difficulty in subscribing to it. True, they affirmed that the Son was ὁμοούσιος with the Father; but they made "the Father Almighty, [*unbegotten,*] Maker of all things visible and invisible," and the Son "begotten of the Father," and therefore dependent upon him. Indeed the formula—"we believe in one God"—most clearly has exclusive reference to the Father, independent of, and placed above, both the Son and the Holy Spirit.* Nothing is more clear than that the Nicene fathers regarded αὐτόθειον and ἀγεννησία as pertaining exclusively to the Father; but it is equally evident that they regarded this as in no way conflicting with the divinity of the Son.†

But there is still another objection to the doctrine that the *substance* or *essence* of the Son and Holy Spirit is derived from the Father. It is inconsistent with the unity of the Godhead. If there be three substances, (οὐσίαι,) each divine, then have we three Gods, or Tritheism in reality. But if the Father produced the substance of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and they are "of one substance with the Father," then has the Father produced or begotten himself.

Again, the ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί, of the Nicene Creed, expresses no unity of Father and Son beyond a homogeneousness of nature: and, consequently, the idea of *numerical oneness* is not necessarily implied. And, in fact, if we are able to comprehend the Fathers of that age, it was not a numerical unity of substance they contended for. Follow the symbol, then, and what is the result? Why, the Father and Son are one, but only so in the sense that a father, who

* The doctrine of Origen was, that the Father is very God, while the Son and Spirit are God, because they participate in the Divine Being. Bishop Bull clearly shows that the doctrine of the Fathers was,—"Pater solus naturam illam divinam a se habet, sive a nullo alio; Filius, autem, a Patre; proinde Pater divinitatis quæ in Filio est, fons, origo, et principium est."—*Defensio Fid. Nic.*, p. 251. See *Lib. Repos.*, 1835.

† The reason why these questions interposed so little difficulty to the Fathers was, probably, that many of them had been converted from polytheism, and all of them had become so familiarized with it, that they saw no insuperable difficulty in the multiplication of deities. The Son is sometimes called by them δεύτερος θεός. The unity they were strenuous to maintain, seems to have been merely of counsel, will, and work.

had begotten a son just like himself in nature, is one with that son. We have *two* gods, only they are alike. Even Bishop Pearson is equally vulnerable with the Fathers upon this point:—

"Now that the communication of the Divine essence by the Father was the true and proper generation by which he hath begotten the Son, will thus appear; because the most proper generation which we know is nothing else but a vital production of another in the same nature, with a full representation of him from whom he is produced. Thus a man begetteth a son, that is, produceth another man of the same human nature with himself; and this production, as a perfect generation, becomes the foundation of the relation of paternity in him that produceth, and of filiation in him that is produced. This, then, is the known confession of all men, that a son is nothing but another produced by his father in the same nature with him. But God the Father hath communicated to the Word the same Divine essence by which he is God; and consequently he is of the same nature with him, and thereby the perfect image and similitude of him, and therefore his proper Son."

He subsequently guards against the inference that might be made from the expression, "another," by affirming that

"the essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual, and indivisible; and therefore his nature is really communicated, not by derivation or decision, but by a total and plenary communication." "In human generations the son is of the same nature with the father, and yet is not the same man; because, though he hath an essence of the same kind, yet hath he not the same essence." "But the Divine essence, being, by reason of its simplicity, not subject to division, and, in respect of its infinity, incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that he which proceedeth by that communication hath not only the same nature, but is also the same God."

We are here confounded and bewildered; but see no light. First: "The most proper generation is nothing else but a vital production of another;" and yet the generation of the Son not "another," but "the same God," is a "far more proper than any natural generation." Second: "The same Divine essence by which the Father is God," he "hath communicated to the Word." Now here is an act of communication. The first person gives to the second. Did the second have an existence prior to that act? Third: The Father communicates the entirety of his essence to the Son. Now if the Son be distinct from the Father, must not the Father have left himself? Or if the Son "be the same God," then has God communicated himself to himself. Such, not to pursue the subject further, are some of the absurdities and contradictions in which incautious methods of statement, and still more vain attempts at explication, involve us.

We remark again, that we are not calling in question the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, nor the equality that exists among those persons. Our inquiry relates only to the form of the

statement of this cardinal doctrine of Christianity—not to the doctrine, but to the symbol that has been adopted to express it. A doctrine may be above us, and incomprehensible, because its foundations are laid in the infinite Mind. Such doctrines, in the ultimate appeal, must be tested by what God has revealed. But the symbols employed by us to express that revelation should be comprehensible, and are subjects of rational scrutiny and criticism. The remark of Milman concerning the Nicene Creed, that "it was conceived with some degree of Oriental indefiniteness, harmonized with Grecian subtilty of expression," is but too applicable to many of the formulæ used for the expression of this sublime and mysterious subject. So far as doctrines are embodied in creeds, the embodiment should be precise, clear, definite. We complain not that the doctrine of the Trinity has been held sacred, but that the formula, by which it has been sought to be expressed, is vague, defective, and liable to what appear to us insuperable objections. We are compelled to admit the conclusion of Schleiermacher:—"The canon which requires such a representation of the persons in the Trinity, as will not make them in any respect unequal, is not answered by such modes of representation as these."

To conclude upon this point, we believe in the numerical unity of the substance of the Godhead; we believe also in its essential or real tri-personality. We here fully adopt the views of Wilberforce, expressed by him with great force and perspicuity:—

"The three Persons in the blessed Trinity have a real existence in themselves—in the Deity there is an original, objective triplicity, independently of us, and of the world of creation. And this is the mystery of the Trinity in unity." "That which constitutes them real Persons, and not a mere fictitious representation,* is, that the characteristic conditions which mark their divergency should lie in the eternal nature of the Godhead itself, and not in any relation to the surrounding world of creation." "They have a necessary being, dependent on that eternal law by which the Godhead exists." "These two are the starting-points from which we must proceed; and the firm reception of both of them maintains the reality of our belief in God."—*Doctrine of the Incarnation*, pp. 163–165.

We assume, then, that God has been revealed to us as existing from eternity in his three-fold character of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This distinction is independent of all manifestations whatever. Hence, if God did not reveal himself in this three-fold character, the revelation would be imperfect, not true to the facts of his existence. We adopt the language of Professor Stuart:—"God must be, *in seipso*, what he has revealed himself to be."—*Bib.*

* As Sabellius, Schleiermacher, Bushnell, &c., would make them.

Repos., vol. vi, p. 96. This view leaves the subordination of Arianism, and of modern Unitarianism, without foundation, and, at the same time, it sweeps away the cobwebs of the triple manifestation of the One, as woven by Sabellius, Schleiermacher, and Bushnell. In fact, the grand arguments of both classes of errorists have found their stronghold in the modes and forms by which the doctrine of the Trinity has been exhibited; and their artillery has been levelled with more effect at the staging thrown up around the doctrine than at the doctrine itself. In this view, also, the figment of "eternal generation," which has long puzzled without satisfying the spirit of inquiry, disappears. The doctrine of which we have here just given the outline leaves no logical chasm to be bridged over by an incomprehensible hypothesis whose safety lies in its intangibility. It is simply Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Not *three shadows* of the Absolute, unseen, and unapproachable; but three persons in one God. Not manifested as three simply because of the convenience of manifestation in that form; but that the manifestation might conform to the facts of his being. We say then, again, simply, Father, Son and Holy Spirit —the Triune God, existing ere the work of creation was begun;— not an eternal *Monas*, discerping something from himself to form a second, and then another something to form a third; but a Triune God, whose every part reaches backward into the unexplored recesses of eternity, and upward into the unapproachable amplitude of infinity. The Sonship of Christ is eternal as the eternity of God.

§ 2.—*Theories of the Incarnation—Person of Christ.*

Most of the radical errors that have infected the church have had a connexion, more or less remote, with this profound and mysterious subject. Some of the earlier discussions upon the subject of the Trinity, resulted from the efforts of converted heathen scholars to harmonize the Scripture Trinity with the trinities revealed in the speculations of their philosophers. Thus Plato has the first Good, the Word, or Understanding, (νοῦς,) and the Soul. The first Good is God—the uncreated and eternal; the Word is the Son of the first and unbegotten, by whom he was begotten, and with whom he is coequal; and the Soul, which is the Holy Ghost, is a sort of middle term between the Father and the Son, perhaps an emanation from them jointly. Justin Martyr, who was a converted Grecian philosopher, endeavoured to harmonize the revealed with the speculative Trinity. He says, that "the Son is in God, what the understanding is in man, and that the Holy Spirit is that Divine

power to act and execute, which Plato calls *ἀρετή*." He evidently regards the Son and the Holy Spirit as derived or created, and yet divine. This idea of a *created* or *dependent* Divinity seemed to afford no obstacle, and suggest no inconsistency, to those so familiar with the "gods many" and "lords many" of the heathen.

Platonism, of all philosophical systems, stood in the nearest relation to Christianity. Hence, near the close of the second century, many of the Platonic philosophers came over to Christianity; yet they seem to have embraced it as in some light a system of philosophy, and brought into it their philosophic habits and modes of thought, receiving Christianity as the most perfect philosophy.* With them, Platonism had its origin in Moses, and they everywhere found coincidences between Moses and Plato. The questions with which they were occupied were similar to those previously mooted by the Gnostic Christians,—the existence of sin and its destruction by Christ. This led at once to the discussion of the Logos, under which designation they found Christ revealed; yet many of them did not assume a personal distinction of the Logos from the Father.

* "The new Platonists, for the most part, regarded Christ as the most distinguished being and theurgist. On the other hand, however, they asserted that the doctrine of Christ perfectly agreed with theirs at first, but that it had been in many ways corrupted by his disciples, especially by the doctrine of Christ's Deity, and forbidding the worship of the gods."—*Gieseler's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i, § 55, p. 178.

Thus the age of speculation commenced in the church. Praxeas assumed that there was no difference between the Divine Being in the Redeemer and in the Father. He sought to guard against giving the most remote countenance or favour to polytheism, while, at the same time, he asserted the highest possible Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He seemed to think that

"in case one does not allow himself to detract from the Divine nature of the Redeemer, nor deny, nor abridge it, he could consistently maintain the unity of the Godhead, only by not separating the divine in the Redeemer from that of the Father, and by not representing it as *subordinate*, but by explaining it as one and the same."

This doctrine of Praxeas experienced a terrible encounter from Tertullian. He says:—"So Praxeas accomplished the devil's business in two respects, at Rome. . . . He drove away the Comforter, and crucified the Father."† Noetus, in Ephesus, and Beryll, in Arabia, taught doctrines similar to those taught by

* Gieseler's Eccl. Hist., vol. i, § 52, p. 153.

† "Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit. . . . Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit."

Praxeas in Rome. Here we have the germ of Sabellianism as early as the second century of the Christian era—a heresy that has not wholly ceased to the present to infect the church, and which in every age has both attracted and bewildered speculative and philosophic minds.

Sabellius was a presbyter of Ptolemais. He lived about the middle of the third century. His distinctive doctrine was, that the appellations, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were only so many different manifestations and names of one and the same Divine Being.* By this means, he, on the one hand, avoided the subordination of the Son to the Father; but, on the other, he destroyed the intrinsic or real personality of the Son. This doctrine of Sabellius not only spread extensively in his own age, but so clearly did he impress upon it his own genius, that the epithet *Sabellianism* thenceforward became a generic term; and till the present day embraces almost all "the different shades of opinion, which deny the hypostatic theory of the Trinity, and yet maintain the Godhead of Christ." Sabellianism occupies so large a space in the heresies that have infected the church upon the Person and Work of Christ, that it demands a more precise and definite statement. We have already said that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were regarded by Sabellius as only so many forms of manifestation of the one God—the divine and eternal *Monas*. Any absolute, original triplicity of persons in the Godhead he repudiated. Also personality in the Godhead he regarded not as original, substantial, and essential to divinity itself, but as arising from the developments or exhibitions which the Divine Being makes of himself to his creatures; that is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not mere names of powers or attributes of the eternal *Monas;* but that each of these characters is God acting personally; each manifestation is a personality. This we believe to be the precise doctrine of Sabellius, as near as we can comprehend and state it. It will at once be perceived that the term *person*, in the vocabulary of Sabellius, is used in a peculiar and modified sense; and this, we have no doubt, has led to the very general misapprehension of his doctrine.

These views were, in the main, embraced by Schleiermacher, who regarded the eternal and absolute Monas as God *unrevealed;* the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as God *revealed*. And this, if we understand him, is the view essentially embodied by Dr. Bushnell, in his celebrated "Discourses on the Incarnation and Atonement." The different phases of Sabellianism present one of the great forms of error upon the Godhead of Christ—permeating

* See Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, vol. i, p. 243.

almost every phase of mystical theology in the old world, and often cropping out among the Unitarian speculatists of our own country.

The other grand form of error upon the doctrine of Christ is Arianism. The Ebionites, who never attained as much influence as celebrity, were among the early *Judaizing teachers* in the church. They rejected the pre-existence and divinity of Christ—believed him to have been a mere man, the natural son of Joseph and Mary. Artemon gave an additional impulse to this heresy toward the close of the second century. He not only denied the Godhead of Christ, but declared that the doctrine itself was an innovation upon primitive Christianity, contrary to the doctrines taught by the apostles, by the early church, and by Christ himself. The doctrine of Artemon having fallen into disuse, and almost into forgetfulness, it was revived toward the close of the third century by "Paul of Samosata," who forms the transition from Artemon to Arius.* Dionysius was indeed led to Arianism from another direction. He carried his opposition to the Sabellian doctrine to so great an extreme as to assert that Christ was created. He, however, yielded before the storm that was gathering, and left it to Arius, who was made of sterner stuff, to take the distinct alternative of Origen's theory, which represented the Logos as a ray of Divine glory, still proceeding from God. The doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son to the Father was so defined by Arius, as to make the former a creation of the latter. Sabellianism preserved the divinity of the Logos at the expense of its personality; Arianism preserved its personality at the expense of its divinity.

We have thus briefly traced the origin of these two radical errors concerning the Person and Work of Christ. Their advent was the origin of a series of polemic conflicts, whose termination, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, has not yet been reached. It is, indeed, really curious to trace the different forms in which these two heresies have been reproduced in succeeding ages. And it is equally remarkable that the voluminous discussions of modern theologians have evolved scarcely a new idea upon the subject. There have been shadings off of different views, wire-drawn distinctions, startling enunciations, and the furbishing up of old ideas by the appliance of modern diction. But that either of these errors has received fuller development, or stronger advocacy, than by the polemics of ages long since gone by, we sincerely doubt. One of the intrinsic difficulties of the subject, no doubt, is, that it everywhere borders upon and extends into the illimitable and the unknown.

* There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the doctrines of both Artemon and Paul of Samosata.

It is not our purpose to trace further these errors, nor yet the controversies they have occasioned. Modern Unitarianism has received its characteristic from Socinus, and is Arian, as distinguished from Sabellian. Strauss very justly said of Socinianism, that it was the "birthplace at once of the *Supernaturalism* and the *Rationalism* of modern theology." The early Socinians declared the utter impossibility of a mere religion of reason, and asserted the necessity of an external revelation. But, at the same time, they proceeded upon the fundamental principle that revelation cannot contain anything incomprehensible, or contrary to reason; and hence, they held the subordination of Scripture to the understanding. This last feature of Socinianism is pretty thoroughly ingrafted into the Unitarianism of the present day. As to the Person and Work of Christ, there is no agreement among Socinians; yet they generally unite in denying that he is God. Some, however—among them was the late Dr. Channing—believe in his pre-existence, that he was more than human, that he was the unsullied image of God's purity, that he is the intercessor of the human family, and that he will be their judge. This class—a sort of semi-Arians—constitute, no doubt, a large portion of the body of Unitarians. Those who absolutely deny any Divine characteristics to the Saviour, are mainly of that class who also rob the Gospel of its Divine character. Encircling themselves with a sort of semi-Christianity, they become the most dangerous foes of religion. They are enemies within the camp. They extract the living aliment from Christianity, and then offer it to mortals perishing for the bread of life.

§ 3.—*The Humanity of the Logos.*

Speculation with reference to the Person of Christ was rife even in the apostolic age of the church. Yet, as no speculative basis had been established in the church during the first few centuries, the greatest latitude was allowed, so long as the divine and human in Christ were untouched. The union of these constituted his typical and atoning character, and was, therefore, a vital element in the faith of the primitive church. The struggle, however, of reason to comprehend the peculiar nature of Christianity had already commenced; and one of its earliest developments was the denial of the humanity of Christ. The Godhead had been so manifest in his marvellous works, and his worship had become so universal among his disciples, as left no room to question his Deity. Therefore the *Docetæ* represented his humanity as a mere appearance, after the manner of the manifestation of angels, (*δοκηταί,*) according to the

Jewish conception.* Also the Gnostics, the philosophical basis of whose speculation was the old question concerning the origin of evil, (*πόθεν τὸ κακόν*,) were led out into the denial of the humanity of Christ. They deemed matter the sole principle of evil, and that human spirits were freed from evil only as they broke away from the fetters of the Demiurgus, (*δημιουργός*,) or the lower divinity from whom the material world had proceeded, and found their rest in a spiritual world, the centre and light of which was Christ. They regarded our Lord, therefore, as a Divine Spirit—one of the highest and purest spirits of light. In him the highest Divinity was revealed; and, elevated above all being, he had out of himself produced a world of light, a world of blessed spirits.† Up to this world it was the object of Christ to bring human spirits, that they might no longer be subject to the corruption of matter. And hence they regarded him as manifesting himself only in the form of humanity, without any real union with it.

This, as we have already intimated, was one of the earliest heresies in the church relating to the Person of Christ. Its development most likely began to be manifested in the day of the evangelist John; for he has left against it this distinct and striking testimony: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now is it in the world." 1 John iv, 3. Irenæus, who very justly is said to have belonged to the school of St. John, as Justin Martyr did to that of St. Paul, opposes to the Gnostic heresy

"the declaration of Scripture, and the constant belief of the church, that 'our Lord redeemed us by his own blood, and gave his life for our life, and his flesh for our flesh.' He discriminates between mere natural limitation, which belongs to material being, and that moral corruption, which is the consequence of sin. Without the removal of the last, he says, there was some natural impossibility in man's salvation; whereas the admixture of material elements in man's nature was only a part of that perfect construction in which he was originally made. And that Christ our Lord participated in them, was shown by abundant individual indications. Why else should he have been hungry after his fast, or weary after his journey? Why should He have wept at the tomb of Lazarus, or, in his Passion, have shed drops of blood?"—*Wilberforce, Doc. Incar.*, p. 139.

The denial of the Humanity of Christ, though it may seem to exalt his Divinity, does it at the expense of doctrines fundamental in the Christian scheme. If Christ was not *man* as well as God, then the occurrences recorded as facts in his life become mere fictions. The baptismal scene of Jordan, the temptations in the

* Gieseler's Eccl. Hist., vol. i, § 36, p. 112.
† Gieseler's Eccl. Hist., vol. i, § 44, p. 132.

mount, the driving out the buyers and sellers from the temple, the scene at the last supper, the terrible agony in Gethsemane, and the sufferings upon the cross, were all in *appearance*, and not in fact; all a dramatic representation, designed to delude the senses. There was, then, no incarnation, no vicarious death, and, by consequence, no atonement. The only safe ground, then, is to come back to the simple representation of the Scriptures. They everywhere describe our Lord as a true man. He was conceived, born, increased in stature, grew in age and wisdom, was subject to his parents, was hungry, and ate; thirsty, and drank; was wearied, and slept; rested, and waked; he walked and rode, instructed and rebuked, offered up prayers and supplications "in the days of his flesh," was persecuted, suffered, and died. What more can be essential to complete the catalogue of humanity?

If you object the philosophical difficulty of conceiving how the Divine nature and the human soul could be so united as to constitute *one person*, we have only to beg that the question may be deferred, and that we may rest upon the simple Scripture fact, till we have so far solved the mystery of our own nature as to philosophically determine how the material and the spiritual are so blended in man as to form one nature. Here we touch upon one of the profound and awful mysteries of—not merely the Godhead, but also our own being:—

"Both the conditions of the body and the mind unite themselves in consciousness; and though both are different, according to their respective natures, still they are so formed as to unite in one consciousness, or human I, or *one person*: and this consciousness has its basis not in the body, but in the soul. There is no transubstantiation of the body into the soul. Both remain what they are, and after the separation takes place at death, the body is no longer fit for this co-partnership, but returns again to the dust, from whence it was taken. So long, however, as the personal union exists, the body is perfectly *besouled*—sees, hears, and feels with the soul, and sympathizes with it in all its joys and sorrows. Likewise, the soul is on its part *embodied*; lives in, with, and among corporeal organs, operates through the instruments of the body, and shares in its pleasures and pains, from the middle-point of consciousness."—*Sartorius' Person and Work of Christ*, p. 46.

This fact, unveiled in the great mystery of humanity, sheds a glimmering light along the inscrutable mysteries of that act by which God is manifested in the flesh, and Godhead and humanity united into one conscious personality.

"And although this great act of the condescension of God will be veiled among holy mysteries, we can perceive by analogy that it contains nothing in and for itself impossible, contradictory, or unworthy of God." "As the soul receives the body into the unity of its consciousness, and daily takes to itself new thoughts and new sensations, so the Son of God, without association or

mixture, takes the entire human nature, body and soul, into the unity of his self-consciousness, and, without ceasing to exist, becomes thereby God and man."—*Sartorius' Person and Work of Christ*, p. 49.

Here is the same mystery that enshrouds man as a physical and as a spiritual being. The weakness of the understanding, that staggers under such a sublime, far-reaching mystery, is no argument against the fact of revelation.

Still, two questions of serious moment are here interposed. The first originates in the question of the assumption of human nature without also assuming its limitations, its depravity; the second proceeds on the doubt whether it were consistent to suppose that the Infinite and Eternal, with nature and work so exalted and glorious, would so humble himself upon our earth—the merest speck in the created universe, and for our sakes, who are absolutely inconsiderable among the other creatures of God. With reference to the first question, we infer that, inasmuch as Christ assumed our common nature, man's hereditary sin can form no positive part of his constitution. Wilberforce affirms truly,—

"That Christ should have taken man's nature, shows that its corruption was not in such wise inherent in its existence, that to assume the nature was to assume the sin."—*Incarnation*, p. 74.

The Divine light lost in Adam—and which bereft man of Divine guidance, and left him a prey to the usurpation of the lower principles of his nature—was restored in Christ. In Adam, the type, the Divine Spirit was united for a time; but in Christ, the anti-type, the same Spirit dwelt permanently, and without measure. The Word was made flesh. Christ, the Archetypal man, robed himself in humanity.

"He took the very same composition of parts, which remained to Adam after the likeness of God was lost. 'Because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also himself took part of the same.' And this he did, not by the creation of materials which did not before exist; the materials were drawn from that stock for which the benefit was designed. He was 'made of a woman.' The materials, therefore, which were employed were weak and disorganized, because they were taken of one who was heir to Adam's defects. But then He who took them was the Word of God. Into those weak and poor elements of our nature there flowed the very might, wisdom, and purity of Deity itself. Thus was their weakness from the first corrected; from the first moment that His nature existed, its disorder was counteracted by the perfect order and harmony of God's Spirit, and though made of a woman, He was made without sin."—*Wilberforce on the Incarnation*, p. 78.

For this reason, the temptations that assailed Christ, like those which assailed Adam, were from without. Adam was the type of humanity, and all his inheritors are connected with him by natural descent; Christ is the antitype—"the Pattern Man"—with whom

all born are connected, and after whom the believer is moulded by regeneration. "The first man, Adam, was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." Thus do we see how He who was rich could become poor, that we might be enriched by a union with himself. By virtue of his Divinity is He the representative of God; by virtue of his humanity is he the representative of man; and combining these principles, He has become the Mediator between man and God. In this work the humanity was as essential as the Godhead.

The other question rests upon an assumption of what we do not know, namely, that the ends of the incarnation were confined to the human race, and were not also intended for the manifestation of the Divine glory among all created intelligences. That the anthem of the archangel is not inspired with richer thought and deeper melody by the glories of the Godhead reflected upward from the grand scene of man's redemption, we are not prepared to say. Nowhere else, certainly, does the Divine benignity beam forth so gloriously as in the work of redemption. Call it a minute, small work, if you please; still forget not that in the structure of a perishable blade of grass, the power of God is as fully displayed as in the mechanism of worlds.

§ 4.—*The Divinity of Christ.*

The office of Christ was that of *mediation* between man and God. Mediation implies representation. To be the representative of humanity, Jesus Christ must be *human*—must possess the essential attributes of our nature—must himself be man. To be the representative of *Divinity*, he must be *Divine*. Hence in him was not only perfect *manhood*, but also perfect *Godhead*. He that was "before all," is "above all," and in whom "all things consist," must be God. The manifestation of himself is not the putting off of the Divine nature, but its embodiment; for "God is in Christ," "the Word became flesh." He, then, that hath seen Christ, "hath seen the Father." Hence, is the First-begotten become not only the head of the church, but the great object of worship by the saints on earth, and by the angels of God in heaven. He "took upon him the form of a servant;" but there was no relinquishment of his Divinity. He is "God over all, and blessed forever."

"He was the representative of man, and therefore he lived as a man, felt as a man, wept as a man, died as a man; but he was, also, the representative of God, and therefore he lived and acted, reigned and conquered as a God. As the representative of man, he submitted to the law, and yielded homage to

the Father; as the representative of God, he asserted his dominion over law, and claimed a right to universal supremacy. As the representative of man, he was depressed and exalted, guided and controlled; as the representative of God, he was revered and trusted, exalted and glorified. As the representative of man, he yielded to poverty and toil, to contempt and crucifixion; as the representative of God, he conquered death and the grave, and took his place 'at the right hand of the majesty on high.'"—*Turnbull's Theophany*, pp. 119, 120.

Here, then, in Jesus Christ, by virtue of his manhood, on the one hand, and of his Godhead, on the other, we have the grand element of mediation; he becomes the mediator between man and God. To sum up:—Whatever works are ascribed to the Father are also ascribed to the Son; whatever attributes—whether of eternity, of self-existence, omniscience, or omnipotence—are ascribed to the Father, are also ascribed to the Son; whatever titles of majesty, dignity, and glory are ascribed to the Father are ascribed to the Son; and, to crown the whole, they are declared to be one.

But wherefore and how does this war against the Divine Unity? Does any one in his senses affirm that, in the same sense, and at the same time, *God is three*, and *God is one?* What Trinitarian but subscribes to the declaration, There is ONE GOD? Who, being baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, supposes himself to be baptized in the name of three Gods? We adopt the language of Paul:—"But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." The same volume that reveals the Divine Unity, also reveals the Three that bear record, and who are One. The FACT is asserted. We may not be able to explain its relations to other facts. It is a question that is not to be settled by logical inductions, by metaphysical distinctions, nor yet by scientific demonstrations. Mr. Turnbull well remarks:—

"It is only in *some sense*—some sense consistent with the nature and essence of God—some sense recondite, or unrevealed, in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three, and yet one. None of us, with imperfect knowledge and limited capacity, may so far comprehend the absolute essence and infinite nature of God, as to be capable of showing, by a logical process, how Jesus Christ can be God, and yet there be only one supreme Divinity; that is to say, we may not understand the metaphysics of the case. Probably we have not arrived at the ultimate facts or principles involved in it: just as we have not yet arrived at the ultimate facts or principles involved in the law of gravitation; and, while admitting it as a scientific fact, cannot tell what it really is—cannot tell whether it may not be a modification of magnetism, or of some other power, known or unknown."—*Theophany*, pp. 126, 127.

All then we have to do is to set forth the simple Scriptural FACT of Christ's divinity, assured that this fact must in *some way* be

harmonious with that other fact—the Divine Unity. If a man cannot receive the Scripture fact, on the simple ground of Scripture authority, because his reason may not comprehend it, or may not perceive its harmony with some other fact, then our controversy with the man must commence farther back. We must know whether he admits the authority of revelation, and if not, it is idle to discuss the *facts* before the *authority* be settled.

But what is the real force or amount of this objection? It is, that the relevancy or harmony of two facts is not perceived. Suppose these two facts are ascertained to be utterly inconsistent with each other—that there is a positive antagonism between them; and that, after every possible comparison had been made, that antagonism still is apparent; then *one* of the facts must be rejected, or we must remain in *doubt*. But which shall suffer excision? So, if the divinity of Christ be absolutely KNOWN to be inconsistent with the Divine Unity, which is to be rejected? Which shall we strike from our creed? Shall we reject the Unity, or the Divinity? The Scriptural difficulties in the way of the rejection of either are equally insuperable. It is not within the province of science or reason to determine either. We do not see, then, that we can go any farther than to *doubt*. Positive rejection would be unwarranted by any dictate of reason or philosophy. But in the question before us, this absolute and irreconcilable repugnance has not been ascertained. We may indeed assert the Divine Unity, giving to that unity specific form and character: and then, whenever the Divinity of Christ is propounded, make that divinity have reference to the same form and character, and thus conclude the two doctrines irreconcilable. But who shall assure us that we have rightly interpreted the Unity or the Divinity? Philosophers tell us that "it requires two opposites to make a truth." If we look only at the opposites—the part-truths—without comprehending their union, it would certainly be absurd and unphilosophical to pronounce them irreconcilable. Perhaps those very opposites constitute their harmony. The ontology of the Divine Being is not fully revealed. The finite mind, we may well conceive, is incapable of receiving such revelation. If, then, our finite capacities are incapable of comprehending Deity *revealed*, how absurd to affect that knowledge of Him while *unrevealed!* The fact is, the truth revealed to us is connected with truths unrevealed; they reach back beyond our comprehension into the region of the unknown and the illimitable. The link of union and the key of mystery is above and beyond us. "Who, by searching, can find out God?"

It has also been alleged that our Saviour himself disavows the high claim of Divinity, and exalts "the Father" above himself. These negatives are full of interest; and, instead of reaching up to the divinity of Christ, may be regarded as the assertion of his voluntary humiliation; that he might become the Mediator between man and God. On any other supposition they would be absurd and preposterous. For why should a *man* gravely inform men that God is greater than he? Or why should a *man* find it necessary to assert his humanity? But the confirmation of the Divine truth that "the Word was made flesh"—that he "in whom dwelt ALL the fulness of the Godhead bodily," had so "humbled himself" as to become "the Mediator between man and God"—might require both these assertions. Lest the *human* in Christ, and his brotherhood to our race, should be lost sight of, merged in his Divinity, his humanity is asserted. As the God-man, he becomes the "Mediator," makes "atonement," and offers "intercession." To deny his relationship to humanity, as some of the early Christians were led to do, is to deny the three cardinal offices he fulfilled; it is, in fact, to reproduce the old heresy, "that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;" and which St. John declares "is not of God." The same necessity exists why Jesus should be Divine. as that he should be human.

"Jesus the *Mediator* must be human and yet infinite, in order to restore the soul to God; a God abstract, a God absolute, we cannot reach. We yearn for it; but we cannot reach it, cannot blend with it. A Mediator, a Reconciler is needed. God himself must come to us—come to us in an aspect and form which we can understand. In fact, he must link himself to us by an incarnation, in order to make us partakers of his nature and heirs of his immortality. He has done so in the person and work of Jesus Christ. So that, believing in Christ, we find God—become one with God."—*Turnbull's Theophany*, p. 131.

Here the conscious want of humanity—the conscious yearning of the soul after God, is met; it realizes with joyful surprise, "This is the true God, and eternal life." 1 John v, 20.

Thus far have we found ourselves moving in harmony with the several works placed at the head of this article, on the subject of Christ's Divinity.

§ 5.—*Dr. Bushnell's God in Christ.*

But from Dr. Bushnell we fear we must separate. There is in his compositions a strength (sometimes apparent, but often real) of argument, and an earnestness of diction, peculiarly fascinating. But when he brings us down "upon the shore of the Absolute—that Absolute which has no shore;" (p. 139;) and from that inaus-

picious stand-point wishes us to embark with him upon an ocean over which darkness broods, and whose deep waters are fiercely driven amid the blackness of the tempest, we must pause and examine the strength of our bark and the nautical skill of our pilot.

The path leading down to "the shore of the Absolute" is a rather winding and suspicious way. First, he says, the Three Persons in one substance perplex the mind; (what of that? The question is not whether the mind can comprehend it, but whether it is revealed;) and that the modes resorted to for the explanation of this unity, fail; also that "orthodox teachers and churches" "suppose themselves really to hold that God is one person," while yet "they most certainly do not;" and then, again, he asserts that "any intermediate doctrine, between the absolute unity of God and a social unity," that is, three Gods acting together harmoniously, "is impossible and incredible." Having by this devious way reached "the shore of the Absolute—that Absolute which has no shore," our author foreshadows his theory of the Divine Trinity, and of the Person of Christ:—

"I only insist that, assuming the strictest unity, and even simplicity of God's nature, He could not be sufficiently revealed to us without evolving a trinity of persons, such as we meet in the Scriptures. These persons or personalities are the *dramatis personæ* of revelation, and their reality is measured by what of the Infinite they convey in these finite forms. As such, they bear, on the one hand, a relation to God, who is to be conveyed or imported into knowledge; on the other, they are related to our human capacities and wants."—*God in Christ*, p. 137.

We cannot dismiss this paragraph, short as it is, without a few comments. In these broad and bold assumptions we have the germ of Dr. Bushnell's theory.

1. It is assumed that God could not reveal himself without evolving a Trinity of persons. By what process has this been ascertained? and where the giant intellect that has so comprehended the essence of God, sweeping back to the very *oneness* of the Absolute before it invented the triform *dramatis personæ* that were to manifest it to men and to angels, and becoming cognizant of the vain effort of "God struggling to reveal himself?" But wherein consists the insuperable difficulty of manifestation in *oneness* of personality—a difficulty, so great that even the "struggling" "Absolute" could not surmount it? Is *one* less explicable than three? and if plurality be required, simply as a mean of manifestation, why may not *two* answer? or why may not *seven* be required? We have a two-fold reason for the rejection of this theory,—first, its intrinsic absurdity; and, second, because it passes all the bounds of reason and knowledge, and claims a cognizance of the

ontology of Jehovah before he has revealed himself,—claiming to know what he is and what he can do.

2. Again, this theory resolves the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost —persons revealed—into mere manifestations of the actions and feelings of the *one Absolute.* They are not God, but only fictitious representations—false in fact, but true in design—designed to "import God into knowledge." They are not God, but represent him; just as the actor is not Shakspeare, but only "imports" Shakspeare "into knowledge." The actor may develop fully the genius of Shakspeare; but, alas for the Absolute, with all his "strugglings," even the Trinity fails to "import him into knowledge," for these *dramatis personæ* are, after all, only "finite forms," and must therefore fail to represent "the Infinite." This Trinity, then, is also a Trinity of "forms," and not of substance. Three shadows are bound together, and lo the Trinity!—a God!

3. Another radical objection lying at the very foundation of this manifestation theory, is, that it assumes that the incarnation was necessary for the revelation of God to man; and that "without a trinity, and incarnation, and *other like devices* of revelation, we never could have had a satisfactory, significant, and true representation of God." (P. 139.) Hence the incarnation would have been as essential to man unfallen as to man fallen and depraved. This representation of the object of the incarnation of our blessed Lord stands in most obvious and wide opposition to the Scripture doctrine that he came to effect our redemption.

4. Once more, we find ourselves unable to subscribe to this view of the character of Christ, because we discover it leads to a pernicious result. If the Son be only a manifestation of God—one of the "media" through which God is revealed—and not God in any true or substantial sense, then it must follow that the atonement made by him is not an atonement at all. For how can a manifestation or a medium make an atonement? This is the inevitable result of this judgment concerning the nature of the Son of God. Dr. Bushnell, be it said to the credit of his intellectual perception, having laid the basis of his theory, did not fail to discover to what it led. Nor did he hesitate to follow out his theory into a virtual denial of the atonement, as we shall see when we come to speak upon that subject.

Sweep away this gossamer drapery, thrown with such artistical skill around the substantial nature—the *esse*—of Christ, and but very little remains of the theory propounded with so much pomp of diction, thrown out in so many antithetical, paradoxical forms, and aiming to encompass ends of the greatest conceivable magnitude.

The unwary, "bewildered and in wondering mazes lost," may for a moment be deluded into the belief that the grand mystery of the incarnation is at length solved; just as unwary and inexperienced navigators, by a fog-bank in the middle of the ocean, are deluded into the belief of their near approach to land. Close inspection dispels the illusion; and the same ocean, heaving with the elements of polemic commotion, illimitable and shoreless, again spreads out before them.

5. There is still another result to which this *manifestation theory* leads. Dr. Bushnell affirms "the strict personal unity of God," rejecting the eternal three-fold distinction of persons in the Divine nature. This ONE GOD is "the Absolute Being—the Infinite—the I Am that I Am"—"God simply existing, as spirit, in himself"—without "any sort of motion"—without "thought"—without "feeling"—"dwelling in eternal silence"—"the Unapproachable, and, as far as all measures of thought are concerned, the Unrepresentable God." Next, this incomprehensible *Monad* possesses "the power of self-representation," that is, "He can produce Himself outwardly, or represent himself in the finite." This "capacity of self-expression" "is the Logos, the Word, elsewhere called the Form of God." "Conceive him now as creating the worlds, or creating worlds, if you please, from eternity. In so doing, he only represents, expresses, or outwardly produces Himself. What we call the creation, is, in another view, a revelation only of God, his first revelation." The Logos, then, is simply "the power of self-representation" possessed by the Absolute, and "the reality of Christ is what he expresses of God." Now we think the deep windings of this labyrinth may be threaded, dark as it may appear. The Logos, that is, the *power* of the Absolute to express himself, manifests itself by "manifold representations"—its "first revelation is creation," in which God "outwardly produces Himself,"—its highest revelation is in the person of Jesus Christ. Now it follows from this theory that Christ is *Divine* only so far as he "expresses" the Absolute; and also that "creation" is divine in the same sense that Christ is, just so far as it is successful as a vehicle for the *self-representation* of God. The idea is that God is manifest in every object in creation as really, though not as illustriously, as in the person of Christ. Christ is a man in whom dwelt a *Divine power*, and here is all the real divinity claimed for him by Bushnell. The same divinity in kind, though not in measure, would result to every object in creation. Not an insect nor reptile but what is divine. Surely the old Egyptians were not so unwise after all in the multiplication of their gods!

ism. Between the Christ he here describes, and that exhibited in the Bible, there is precisely the difference that exists between a spectre and a man.

2. Again, Dr. Bushnell "accepts" the doctrine of the Apollinarians—directly opposed to that of the Docetæ—*that Christ had a real body, but not a human soul.* Their doctrine was, that the Logos supplied the place of a human soul in the person of Christ. Dr. Bushnell speaks of the inconsistency of measuring the person of Christ "by his body;" and, again, "that the body of Christ evidently grew up from infancy." But what as to his *soul?* In replying to the argument of the Trinitarian, that it is the "human soul in the person of Jesus," that "obeys, worships, and suffers;" he says the argument "does an affront to the plain language of Scripture." He says that "Christ himself declared, not that a human soul, hid in his person, was placed under limitations, but more—that the Son, that is, the Divine person" was thus subject. Again he says:—"The supposition of a human soul existing distinctly, and acting by itself, clears no difficulty;" but it "creates difficulties a hundred-fold greater than any that it solves."—P. 154. Then he enters into an argument to show the perplexity which the supposition of a human soul in Christ must occasion to the mind of the inquirer; and also the absurdity of supposing that "the redemption of the world is hung upon the human passibilities" of a man who is so closely allied to God. And the conclusion he reaches is, that "there is no solid foundation for the common Trinitarian theory of two distinct or distinctly active subsistences in the person of Christ. It is not Scriptural. It accounts for nothing. It only creates even greater difficulties."—P. 155. Then anticipating an objection from both the Unitarian and the Trinitarian against this subjection and limitation of the Divinity, he prefers a reply in advance:—"When we see Him thus under the conditions of increase, obedience, worship, suffering, we have nothing to do but to ask what is here expressed."—P. 156. He had said before, that "the reality of Christ is what he expresses of God." A more full or distinct avowal of the Apollinarian heresy—a heresy that has been defunct for ages—could hardly be expressed in language.

3. In the third place, Dr. Bushnell "accepts" the Eutychean heresy that the human and Divine were so united in Christ as to become one nature. The doctrine of "two distinct subsistences in Christ," says he, "virtually denies any real unity between the human and the Divine, and substitutes a collocation or co-partnership for unity."—P. 154. He objects to a distinction

between the Divine and the human in the nature of Christ, and says:—

"Instead of a person whose nature is THE REAL UNITY OF THE DIVINE AND THE HUMAN, we have two distinct persons, between whom our thoughts are continually alternating; referring this to one, that to the other, and imagining, all the while, not a union of the two, in which our possible union with God is signified and sealed forever, but a practical, historical assertion rather of his incommunicableness, thrust upon our notice in a form more oppressive and chilling than it has to abstract thought. Meanwhile, the whole work of Christ, as a subject, suffering Redeemer, is thrown upon the human side of his nature, and the Divine side, standing thus aloof, incommunicably distant, has nothing in fact to do with the transaction, other than to be a spectator of it." Pp. 154, 155.

Such are the arguments of Dr. Bushnell to establish the theanthropism of the Eutycheans. But when the troublesome question comes up—a question perpetually haunting and disturbing our author, as he is dodging about among these heresies, bestowing a friendly nod of recognition and of "acceptance" upon each—"who suffers, what worships," &c.? his ire rises, and he indignantly exclaims,—"Suspend thy raw guesses at His nature, and take His message!"

4. In the fourth place, Dr. Bushnell "accepts" the Pantheistic doctrine, that there is but one substance, intelligence, and life in the universe. This doctrine annihilates the distinction between God and the world. All creatures and all phenomena are manifestations of God. Everything that exists is a part of God; every action is God's action. This doctrine nullifies personal existence both here and hereafter; it annihilates all distinction between vice and virtue; it deifies man, but destroys God. It is removed to so little a distance from rank Atheism, that it is not worth while to carp about the difference. And yet this theological gastronomer devours the precious *morceau* at a single swallow. In creating worlds, he says, God "only represents, expresses, or OUTWARDLY PRODUCES HIMSELF."

Surely Dr. Bushnell is the last man in the world who should write a discourse against Dogma or creeds. Had he gone one step further, and "accepted" one other doctrine, namely, that which asserts that Christ was a mere man—he would have completely "boxed the compass" of error; and we might have hoped ere long to greet him in the ranks of sound orthodoxy. And yet we do not despair, for he not only "accepts" these several heresies, and argues for them, but he also rejects and argues against the most of them. Dr. Bushnell has strength; but in this book he appears to us like a giant playing at "blind man's buff." He hits, stum-

bles, and grasps. Without order, system, or measure, the most incongruous materials are huddled together—the most contradictory principles are placed side by side. Now we find him almost unconsciously inhaling the pure atmosphere upon the serene mountains of Christian faith—then striding across the waste desert of Rationalism—then bewildered and lost in the wilds of mysticism—anon, he comes down, floundering and besmeared, into the stagnant pool of Pantheism. Had he set himself to write a book of paradoxes, his success could not have been more complete.

No intelligent reader, however, can fail to determine the class to which Dr. Bushnell, as a theologian, belongs. In spite of the paradoxical expressions that obscure the thought, and the oft-repeated oscillations from the highest point of orthodoxy to the lowest of Rationalism and Pantheism, the Sabellian type of heresy is manifest in all the discussions upon the question of the Person and Work of Christ. This the author himself acknowledges. Referring to Schleiermacher's elaborate article upon the theory of Sabellius, translated by Professor Stuart, and published in the American Biblical Repository for July, 1835, he says:—"It will be discovered that the general view of the Trinity given in that article, coincides with the view which I have presented." (P. 112.) Both Sabellius and Bushnell hold that the distinctions of person in the Trinity belong not to the *nature* of God, but originate in the circumstances under which God manifests himself. But we have not time to exhibit all the absurdities and inconsistencies into which Dr. Bushnell has fallen in his attempt to resuscitate the ashes of Sabellianism from their long and profound repose. Schleiermacher, with a more vigorous pen and a stronger intellect, essayed that task not thirty years ago. But even the Herculean might of one who had no superior among the great German theological teachers achieved little more than the erection of an additional monument to attest the vastness of his genius, the profoundness of his research, the strength of his reason, and the transparent purity of his diction. Whether Dr. Bushnell will have achieved even this, we opine will not require even thirty years to reach a historical decision. When "restored to his right mind," we predict that he will regret the publication of this volume—a volume whose influence will be evil, and evil only.

Want of space compels us to defer the discussion of the Atonement, or Work of Christ, to another number.

Art. VI.—NEANDER.

On the 19th of June last we had a delightful interview with Neander in his study at Berlin. He spoke with thankfulness of the comfortable state of his health, and was looking forward hopefully to the completion of his great work on Church History, on which, with the aid of an amanuensis, he was labouring earnestly. A few weeks after, on the Rhine, a newspaper paragraph announced to us that he was dead! The shock of that sudden announcement was not greater to us than it has proved to the religious mind of all Europe and America. Everywhere it is felt that a leader and a guide of men has fallen.

It is not possible for us at this time to give an extended review of the literary labours of Neander, nor to offer our estimate of the value of his historical and theological writings. Deferring this grateful, but laborious task, to a later period, we propose now to present a brief sketch of his life, gathered from the scanty materials that have fallen within our reach, and also to give some illustrations of his personal and professional character. For these last we shall make special use of a letter from our esteemed correspondent, Professor J. L. Jacobi, of Berlin, whose long personal intimacy with Neander gave him the fullest opportunity of insight into his characteristically frank and open nature. We shall indicate our extracts from this letter by quotation marks.

Johann August Wilhelm Neander was born of Jewish parents, on the 16th of January, 1789. Of the condition of his parents, we have only learned that they were very poor. He showed early indications of that deeply devout and meditative turn of mind which was so strongly developed in his after life; and it is said that his mother, who was a very pious Jewess, took great pains to implant devotional feelings in his young heart. The Johanneum of Hamburg at that time held a very high place among the classical schools of Germany, and it was here that Neander laid the foundations of his broad classical culture—especially of his knowledge of Plato, to whose writings he devoted himself, even at that early period, with the most ardent enthusiasm. The study of Plato formed the means of his transition from Judaism to Christianity; at all events,—as he himself has shown to be the case with many of the more spiritual and genial heathen souls in the early days of the Church,—"Plato was a schoolmaster to bring him to Christ." It was, however, by the perusal of Schleier-

macher's *Reden über die Religion* (Discourses on Religion) that he was led to recognise Christ as the greatest and most glorious being that had appeared upon the earth; and, this truth once received, he went gradually on to a full apprehension and humble reception of the Gospel. Of the actual steps of his conversion, in an outward sense, we have but little knowledge; but his correspondence with Chamisso (portions of which we shall quote from the British Quarterly Review for October, 1850) gives beautiful glimpses of the process of change that was going on in his feelings, as well as of the development of his half-poetical, half-philosophical mind. Several young men, among whom were Varnhagen, Von Ense, Theremin, Chamisso, and Neumann, had formed themselves into a literary association, under the name of "The North Star." Neumann formed the acquaintance of Neander at Berlin, and thus writes to Chamisso concerning him:—

"We have made the acquaintance, among our fellow-students, of an excellent youth, entirely worthy of admission into our brotherhood of the North Star. Plato is his idol—his constant watch-word. He sits day and night over him, and there are few who have so thoroughly and in such purity imbibed his wisdom. It is wonderful how entirely he has done this without any foreign impulse, merely through his own reflection and downright pure study. Without knowing much of the romantic poetry, he has, so to speak, constructed it for himself, and found the germ thereof in Plato. On the world around him he has learned to look with a deep, contemplative glance."—P. 300.

On this introduction his acquaintance with Chamisso commenced, and the correspondence followed. It affords striking revelations of the remarkably rapid development of Neander's mind, (he was but seventeen,) of the unworldly tendency of his whole being, and of the tender and devout religious frame into which he was very soon brought. He had been baptized—and decided to go to Halle to study theology—a purpose which he thus communicates to his friend:—

"I was sorry that I had not the opportunity of seeing you at Hameln. Still we shall hope to meet at Halle. There will we all—separated, it would seem, as much as possible by the mournful restrictions of a merely secular world, which is, alas! I grieve to say, everywhere around us—enjoy together the inward blessedness of a *civitas Dei*, whose foundation is still forever friendship. The more I come to know you, the more the world dissatisfies me, as also I dissatisfy, and must still dissatisfy, all men who are not my friends. Their very presence stupifies me. I cannot do homage to the common understanding, which has so withdrawn, and still ever further withdraws itself from the one centre of all existence—the Divine Spirit—the inward blessedness of the city of God, which it knows not, nor has ever tasted, having made for itself, through its own vain imagination, idols, according to its own cold and frivolous notions. Yes, to it, and to all which it consecrates—its idols, and its temples, be eternal war! Let every one advance to battle

against it with the weapons which God has given him, till the monster is overthrown. . . . I have decided to study theology. God give me strength, as I wish and strive after, to know himself—the only One—in a sense which the common understanding cannot comprehend, and to preach him to the profane. Holy Saviour, thou alone canst reconcile us with the profane race; for, inflamed with a deep love to them which they yet deserved not, thou didst live, and suffer, and die for them."—Pp. 302, 303.

In 1806 he went to Halle, and commenced in earnest his course of theological study, devoting himself first to the Bible and to the Fathers, especially the Alexandrine. In these studies, says Professor Jacobi, he "*lived over again*, as it were, in his own mind, the gradually unfolding development of the Church, as it passed from the Jews to the Gentiles; and found its earliest *science* in its connexion with the Platonic Philosophy at Alexandria." How Neander obtained the means of pursuing his studies, we have not ascertained; but it is well known that at Halle he suffered from poverty. He bore up manfully under its giant pressure, and studied with the more intense earnestness because of the difficulties with which he had to contend. But his privations and his excessive application finally broke down his health, and laid the foundation for the disease which accompanied him through his whole life. Driven from Halle by Napoleon's measures for the dissolution of the University, he proceeded to Göttingen, and completed his course of study there. Here, under the guidance of Planck, he turned his attention more particularly to the sources of Church History, and imbibed his earnest devotion to what was subsequently the great work of his life.

After completing his University course, he spent a short time in Hamburg, and then proceeded to Heidelberg, where, in 1811, he was admitted as *privat docent* in the University, and began his career as a teacher by a course of lectures on Church History. In the next year he made his first appearance as an author in his monograph on "Julian the Apostate;" in whose character and history Neander detected the agency of Platonism as *hostile* to Christianity, just as he had seen its influence in the Alexandrian theologians as *preparatory* to Christianity. The work was so strikingly conspicuous for piety and originality, as well as for a wide and genuine erudition, that it called the attention of the most eminent men* to the unknown author.

In the year 1813 Neander received a call from the Prussian government to the University of Berlin, to which, amid all the political disturbances of the times, the king gave great attention. The aim of the government was to draw to the new University the ablest

* E. g., Niebuhr, who commends it highly in his correspondence, vol. ii.

teachers from all parts of Germany; and but a short time before, Schleiermacher and De Wette had accepted professorships. It was creditable to the discernment of the authorities that Neander, young, and almost unknown to fame as he was, should be chosen; it was equally creditable to him, that at this crisis of the Prussian monarchy, while the French yet held possession of the country, he accepted the call. Our correspondent tells us, that, with characteristic humility, he "always remained full of gratitude toward Prussia, and, at subsequent periods, when the most brilliant offers were made him, he invariably refused them with the modest answer that he was 'too much indebted to Prussia ever to abandon her.'"

We have before mentioned the effect of Schleiermacher's "Discourses on Religion" on the mind of Neander. At Halle he had again been brought under Schleiermacher's influence, and now, in entering upon his labours at Berlin, he stood to him in the relation of a colleague. That his mode of thinking, the current of his studies, and, in fact, his whole spiritual and intellectual life, were, to a certain extent, moulded by that great man, there can be no doubt. He himself revered Schleiermacher, not merely as one of the instruments of his conversion from Judaism, but also as the herald of a new era in theology; and over and over again in his works he acknowledges his obligations to him, vindicates certain of his views, and proclaims his *spirit* to be the genuine—the only genuine—spirit of theology. Nor is this influence at all to be wondered at. Schleiermacher arose at a period of the deepest darkness of German theology—at a period when theology, in fact, consisted of little else but cold negations of all that is vital in Christianity. Educated among the Moravians, his own religious convictions were profound; his sense of the need of personal piety, all-absorbing; his belief in the divinity of Christianity, supreme. He was, at the same time, intellectually, one of the most highly gifted men of his age; and his intellectual activity has rarely been rivalled in any age. Uniting the keenest dialectic power with a discursive faculty and a power of imagination that might almost class him among great poets, he found no department of human knowledge alien to his tastes or inaccessible to his capacity. His studies ranged not merely over the whole field of theology, but penetrated the deepest recesses of ancient as well as of modern philosophy; and with these pursuits he combined scientific philology, and the highest walks of art and taste. In each of these he was not a mere student or amateur—but a master, and acknowledged as such by those whom all the world recognises as masters in their respective branches. He

was a man, at the same time, whose power of will, and whose moral and social qualities commanded the reverence and the love of all who shared his intimacy. With all this his bodily frame was feeble and delicate, yet his royal soul so ruled and inspired it that labours which would wear out the strongest of other men, seemed to sit lightly on him, frail as his organization was. In his theological opinions, he was, indeed, in many respects, far away from what we hold to be the true line of Christian belief; yet the man who, in the midst of infidels during all his life, so strenuously upheld salvation through Christ as the real and essential central-point of the Gospel; the man who, in his dying hours, declared that his hope and his faith rested securely on the "atoning death of Jesus Christ, his body and his blood,"*—*could* not but belong to the "fellowship of the saints."

No one need wonder, then, to find that Neander had many points in common with Schleiermacher. Both contended for the utmost freedom of scientific thought on any and all subjects; both looked upon *personal* religious life as the great want of the times; and both went, perhaps, too far in their charitable sympathy with all modes of human thought, and in their unworldly trust in the honesty even of unbelievers. But, after all, it is simply absurd to class Neander, as some do, as a mere *follower* of Schleiermacher. His own spirit was far too independent, his intellect too powerful, and his culture too wide and far-reaching, to allow him to be the follower of any man And so, as matter of fact, it will be found that his theology—evangelically imperfect as it must appear to us—is far in advance of Schleiermacher's in point of clearness, definiteness, Scriptural character—in one word, of orthodoxy. But we are wandering too far from our purpose—and must now return to our brief sketch of Neander's life and labours.

He entered upon his professorship in the University of Berlin, as we have said, in 1813, and fulfilled its duties without intermission until a few days before his death. The history of his outward life during this period is little else than a history of his labours in his lecture-room and in his study; but they were mighty labours—such as will carry his name down to the latest posterity. His studies at Berlin were pursued in the same channel as at Heidelberg; and in 1813 he published a monograph on "Bernard and his Times"—an 8vo. volume of 338 pages, especially noticeable for its treatment of the relations between Bernard and Abelard. At an early period he was impressed with the conviction that the great work of preparing a general Church History was a task assigned to him by Providence;

* Lücke, in Stud. u. Krit. 1834, p. 812.

and this conviction deepened with advancing years.* All his studies, however widely extended, were made subservient to this grand end. In the mean time he wisely adopted the plan of publishing, in separate parts, the results of his investigations into the history of particular periods; and the monographs on Julian and Bernard were of this character. Of the same class was his "*Genetical Development of the Principal Gnostic Systems*," which appeared in 1818, and also, "*Chrysostom and his Times*," (2 vols., 18mo.) In all these works he aimed, true to the spirit of his own religious convictions, to promote at once Christian *science* and Christian *life*. But in 1822, with a view to make Church history conducive to general Christian edification, as well as to develop his researches into the first centuries of the Church, he published "*Memorabilia from the History of Christianity and the Christian Life*," 3 vols., (3d edition, 2 vols., 1845–1846.) In 1824 appeared a small 8vo. volume containing a series of addresses delivered at several anniversaries of the Berlin Bible Society, the profits of which were devoted to the cause of Missions. These, with other occasional addresses and essays, were republished, 8vo., 1829. In 1825 he published "*Antignosticus, Spirit of Tertullian*, and *Introduction to his Writings*, (8vo., pp. 525.) In the latter part of the same year he published the first volume of his great Church History, the immediate occasion of which was, as he tells us in the preface, the call of his publisher for a new edition of the monograph on Julian. He found that the work must be entirely remodelled in order to meet his views, and this suggested the plan of publishing this volume, treating the history of the first three centuries as the *beginning* of a general Church history; and his plan, fortunately, was so generously encouraged by his publisher that he at once carried it into execution. In 1828 he published a second instalment, in three volumes, extending the history to the sixth century. In the mean time he was studying the history of the Apostolic Age, which should, in chronological order, have been the subject of the opening treatise; but he did not feel himself prepared to publish upon it until 1832, when he put forth the "*History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*," which reached its fourth edition in 1847. Two additional volumes of the Church History appeared in 1834 and 1836; and in 1837, his "*Life of Jesus Christ, in its His-*

* "To exhibit the history of the Church of Christ, as a living witness of the Divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and reproof, for all who are disposed to listen,—this, from the earliest period, has been the leading aim of my life and studies."—*General History*, Pref. to 1st ed., (Torrey's Transl.)

torical Connexion and Historical Development," which has also run through four editions. The publication of this last great work was hastened by the necessity of some antidote to Strauss' Life of Christ. The Church History was going on in the mean time; and a volume appeared in 1841, and another in 1845, bringing the history down to the year 1294. Our correspondent informs us that Neander has completed another volume in manuscript, up to the death of John Huss, and that this volume will shortly be put to press. Besides these larger works, Neander has written sketches, reviews, short biographical articles, &c.,—far too many to be enumerated here.

One would think these labours sufficient to occupy the life of any one man. But Neander the *author* is but half the name of Neander; during the preparation of all these works he was giving as much time, or more, to his duties as Professor of Theology. He lectured twice and even thrice a day; the range of his topics embracing not only Church History, but Dogmatics, Ethics, the History of Doctrines and of Ethics; and, most important of all, the Exegesis of the New Testament. We are glad, indeed, to learn of the probability that the most important of these lectures will be printed from the notes of his students.

It is no exaggeration to say that no teacher of theology in Germany, since the days of the Reformation, has obtained so strong a hold upon the minds and the hearts of theological students as Neander. Their love for him amounted to a passion. This profound regard and reverence was doubtless due, to a considerable extent, to the grandeur and breadth of his intellect; but much of it—to the credit of the German students be it recorded—is to be ascribed to his fervent piety as a Christian, and to his genial simplicity as a man. On this point we present our readers with an extended extract from the letter of our correspondent, Professor Jacobi, who, both as student and professor, has had the fullest opportunities of intimate intercourse with the great departed. Contrasting Schleiermacher with Neander, our friend proceeds:—"It was Schleiermacher's special gift and delight to discover and combine principles, to survey scientific culture and discipline as a whole, and to demonstrate their organic unity. It was his eminent acuteness as a dialectician that gave rule to his method of developing the subjects which he treated. Precisely those departments, however, which to him were less adapted, namely, History and the Exegesis of the New Testament, found a most capable labourer in Neander, whose great talent it was, in Exegesis to perceive at once the *essential* features in the characters and events of Scripture,

and, in History, to exhibit, with a fine and profound insight, the genetical development of ideas and occurrences. These two great men were thus, in a certain sense, complements of each other.

"What especially enchained the attention of Neander's students was the devotion of the entire man to the subject of discourse before him. He did not stand up merely to offer his own *reflections* upon objects that had once been—upon events that once happened; he rather *lived over* again the history in his own mind, and when he spoke, brought it all fresh and living before his auditors. In hearing him you felt, and could not help feeling, that the soul of the lecturer was in communion with those of the gifted spirits that had preceded him as labourers in the kingdom of God; and that, for his mind, they yet lived, and that no prejudice or prepossession hindered his fellowship with them. And so he impressed his hearers with the conviction that his utterances were given in the spirit of truth—never in the spirit of party. And while he unfolded history or Scripture in a strictly consecutive and logical manner, he always spoke with an unadorned, and often, therefore, with a more sublime, simplicity. Everywhere, too, you saw and felt, amid the manifestations of a vast and comprehensive intellect, the movements of a tender and loving heart. In him there glowed that gentle fire that shone so purely and beautifully in the apostle John; and, with its mild light and warmth, it touched the hearts of those that heard him, winning them at once to him and to his Master. The uniform humility of his language and of his thoughts, his reverence and love for the things of God, often rising even to enthusiasm, and his personally rich Christian experience, gave an edifying character even to his scientific lectures; and, indeed, in his hands, the *practical* side of Christianity and of theology was inexpressibly attractive, and even touching. It was his constant effort to promote Christian life along with science; and this led him into earnest strifes not only against all perversions of true science, but also against every tendency hostile to the interests of pure Christianity. So, for instance, in the Protestant Church, he struggled earnestly against the traditional party; and, in philosophy, he opposed Hegel's system and its intermixture with theology. He lived long enough to see his predictions with regard to both these tendencies fully accomplished.

"But it was not merely by his public teaching that Neander enchained the minds and affections of the German youth: his *personal intercourse* with students was of a character greatly to increase his influence over them and their love for him. Half an hour of every day after dinner, and the whole of Saturday evening, were expressly

reserved for conversation with the students. They gathered round him with the utmost freedom—and he sat in their centre, as much a friend as a teacher. With the utmost patience he listened to their statements of difficulties—heard their questions, and solved their doubts. The intellectual crumbs which in those golden hours fell from Neander's table would make many a scholar rich.

"Nor was his interest in the students confined to their intellectual and religious improvement; he sympathized also in their personal wants, their sicknesses, their poverty, their distresses of whatsoever kind. A student in want or suffering was sure of succour from his own purse, though his resources were very limited; and when this would not suffice, he was untiring in his efforts to interest others in their behalf. One or two incidents may be given out of many. A poor student, in ill health, was ordered to visit a watering-place. Neander was not able, at the time, to give him the necessary money; but he selected one of his most valuable books, —a splendid edition of Griesbach's New Testament,—fixed a price on it, and sold a number of tickets to the students, who drew lots for the book. The avails enabled the poor student to proceed upon his journey. I was myself witness of another case, in which he entreated a young man with affectionate urgency—I may even say imploringly—to accept from him a gift of money in an hour of need. Seeing that the young man's sense of independence was so strong as to humiliate him in view of receiving such relief, he reminded him, with touching delicacy, that it was "more blessed to give than to receive," and entreated him to accept the gift for *love's* sake. With no family of his own, Neander considered himself the father of young theologians; and never, since the time of Melancthon, his great spiritual forerunner, has a teacher in the universities of Germany so faithfully filled this relation. With all his simplicity of mind and feeling, he had a quick and intuitive perception of talent and of moral character; and his prognostications were generally realized in the subsequent history of his pupils. Humble in his estimate of himself, and regarding any peculiar talent which the lowliest mind might have as worthy of all respect as a "gift of God," he gladly afforded to every student the fullest opportunities of culture, and was cautious of setting arbitrary limits to the development of individual minds. And even when the religious life of any one was obscured by great faults, he remained true to him, and would not despond, so long as any germ of better things could be discerned. How many has he, by his long-enduring patience, finally led to the Saviour! When, again, he recognised, in a young man of decided talents, a special aptitude for successful labour in the

work of God, he summoned all his energies to cultivate and improve the gift. And his greatest joy was to see springing up among his scholars promising rivals of himself. To meet the exigencies of younger and less advanced minds, it was his habit frequently to vary his lectures.

"Considering how much of his time Neander devoted to his students and friends, how much of it was occupied in public duties, and how carefully he prepared himself for his lectures, of which he gave two or three daily, one cannot but marvel at the multitude and compass of his writings, and wonder how he *could* find time to do so much. The secret lay partly in his personal habits and partly in the remarkable quickness of his mental activity. The common distractions of life, which others deem it indispensable to yield to, he sedulously kept aloof from. His domestic affairs were faithfully managed by his sister; and with them—indeed with what passes among so many for the ordinary business of life—he never troubled himself. His hours were allotted to his work, and the distribution was faithfully adhered to. He read and wrote with marvellous celerity: indeed, it may be said of him, as of Melancthon, that he read with his fingers' ends; for often, after apparently only turning over the leaves of a book, he showed an adequate knowledge of its contents. And his memory was so retentive that what he read—even to the names of persons, things, and places—remained fixed in his possession; so, too, he remembered the faces of persons with whom he had had but little intercourse. I remember a preacher—an honest, but not otherwise remarkable man—who visited Neander when a student, and was subsequently long separated from him. Twenty years after, on a visit to Berlin, he called on his early friend, and opened the conversation by expressing a doubt whether Neander remembered him. "I remember you very well," replied Neander, "and I can tell you the subject of our conversation the first time you ever visited me." It was this ever-ready memory, always holding its treasures at the service of a calm and collected mind, that made easy to *him* the remote and sagacious investigations with which his historical works abound."

It must be remembered, that amid all his Herculean labours, Neander was, as we have before said, not only a man of feeble frame, but actually suffering most of his time from disease. For many years he was almost a total stranger to the feeling of health. But his afflictions served only the more fully to show forth his Christian patience, and to illustrate the power of a controlling will over corporeal disabilities. None of the traces which a suffering body too often inflicts upon the mind—no morbidness of tone or feeling—could ever

be detected in his lectures; his hearers, on the contrary, always received the impression of a mind free from all distractions and restraints, devoting itself, full of healthful activity, to the cause of Christianity and science. So, too, instead of sickliness, his writings everywhere exhibit a free and genial susceptibility, a keen faculty of observation and reflection, and an ever fresh spirit of inquiry. It was perhaps from the relations between his own bodily condition and mental activity that Neander took special delight, and was specially successful, in delineating the characters and labours of those who, like St. Paul and Bernard of Clairvaux, united feebleness of body with commanding powers of intellect and activity.

We cannot conclude these *memorabilia* without some allusion to Neander's remarkable and even eccentric peculiarities as a lecturer: and no description of ours can be better than the following sketch from the London Christian Reformer, to the general accuracy of which we can bear testimony from personal observation: "His lecture-room was a curious sight to a by-stander. He always used the largest hall in the building, that would hold about 450 students: and, before the late political disturbances had emptied the Universities, it was frequently full. The seats are arranged so as to slope from every direction down towards a moveable desk on a small platform, which stands against the longest wall of the room. The clock has struck; but the 'auditorium' is still filled with a wild hubbub of students, with their caps on, laughing and talking. All at once the door noiselessly opens, and a figure clad in a long cylindrical surtout, with a rag of white neckcloth carelessly twisted round a swarthy neck, glides to the desk with a somewhat fearful and helpless air. This is partly occasioned by the fact that his sight is far from good, partly that his shaggy black eyebrows prevent his seeing anything before him, except by an upward inclination of the head. He certainly does not look as if 400 eager faces were upturned to catch his first word; but in a moment caps have been doffed, and all is order and attention. He lays his arm on the desk and his head on his arm; sways his body and the desk backwards and forwards, till the unaccustomed spectator momentarily expects him to crush the unfortunate youth who sits quietly writing beneath; seizes some stump of a quill which a provident student has placed for his accommodation, and, in the violence of the inspiration, tears and twists it to pieces, and pours out, in a harsh and loud voice, without a pause for three-quarters of an hour, a clear and connected history of the period under view. At first, the hearer is pained for him. He is subject to a disease of the stomach, which compels him to relieve himself while speaking by expectoration almost at the end of every

sentence. He has no books to refer to, and his contortions are violent and odd, as those of the Pythian priestess on the tripod. Yet names, dates, facts, and even long quotations from the Fathers, come ever trippingly from his tongue; and after one lecture in such sort, the wonder is how either professor or student can go on for two mortal hours in immediate succession; yet such was his practice even to the last."

The *personal piety* of Neander shines forth in all his writings, as it did in the daily tenor of his simple and blameless life. In his own religious convictions the fundamental doctrines of the sinfulness and corruption of human nature, and of justification by faith in Christ, were ever held fast; and through his faith in Christ, he enjoyed an humble, yet radiant and rejoicing spirit of godliness. He even considered the religion of the *heart* to be as essential to theological insight as to Christian life. *Pectus est, quod theologum facit,* was his motto. "The theologian needs," says he, "a spiritual mind, a deep acquaintance with divine things; and he must study the Scriptures with his heart as well as with his head, unless he wishes his theology to be robbed of its salt by his criticism." A beautiful illustration of the feeling that was ever uppermost with him was afforded by his spontaneous expression, when, on his birth day, a few years ago, the students got up a sort of celebration in his honour. "They met in procession, and marched through the city by torchlight. The procession pausing opposite the windows of his house, he was addressed in a figurative, complimentary allusion to the greatness of the occasion. This incident affected him in a manner illustrative of the simplicity of his character. Stepping forward, he declared himself to be only a 'poor sinner,' exclaiming, in a voice trembling with emotion, and the tears trickling down his cheeks—as one of the fathers had done before him—'O, Divine Love, I have not loved thee strongly, deeply, warmly enough!'"

For some years before his death, Neander was almost blind. His historical studies, however, were pursued by the aid of students who read and wrote for him: and his fifteen lectures a-week were still, amid his increasing infirmities, delivered at the University. A beautiful fruit of his labours in this period is to be found in the Practical Exposition of the Philippians, and of the Epistle of James, dictated in 1849, and soon to be translated and printed in this country. When we visited him at Berlin, in June, he was attending to all his University duties as usual; and he even spoke with confidence of the state of his health. But his frail and wasted frame gave sure indications of decay; and early in July the signs of approaching and serious illness were manifest. Licentiate Rauh, of

the University of Berlin, has written an account* of his last illness, from which we obtain the following facts. The weather was trying and uncertain, and Neander had upon him the premonitory symptoms of approaching disease, but, hoping to overcome it, as he had often before, by the influence of his energetic will, he could not be persuaded to interrupt his lectures. On Monday, the 8th of July, however, his voice failed him at times, a thing which had never happened before. "He, however, forced himself to persevere to the end of the lecture; but could scarcely manage, even with the help of some of his students, to come down the steps of his chair, and went home completely worn out. A listener to his last lecture was so terror-struck with these sad signs, that he whispered to the person sitting next him, 'That is our Neander's last lecture.'"

In the afternoon, spite of increasing weakness, he dictated his Church History for three consecutive hours. At last, with reluctance, he yielded, and allowed his amanuensis to withdraw. The days following were full of weariness and pain; yet his only complaint was that he "could not work." His mind now began to wander. On the Saturday he imperatively commanded his servant to bring his clothes that he might rise. A student tried in vain to dissuade him, but his purpose was only altered by his sister saying to him, in an imploring tone, "Dear Augustus, remember what you said to me should I oppose the doctor's orders, 'It comes from God, and so we must cheerfully bow to it.'" "That is true," he said, his voice suddenly calmed, "it does come from God—all—and we are bound to thank him for it." A few hours after, a bath of wine enabled him to rise, and he was carried from the bedroom into his study. Here his dying hours were spent. Amid the fantasies which now veiled his clear and strong mind, he was busy with passages of Scripture expressing the goodness of God; and, imagining the amanuensis at his side, he dictated a few clear and connected passages in continuation of his Church History. Once he murmured, dreamingly, "I am weary—let us make ready to go home." After another dictation, he said, "I am weary; I will sleep now:" and as his friends laid him carefully on the bed, he said, in more than his usual tone of gentleness, "Good night." He slept for four hours, and then slept in Jesus.

When the news of his death was announced in the University, many of the students were affected to tears. A conference of clergyman, sitting in the neighbourhood, at once took steps to found a house of refuge for neglected children, to be called after his name. Many a preacher has already contributed what for him has the worth of the widow's mite, to this truly apt memorial of Neander.

* Neander's Heimgang.

Art. VII.—LEXICOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D., Professor, &c. A new edition, revised, and in great part rewritten. Large 8vo., pp. 804. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

The history of New-Testament lexicography in this country is soon told, and is mostly covered by Dr. Robinson's brief account of his own labours given in the preface to this volume. Germany itself, rife as it is with Biblical philology, has produced only two works of this kind worthy of fame beyond the continent, namely, the lexicons of Wahl and Brettschneider. On this subject, Dr. Tholuck, in 1843, gave his class the following summary in his lectures, (translated in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for May, 1844, p. 345:) —"Wahl's smaller Clavis of the New Testament accomplishes very well the object for which it was intended. His larger 'Clavis' [of which Dr. Robinson's first effort was a translation, and which furnished the basis for the former edition of this his original work] is faulty in respect of its definitions, which are altogether too minutely subdivided. Wilke has published a small 'Clavis,' which is very convenient for common use, but not sufficiently fundamental for a student who wishes to make a thorough examination of a word. The new edition of Brettschneider's Dictionary, published in 1839, is superior to Wahl's in one particular; it makes more extensive use of the Hellenistic literature. It is inferior, however, in all other respects. Its explanations of words are often very unnatural. The various meanings which it gives to words are not arranged with precision, as they are by Wahl. The definitions, too, are more deficient than Wahl's, in the statement of the true religious import of words. Schleusner's Lexicon, fourth edition, 1819, is still worthy of reference as a depository of philological citations and of antiquarian notices. Winer is at present engaged in preparing a new German Lexicon of the New Testament."

Since that time, improved editions of some of the above works have been published; but the Lexicon of Winer has not yet appeared. In England, Parkhurst had long held sway in this department; but his defects have become so apparent, in spite of amended editions, that the republications of Robinson's first edition of his own Lexicon have now greatly encroached on this antiquated dominion. It thus appears that, in the hands of a single author, American lexicography of the New Testament already compares to decided advantage with that of Europe; and it is a matter of just national pride that the same publishers who have furnished our public, in the standard form of Liddell and Scott, with the best general Greek Lexicon extant, have, in this edition of a native work, supplied the best Lexicon hitherto written for the New Testament.

Dr. Robinson has come to this task with peculiar qualifications, not only from his clearness and sobriety of mind, his habits of close and patient application, and his varied and extensive acquirements in Biblical philology, but also from his special acquaintance with this department of it. The light

elicited by all his literary labours readily converges to this focus, and there is not a page of his Lexicon but attests this illumination. In his edition of Hahn's New Testament, his Greek Harmony of the Gospels, his translation of Buttman's Grammar, and this Lexicon, besides other kindred works, he has furnished the Biblical student with the means for carrying out his own excellent suggestion in the preface, (p. ix, 5,) namely, "first to study the New Testament for himself, with only the help of his Grammar and Lexicon, giving close attention to the context and the logical connexion." It ought to be remembered, however, that Commentaries are very valuable helps in tracing this "logical connexion," and herein perhaps consists their only appropriate sphere; while incidental explanations properly belong to the Bible Dictionary. Our only regret in surveying this field of study is, that the Methodist community is so poorly furnished from its own resources with these lexical, grammatical, and critical helps to an understanding of the New Testament, that we are obliged to depend almost entirely upon the productions of other denominations for our text-books in this department. This ought not so to be, nor need it continue. The materials for such books are abundant, and free for all; there are scholars among our preachers competent to mould them into the requisite form; we have a publishing house possessed of ample facilities for issuing them, and the present actual wants of our ministry and membership would justify the enterprise even in a pecuniary way. We make these remarks not invidiously, as if jealous of the books of other denominations, even when they are professedly such; but because *every community and circle needs its own literature*, and our identity can only be maintained by this means. Least of all are we suspicious of theological influences in Dr. Robinson's works adverse to our own peculiarities of sentiment as a church. He is too genuinely catholic for that, and knows too well the distinction between the scholar, even in *sacred* criticism and exegesis, and the sectarian; and his Lexicon offends our prejudices in this respect so little that, but for the principle of home dependence, we should not have alluded to this point at all. Besides, it is hardly less than literary *sponging* to be always drawing from the general stock of learning amassed by the research of others, without ever contributing to its advancement or dissemination ourselves. Still, if we must be borrowers, it is consoling to be allowed to have recourse to such generous sources as this Lexicon. Dependant we certainly are for the present, and therefore the author deserves our most cordial thanks for supplying so well the desideratum.

The true elements of any good Lexicon of whatever language, it seems to us, are (1) the *etymology* of the words, that is, their derivation and affinities, and (2) the tracing of the *definitions*, as required by the variety of senses in actual use, from the radical idea thus obtained; (3) appropriate *passages* being quoted or referred to for their justification. From these arise—in a "dead language"—certain secondary features, such as (4) the peculiarities of *inflection* and *construction*; (5) the explanation of terms in their *historical* and *archæological* relations, and (6) the *interpretation* of difficult texts. These latter strictly belong to the departments of *grammar*, *antiquities*, and *hermeneutics*, and should, therefore, be sought in treatises expressly on those

subjects; but they are so convenient and serviceable in a Lexicon that it is perhaps best to introduce them there, even at the expense somewhat of scientific method. Besides these, in a Lexicon of a peculiar dialect or class of writers, such as in the New Testament, (7) a constant reference is needed to the *usage of earlier and more general writers*, e. g., to the Homeric diction, the Hebraism of the Septuagint, and the uses of the *κοινὴ διάλεκτος*, in order to exhibit properly the agreement or deviation in import or application. These principles are, in substance, all recognised by Dr. Robinson in his Preface, (pp. viii, ix;) a careful reference to them in the examination of a few examples from his Lexicon will briefly determine its value. As the merits of the older edition have now become well understood, we may, at the same time, discover the improvements in this edition by comparing it with the former. Let us take a specimen of convenient length from a chance opening of the volume:—

EDITION OF 1836.

Διατίθημι, f. *διαθήσω, to place apart,* i. e., *to set out in order, to arrange, to dispose in a certain order,* etc. Sept. for חָשַׂרְתִּם 1 Sam. 11: 11. Xen. Mem. 2, 1. 27.—In N. T. only Mid. *διατίθεμαι*, f. *διαθήσομαι, to arrange in one's own behalf, to make a disposition of,* trans.

a) gen. *to appoint, to make over, to commit to,* etc., e. g., *τὴν βασιλείαν*, seq. dat. Luke 22: 29 bis.—Xen. Cyr. 5. 2, 7, *τὴν θυγατέρα.*—So of a testamentary disposition, *to devise, to bequeath,* sc. by will; hence *ὁ διαθέμενος, a testator,* Heb. 9: 16, 17.—Jos. Ant. 13. 6. 1. Pol. 20. 6. 5. Dem. 1029. 27.

b) spoken of a covenant, *to make an arrangement with* another party; and *διατίθεμαι διαθήκην, to institute* or *make a covenant with,* seq. dat. Heb. 8: 10, coll. v. 9. seq. *πρός* c. accus. Acts 3: 25. Heb. 10: 16. So Sept. for כָּרַת בְּרִית, seq. dat. Deut. 5: 3. Josh. 9: 6, 7. seq. *πρός* Ex. 24: 8, Deut. 5: 2, 2 Sam. 3: 13. —Aristoph. Av. 439 *ἢν μὴ διάθωνταί γ' οἵδε διαθήκην ἐμοί.*

EDITION OF 1850.

διατίθημι, f. *διαθήσω*, (*τίθημι,*) *to set, put, place apart,* in a certain order, *to arrange, to dispose,* e. g. troops. Sept. for חָשַׂרְתִּם 1 Sam. 11, 11. Thuc. I. 126; events, Xen. Mem. 2. 1. 27.—In N. T. only Mid. *διατίθεμαι*, f. *ήσομαι, to arrange* or *dispose for oneself,* in one's own behalf; e. g.

1. Of what belongs to oneself, a) genr. i. q. *to appoint, to assign,* c. acc. et dat. Luke 22, 29 bis, *καὶ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν ... βασιλείαν.* Comp. Xen. Cyr. 5, 2, 7, *τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτην (σοι) ἐπιτρέπω διαθέσθαι, ὅπως ἂν σὶ βούλῃ.* b) Spec. by will or testament, *to devise, to bequeath;* hence *ὁ διαθέμενος, a testator,* Heb. 9, 16. 17. So Jos. Ant. 13. 16. 1. Dem. 1067. 1. Plato Legg. 924. a, b, c, e.

2. Of a covenant, *to arrange mutually, to covenant with* another party; hence *διατίθεμαι διαθήκην τινί* v. *πρός τινα, to make a covenant with* any one, Acts 3, 25. Heb. 8, 10 and 10, 16, quoted from Jer. 31, 33 where Sept. c. dat. for כָּרַת בְּרִית; also c. *πρός τινα*, Ex. 24, 8.—Aristoph. Av. 439 *ἢν μὴ διάθωνταί γ' οἵδε διαθήκην ἐμοί.*

Here it will be perceived that in the later edition the derivation is indicated from the simple *τίθημι*, and a more natural arrangement of the primary senses is given in the first sentence. Then the citations that follow are distinguished by the two examples of "troops" and "events," a passage from Thucyd. being added to illustrate the former. Thus far the general signification has been settled and illustrated from the Hellenistic and *κοινή* dialects. Next is given the New-Testament usage, stated to be limited to the Mid. voice, to a better conformity with whose import the phraseology is amended, and the first paragraph rightly connects with the ensuing development by an

"e. g.," the "transitive" of the old edition being omitted as unnecessary. In the subdivisions, the distinction observed in the former edition between numerals and letters, the former being used for generic, and the latter for subordinate meanings, is not fully retained; the first divisions being in this edition always designated by numerals, however near the senses may approach each other or the primary. Whether this is an improvement, may be doubted; but it was probably done from the difficulty of determining, in very many cases, which notation ought to be used,—and when the difference of import was very wide, it is perhaps sufficiently obvious of itself. The secondary subdivisions have been more distinctly designated, as in a) and b) under No. 1 of this article; and the superiority in clearness thus attained is evident. For our own part, we would have preferred that with each subdivision, down to the most minute, a new paragraph should have been begun; for we think that the advantage in readily catching the eye, especially with young students, would have overbalanced the space gained by this condensation into lengthy paragraphs. The only other difference of importance under the head in consideration, is the more extended citation of the passage from Xenophon, (a matter of great convenience to students, who generally have not the classics at hand for comparison,) and the substitution of a reference to Plato for that to Polyb. Under the last head of the article various minor improvements are introduced, which can be best seen by inspection.

This may be considered a fair specimen of the shorter articles—and of the longer ones in proportion; many could, no doubt, be found which have undergone a more thorough remodelling, but we have not room for their examination. The articles involving history and antiquities, especially, have been greatly enlarged from recent authorities and researches, as may be seen, e. g., under *Ἀβιληνή*. The derivation might have been more exactly traced in some instances, but it was probably presumed that the student would consult the general Greek Lexicon for that purpose. The copious references to the grammars on the form and construction of words, forms a valuable feature of the work; and there are, all along, references to other books illustrating nearly every point. Classical authorities are given everywhere to sustain the significations of every grade, and the idiom and usage of the Septuagint has continually been appealed to. This is a crowning merit of the book, and, as the author confesses, was the most *laborious* part of its compilation. The task of finding, assorting, and verifying so many thousand citations, from a mere numerical reference to a full quotation, from the whole range of Greek authors, was truly herculean, and one which the critical world will know how to appreciate. The logical classification of senses, however, is, in our opinion, a still more *difficult* work, and it cannot be expected that any one person could have perfected this branch of New-Testament lexicography. Still, it will be found that the significations actually occurring in the New Testament are generally all arranged in some form under each word, and the divisions are substantially correct, although perhaps rather too many synonymous definitions are given, and several are often clustered together. The grammatical sequents, such as prepositions, cases, etc., are universally given, and that under each division; a feature, we apprehend, more valuable for the advanced

scholar than the beginner, who is generally seeking the meaning rather than syntactical niceties.

Much more room might justly be devoted to this splendid and enduring monument of American scholarship than can here be spared; we will conclude this examination by placing, side by side, the treatment of a single word, first by Parkhurst, as emended by Rose, and then by Robinson in his two editions, adding (even at the risk of illustrating in our own person the hypercriticism of Momus) a specimen embodying the above comments. We cannot do better than to take, for this purpose, the first word of importance in the alphabetical order, namely, *ἀγαθός*, which certainly deserves to be *well* handled:—

Rose's Parkhurst.

Ἀγαθός, ἡ, όν, q. *ἀγαστός* admirable, from *ἀγάζομαι to admire*, which from *ἀγάω*, *ομαι*, the same; or else *ἀγαθὸς* may be derived immediately from *ἀγάω* or *ἀγαμαι* to *admire*.—This is a very general and extensive word, like the Heb. טוֹב, to which it usually answers in the LXX.

I. *Good*, Mat. xix. 17. [This is the general sense of the word, which Schleusner, I think, raises sometimes higher than is necessary, or than his instances bear him out in, viz. *what is entirely perfect of its kind, and of the highest excellence.* In Mat. xix. 16. John i. 47. 2 Thess. ii, 16. nothing of this kind seems implied. The strongest instances are Mat. xix. 17. James i. 17.] Neut. plur. Ἀγαθὰ, *τά, good things*, Luke i. 53. xii. 18, 19. xvi. 25. [See also Prov. xi. 10. Eur. Phœn. 906. Joseph. Antiq. ii. 3, 2. Hence the word denotes *pros-*

Robinson, 1834.

Ἀγαθός, ἡ, όν, (*ἀγαν* much, exceedingly,) corresp. to Heb. טוֹב, Lat. *bonus*, and Eng. *good*.

1. *good*, i. e. from the force of the theme, *excellent, distinguished, best.*

a) of persons. Matt. 19: 16 *διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ.* v. 17 bis. Mark 10: 17, 18 bis. Luke 18: 18, 19 bis. So Sept. for טוֹב 1 Sam. 9: 2.—Judith 11: 8. Jos. Ant. 9. 5. 2 *τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινε.* Xen. Cyneg. 1. 14.

b) of things. Luke 10: 42 *τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα.* John 1: 47 *τί ἀγαθὸν what remarkable.* 2 Thess. 2: 16 *ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή*, unless this is put for *ἐλπὶς ἀγαθῶν.* So Sept. for טוֹב Ezra 8: 27 *χαλκοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.*

2. *good*, absolutely, i. e. of good character, disposition, quality.

a) of persons, *upright, virtuous.* Matt. 5: 45. 12: 35. 22: 10. 25: 21, 23. Luke 6: 45. 19: 17. 23: 50. John 7: 12.

Robinson, 1850.

ἀγαθός, ἡ, όν, (*ἄγαν*,) corresp. to Heb. טוֹב, Lat. *bonus*, Engl. *good.*

1. *good*, i. e. distinguished for good and eminent qualities, character; of persons, Matt. 19, 16 *διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ.* v. 17 bis. Mark 10, 17 sq. Luke 18, 18 sq. (Jos. Ant. 9. 5. 2 *τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινε.* Xen. Ven. 1. 14.) Of things, Luke 10, 42 *τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα.* John 1, 47. Sept. for טוֹב Ezra 8, 27 *χαλκοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.*—Spec.

a) In a physical sense, *good*, as opp. to bad, e. g. *δένδρον ἀγαθὸν* Matt. 7, 17. 18; *γῆ ἀγ.* Luke 8, 8. Sept. *γῆ ἀγ.* for טוֹב Ex. 3, 8.—Plut. Gryll. 3. Xen. Œc. 16. 7 *γῆ ἀγ.*

b) In a moral sense, *good, well-disposed, upright.* *a*) Of persons, Matt. 5, 45 *ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς.* 12, 35. 22, 10. 25, 21. Luke 23, 50. John 7, 12. Acts 11, 24. Sept. for טוֹב Prov. 13, 2. 15, 3. So Xen. Mem. 3. 4. 8 *τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν.*

Suggested.

ἀγαθός, -ή, -όν, adj. (*ά*-euphonic prefixed to the ultimate radical ΓΑΘ, theme γτ, identical with Germ. *gut*, Eng. *good*, with which it corresponds in force and use; with the adj. termination *-ος*, anomalously oxytone; very irrēg. in comparison, Kühner, § 84, Stuart, § 36, 10) *good*, i. e. excellent in its kind. (In the Sept. everywhere for the Heb. טוֹב, and nearly synon. with *καλός.* —Very freq. in Hom., who uses it of *valour, nobility, beneficence*, &c.) e. g.

a. Absol., *good*, i. e. intrinsically excellent.

a) Phys., *good*, i. e. naturally well constituted, e. g. a *thrifty* tree, *rich* soil: Matt. 7: 17, 18; Luke 8: 8.—So Sept. *γῆ ἀγ.* Ex. 3: 8.—Xen. Œc. xvi, 17, *γῆ ἀγ.*

b) Morally, *right*, i. e. conformed to justice, piety, and honour, e. g. *upright* persons, *honest* principles, *holy*

Rose's Parkhurst.

perous, fortunate, happy, Isaiah lxiii. 7. Job xvii. 15. 1 Macc. x. 55. and *cheerful,* Ps. lxxiii. 14. Zach. viii. 19. Esdr. ix. 12. In Sirach xiii. 25. *καρδια ἐν ἀγαθοῖς* is perhaps for *καρδία ἀγαθή* in this sense.] So *Herodotus,* lib. iii. cap. 135, and ix. 81, used not only by the LXX, but likewise by *Polybius, Xenophon,* and *Josephus,* (cited by *Kype* on Luke xii. 19.) and by the two latter particularly applied to the *Fruits of the earth.* [In which sense it occurs, Gen. xlv. 20. Wisdom ii. 6. Luke xii. 18, 19.]

II. *Bountiful, kind, benevolent, merciful.* Mat. xx. 15. [*Bountiful* or *liberal,* i. e. Does my liberality to others provoke you to envy? See Xenoph. Cyr. iii. 3, 4. and D'Orvill. ad Charit. p. 722.] Rom. v. 7. [*Kind or benevolent.* 1 Thess. iii. 6. *Good natured.* 1 Pet. ii. 18. Tit. ii. 5. See Casaub. Epp. p. 79. Xen. Œcon. 11. 6. Hence *τὸ ἀγαθὸν* denotes *benevolence.* 1 Thess. v. 15. Rom. xii. 21. Gal. vi. 10. Phil. i. 5. Philem. 14. It is put for Christianity as the highest instance of God's benevolence in Rom. xiv. 16.]

III. *Profitable, useful,* Eph. iv. 29.

IV. *Fertile, good, as* land. Luke viii. 8. So Plutarch, De

Robinson, 1834.

Acts 11: 24. So Sept. for טוֹב 2 Chr. 21: 13. Prov. 13: 2, where *ἀγαθός* is opposed to *παρανομος.* 15: 3. Is. 63: 7 *κριτὴς ἀγαθός* for רַב טוּבוֹ.—Xen. Mem. 3. 4. 8 *τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν.*

b) of things. (*a*) in a physical sense, e. g. *δένδρον* Matt. 7: 17, 18. *γῆ* Luke 8: 8. So Sept. *γῆ ἀγ.* for טוֹבָה Ex. 3: 8.—Diod. Sic. 11. 25 *χώρα ἀγ.* Xen. Oec. 16. 7 *γῆ ἀγ.*— (*β*) in a moral sense, *good, upright, virtuous;* e.g. *καρδία* Luke 8: 15. *ἐντολή* Rom. 7: 12. *λόγος* 2 Thess. 2: 17. *θέλημα τοῦ Θ.* Rom. 12: 2, and so Sept. for טוֹב with *τὸ πνεῦμα* Neh. 9: 20. Psa. 143: 10. Wisd. 8: 19 *ψυχὴ ἀγ.* Hence *συνείδησις ἀγαθή,* i. e. consciousness of rectitude, Acts 23: 1. 1 Tim. 1: 5, 19. 1 Pet. 3: 16, 21.—So *ἔργα ἀγαθά, good deeds, virtue, rectitude,* Rom. 2: 7. 13: 3. Eph. 2: 10. Col. 1: 10. 2 Tim. 2: 21. 3: 17. Tit. 1: 16. 3: 1. Heb. 13: 21. So Sept. for טוֹב 1 Sam. 19: 4 *ποιήματα ἀγ.* Wisd. 3: 15 *πόνοι ἀγ.*

c) neut. *ἀγαθόν* and *ἀγαθά,* i. e. *virtue, rectitude, love of virtue,* Matt. 12: 34, 35. 19: 16. Luke 6: 45. John 5: 29. Rom. 2: 10. 3: 8. 7: 18, 19. 9: 11. 12: 9. 13: 3. 16: 19. 2 Cor. 5: 10. 1 Pet.

Robinson, 1850.

β) Of things, actions, *good, right, upright,* e. g. *καρδία* Luke 8, 15; *ἐντολή virtue:*) Matt. 5: Rom. 7. 12; *λόγος* 2 Thess. 2, 17; *ὑπέλημα τοῦ Θ.* Rom. 12, 2. (Sept. *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγ.* for טוֹב Neh. 9, 20. Psa. 143, 10. Wisd. 8, 19 *ψυχὴ ἀγ.*) Hence *συνείδησις ἀγαθὴ a good conscience,* consciousness of rectitude, Acts 23, 1. 1 Tim. 1, 5. 19. 1 Pet. 3, 16. 21. Also *ἔργον ἀγαθόν, ἔργα ἀγαθά, good deeds, well-doing,* uprightness, Rom. 2, 7. 13, 3. Eph. 2, 10. Col. 1, 10. 2 Tim. 2, 21. al. Sept. *ποιήματα ἀγ.* for טוֹב 1 Sam. 19, 4. Wisd. 3, 15 *πόνοι ἀγ.*

c) Neut. as Subst. (*τὸ*) *ἀγαθόν,* (*τὰ*) *ἀγαθά, good, good things, right, virtue,* Matt. 12, 34. 35. 19, 16. Luke 6, 45. Rom. 2, 10. 7, 18, 19. al. Rom. 7, 13 *τὸ ἀγαθὸν that which is in itself good.* 14, 16 *ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν your good,* sc. liberty of conscience, Christian liberty. Sept. for טוֹב Psa. 53, 2. 4.—Arr. Epict. 1. 4. 1. Xen. Mem. 3. 10. 5.

2. *good,* in respect to operation, influence, utility, i. e. *useful, beneficial, profitable.*

a) Of persons, *good, kind, benevolent, doing good,* Rom. 5, 7. 1 Thess. 3, 6. Tit. 2, 5. 1 Pet. 2, 18. Sept.

Suggested.

tempers, *righteous* words or acts, (espec. in the neut., *righteousness:*) Matt. 5: 45; 8: 15; 12: 34, 35 thrice; 19: 16 last clause; 22: 10; 25: 21, 23; Luke 6: 45 thrice; 19: 17; 23: 50; John 5: 29; 7: 12; Acts 11: 24; 23: 1; Rom. 2: 7, 10; 3: 8; 5: 7; 7: 12, 13 twice; 18: 19; 9: 11; 12: 2, 9; 13: 3; 14: 16; 16: 19; 2 Cor. 5: 10; Eph. 2: 10; 4: 28; 6: 8; Col. 1: 10; 2 Thess. 2: 17; 1 Tim. 1: 5, 19; 2: 10; 5: 10; 2 Tim. 2: 21; 3: 17; Tit. 1: 16; 2: 10; 3: 1; Philem. 6; Heb. 13: 21; 1 Pet. 3: 11, 13, 16 twice, 21.—Sept. Prov. 13: 2; Wisd. 8: 19; 1 Sam. 19: 4.—Xen. Mem. III, iv, 8, *τοὺς ἀγ. τιμᾶν.*

b. Relat., *estimable,* i. e. prized for particular reasons of an outward character.

(1) In a merely natural sense, *valuable,* e. g. *goods,* i. e. moveable property: Luke 12: 18, 19.—Sept. Gen. 24: 10.—Xen. Cyr. III, iii, 20.

(2) In a moral sense.

a) Genr., *kind,* whether of persons, dispositions, or things conferred, as evincing benevolence, (espec. in the neut., *blessings,* either temporal or spiritual:) Matt. 7: 11 twice; 20: 15; Luke 1: 53; 11: 13; 16: 25; Acts 9: 36; Rom. 8: 28; 10: 15; 12: 21; 13: 4; 15:

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lib. educand. p. 2. Ἐπὶ τῆς γεωργίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἈΓΑ ΘΗΝ ὑπάρξαι δεῖ τὴν γῆν. In agriculture, first, the land must be *good.*

V. *Pure, unpolluted.* Acts xxiii. 1. (comp. Acts xxiv. 16. 2 Tim. i. 3.) 1 Tim. i. 19. (comp. 1 Tim. iii. 9.)

Robinson, 1834.

3: 11, 13. 3 John 11. Rom. 7: 13 bis *τὸ ἀγαθόν that which is in itself good.* Rom. 14: 16 where *τὸ ἀγαθόν* is *the good cause,* i. e. the religion of Christ. Sept. for טוֹב Psa. 34: 14. 53: 2, 4.—Xen. Mem. 3. 10. 5.

3. *good,* in respect to operation or influence on others, i. e. *useful, beneficial, profitable.*

a) of persons, *benevolent, beneficent,* Matt. 20: 15. Rom. 5: 7. 1 Thess. 3: 6. Titus 2: 5. 1 Pet. 2: 18. So Sept. for טוֹב 2 Chr. 30: 19 *ὁ θεὸς ἀγ.* Psa. 73: 1.—Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 4 *εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν.* Thuc. 1. 86.

b) of things; e. g. *δόματα* Matt. 7: 11. Luke 11: 13. *δόσις* James 1: 17. *ἔργον* Phil. 1: 6. *ἀναστροφή* 1 Pet. 3: 16. *καρποί* James 3: 17. *πίστις* Tit. 2: 10. Sept. for טוֹב 1 Sam. 12: 23 *ἀγ. ὁδός.* Neh. 9: 13 *ἐντολαὶ ἀγ.*—Matt. 12: 35 *ἀγ θησαυρός, treasure of good things.* Luke 6: 45.—So *ἔργα ἀγαθά, good deeds, benefits,* Acts 9: 36. 2 Cor. 9: 8. 1 Tim. 2: 10. 5: 10. —In the sense of *suitable, adapted to,* Eph. 4: 29 *λόγος ἀγ. πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν* Rom. 15: 2.—Jos. Ant. 4. 6. 1 *πόλις φοινίκας φέρειν ἀγαθή.* Pausan. Eliac. poster. c. 26. 4 *χώρα ἐς καρποὺς ἐκτρέφειν ἀγαθή.*

Robinson, 1850.

for טוֹב 2 Chr. 30, 19 *ὁ θεὸς ἀγ.* Psa. 73, 1.—Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 37. Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 4 *εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν.*

b) Of things; e. g. *δόματα* Matt. 7, 11. Luke 11, 13; *δόσις* James 1, 17; *ἀναστροφή* 1 Pet. 3, 16; *καρποί* James 3, 17; *πίστις* Tit. 2, 10.—(Sept. for טוֹב 1 Sam. 12, 23 *ἀγ. ὁδός.* Neh. 9, 13 *ἐντολαὶ ἀγ.*) Matt. 12, 35 *ἀγ. θησαυρός, treasure of good things.* Luke 6. 45. So *ἔργα ἀγαθά, good deeds, benefits,* Acts 9, 36. 2 Cor. 9, 8. 1 Tim. 2, 10. 5, 10. —Also *good* for any purpose, *suitable, adapted to,* Eph. 4, 29 *λόγος ἀγ. πρὸς οἰκοδομήν.* Rom. 15, 2. So Jos. Ant. 4. 6. 1 *πόλις φοινίκας φέρειν ἀγαθή.* Pausan. Eliac. post. c. 26. 4 *χώρα ἐς καρποὺς ἐκτρέφειν ἀγαθή.* Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. 14, p. 367. Plato Rep. 608. e.

c) Neut. as Subst. *τὸ ἀγαθόν, something useful and profitable, a benefit,* Rom. 8, 28. 12, 21. 13, 4. Gal. 6, 10. Eph. 4, 28. 6, 8. 1 Thess. 5, 15. Philem. 6. 14. (Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 18.) Plur. *τὰ ἀγαθά, things good and useful, benefits, blessings,* Matt. 7, 11. Luke 1, 53. 16, 25. Rom. 3, 8. Gal. 6, 6. Heb. 9, 11. 10, 1. (Plut. Pericl. 39. Xen. Cyr. 5. 3. 15 *τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγα-*

Suggested.

2; 2 Cor. 9: 8; Gal. 6: 10; 1 Thess. 3: 6; 5: 15; Tit. 2: 5; Philem. 14; Heb. 9: 11; 10: 1; James 1: 17; 3: 17; 1 Pet. 2: 18; 3 John 11. —Sept. 2 Chr. 30: 19; Neh. 9: 13.—Xen. Cyr. III, iii, 4.=*εὐεργέτην*; ib. IV, ii, 8.

b) Specifically.

[1] With respect to a certain purpose or relation, *serviceable,* i. e. suitable or adapted: Gal. 6: 6; Eph. 4: 29.—So Jos. Ant. IV, vi, 1. *πόλις φοινίκας φέρειν ἀγαθή*; Pausan. Eliac. post. c. xxvi, 4.

[2] In view of advantage accruing to the subject, *happy,* e. g. a lot or process fraught with *blissful* results, a *joyful* state, *prosperous* times: Luke 10: 42; Phil. 1: 6; 1 Thess. 2: 16; 1 Pet. 3: 10.—Sept. Psa. 34: 12; Eccles. 14: 14; Herod. iii, 135; ix. 81.

(3) Putatively, *respected,* e. g. *eminent* in official character, *revered* religiously: Matt. 19: 16 first clause, 17 twice; Mark 10: 17, 18 twice; Luke 18: 18, 19 twice; John 1: 47.—Jos. Ant. IX, v, 2; Xen. Ven. i, 14.

Robinson, 1834.

c) neut. (*a*) τὸ ἀγαθόν, *something useful and profitable, benefit*, Rom. 8: 28. 12: 21. 13: 4. Gal. 6: 10. Eph. 4: 28. 6: 8. 1 Thess. 5: 15. Philem. 6: 14.—Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 18.—(*β*) τὰ ἀγαθά, *things good and useful, benefits, blessings*. Matt. 7: 11. Luke 1: 53. 16: 25. Gal. 6: 6. Heb. 9: 11. 10: 1.—Xen. Cyr. 5. 3. 15 τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγαθοῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.—In the sense of *goods, wealth*, Luke 12: 18, 19. So Sept. for טוּב Gen. 24: 10. 45: 18, 20. Deut. 6: 11.—Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 20.

4. *good*, in respect to the feelings excited, i. e. *pleasant, joyful, happy*. 1 Pet. 3: 10 ἡμέρας ἀγ. Rom. 10: 15 τὰ ἀγαθά *happy times*. Sept. for טוֹב Psa. 34: 12 ἡμέρας ἀγ. Zech. 8: 19 ἑορτὰς ἀγ.—Ecclus. 14: 14. 1 Macc. 10: 55.

Robinson, 1850.

θοῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.) In the sense of *goods, wealth*, Luke 12, 18. 19. Sept. for טוּב Gen. 24, 10. Deut. 6, 11. So Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 20.

3. *good*, in respect to the feelings excited, i. e. *glad, joyful, happy*. 1 Pet. 3, 10 ἡμέρας ἀγ. Rom. 10, 15 τὰ ἀγαθά *happy times*. 2 Thess. 2, 16. Sept. for טוֹב Psa. 34, 12 ἡμέρας ἀγ. Zech. 8, 19 ἑορτὰς ἀγ. So Ecclus. 14, 14. 1 Macc. 10, 55.

The above will at least illustrate the difficulty of this part of Dr. Robinson's undertaking. It is almost impossible to preserve entirely distinct the different senses which a word takes on, for each meaning assumes almost as many shades as the number of instances in which it occurs. Whatever profound learning, diligent toil, and minute accuracy can accomplish for a work, has evidently been done for this by its author; and the publishers have brought it out in a style that does credit even to their enterprising press. It has no need of our feeble recommendation: it is above our praise; and the wants of students must combine with its intrinsic deserts to render it at once *the* book for the American, and probably also the English, public.

Art. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) Wherever the Divinity of Christ is denied, human depravity is denied also. Our readers who wish to see the full tendency of Socinian doctrine, may find it in "*Discourses on the Rectitude of Human Nature*, by George W. Burnap, D. D., Pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore:" (Boston: Crosby & Nichol, 1850: 12mo., pp. 409.) Dr. Burnap believes that theology is altogether behind the other sciences; that the modes of reasoning which prevail upon it are such as would be wholly unsatisfactory in any other branch of human knowledge. His contribution to a "thorough revision" of theology consists in these twenty-four Discourses, designed to prove that human nature—not as it was originally created, but in its actual, positive, historical presence on the earth—is essentially pure; that Adam was not the federal head, but the symbolic type, of mankind; that the Scripture account of the fall is an Oriental apologue designed to show, not how all men fell in Adam, but how every man falls for himself; that the general sinfulness of mankind is the fruit of human freedom and of human ignorance, aggravated by the law of habit, by the outward circumstances of a state of probation, &c. In short, these lectures give a summary of all the arguments commonly brought against original sin. We do not see that Dr. Burnap has added anything new to the stock, and are inclined to the opinion that the "new revision" of theology will require methods different from his to insure it success.

(2.) That "the former times were better than these," is a cry repeated in every generation. Methodism, of course, has had its croakers also; signs of degeneracy have been seen in abundance, by acute, fault-finding eyes; and predictions of decay, and even of ruin, have not been wanting. A sufficient answer to all such will be found in "*The Present State, Prospects, and Responsibilities of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Nathan Bangs, D. D.:" (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1850: 18mo., pp. 326.) The healthful tone of Dr. Bangs' pages—the pages of a veteran, who, according to the usual course of things, might be expected to grumble at the times, or, at least, might be excused for it if any one could—contrasts strongly with the morbid, complaining spirit so often shown in younger men. Not that he is blind to existing defects, or afraid to speak of them; we only wish that every one else, who has the right to be, were as free in speaking out his mind. But with his eyes wide open, and with the experience of his long life of work to aid his vision, he sees the signs of healthful progress, of natural and consistent growth, everywhere manifest in the Church—in her zeal for the education of the people, in her devotion to the cause of missions, and in her love for vital religion. After supporting his hopeful and cheering view of the state of the Church by a great variety of facts and arguments, he sets forth the true means of preserving and increasing this perpetuity—namely, the holiness of the Church;—that is, the holiness of the individual members of the Church—

and the spirit of union and activity that holiness necessarily inspires. We trust that the book will be widely read, and will be useful, not merely in strengthening the confidence, but in reviving the zeal, of Methodists.

The Appendix of ecclesiastical statistics, though brief, is very comprehensive and valuable.

(4.) No book of reference has appeared of late years with greater claims to a place on every library-table than "*The World's Progress, a Dictionary of Dates, with Tabular Views of General History, and a Historical Chart*, edited by G. P. PUTNAM:" (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850.) The work is a large 12mo., of nearly seven hundred pages, full of facts, so arranged and classified as to be always easily found. The first division (illustrated by a chart of history on Priestley's plan) contains tabular views of universal history in parallel columns, bringing the chronology down to 1850. Next follows a dictionary of dates, (more properly of facts,) founded on Haydn's; and after this is given a chronological list of authors. The work concludes with a pretty copious biographical Index. This enumeration of the contents of the book is enough to commend it to all those who, like ourselves, feel the need of every sort of time-saving help in literary labour.

(4.) "*Popular Education, for the Use of Parents and Teachers*, by IRA MAYHEW, A. M., late Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Michigan:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1850: 12mo., pp. 467.) Well-written books of this class cannot be multiplied too much. The work before us grew out of a series of lectures delivered before the Legislature of Michigan—now collected and published at the request of that body. We are glad to see that several chapters are devoted to *physical* education, a matter in which the Americans, as a people, are far behind the European world. We commend the work, not merely as a useful manual for teachers and school committees, but as one to be read by the people—every man, woman, and child of whom is interested in the subject of which it treats.

(5.) MESSRS. LANE & SCOTT have just issued a new edition of "*Mental Discipline, with Reference to the Acquisition and Communication of Knowledge, and to Education generally*, by Rev. DAVIS W. CLARK, D. D.:" (18mo., pp. 320.) This book by no means aims to give a theory of the human mind, but simply to unfold some of the laws of its development, and to give simple and practical rules for its cultivation. It has specially in view the wants of students for the Christian ministry—and particularly of those, we suppose, whose means of early education have been limited. To all such, its lessons must be invaluable—and, indeed, it has claims to even a wider sphere of influence. Appended to the work is a topical course of Theological Study, with references to books under each head. The list of names is purposely narrow—too much so, we think, for the present state of culture in our Church.

But in this, as in every other part of the book, Dr. Clark's aims have been modest—and he has made a book of far greater practical utility than many of more pretension.

(6.) We noticed some time ago, with marked commendation, a translation of Pütz's Manual of Ancient Geography and History. It is now followed by a "*Hand-book of Mediæval Geography and History*," translated from the German of Pütz, by Rev. R. B. Paul: (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.: 12mo. pp. 211.) This work is characterized by the same fulness of matter, clearness of arrangement, and conciseness of expression, that marked its predecessor. It is furnished with a set of questions, adapting it for practical drilling in schools, and also with a modest list of references to accessible sources of information, by the American editor, Professor Greene.

(7.) We have received a copy of Dr. Thomas Smyth's book on the "*Unity of the Human Races*," (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850: 12mo., pp. 404,) and find it marked by the industry and earnest research which characterize the other works of the respected author. More extended notice of the work will be given in an article on the general subject now in preparation. In the mean time, we commend the book to the attention of our readers—especially our clerical readers, who will probably find it *necessary* to study the subject in view of the new interest that has been given to it in this country by the publication of the views of Professor Agassiz and others.

(8.) "*The Country Year-Book; or, the Field, the Forest, and the Fireside*, by William Howitt:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 12mo., pp. 423.) That delightful and popular work by the same author—the "Book of the Seasons"—owed much of its attractiveness to the pleasant way in which it treated of botany, natural history, horticulture, &c.; the present volume aims principally to illustrate the "pleasures and pursuits of human life in the country." It has a chapter for each month in the year, with poetry in prose and verse, pretty descriptions, and stories, appropriate to the changing skies of the revolving year. The calendar for December includes a strange but attractive budget of remarkable dreams, warnings, and providences.

(9.) We have received two additional volumes of Abbott's excellent series of histories for young persons,—the "*History of Xerxes the Great*," and the "*History of Madame Roland:*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1850: 18mo.) Mr. Abbott shows hardly less skill in the choice of his subjects for these *historiettes* than in his admirable manner of treating them. The coming generation of American youth will remember him as a benefactor. We heartily renew our commendation of the series as containing reading at once unexceptionable on the score of morality, and as attractive as romance for youthful readers.

(10.) "*Success in Life; the Mechanic*, by Mr. L. C. TUTHILL," (New-York: G. P. Putnam: 12mo.,) is a series of illustrations of the value of virtue and industry as means of securing what is commonly called "success in life"—that is, respectability and wealth. The lives of Fitch, Franklin, Fulton, Rumsey, and others, are used to point the moral of the book. Though the motives to which it appeals are not the highest, it offers pleasant and not unprofitable reading for youth.

(11.) IT is a pleasant thing to receive from the hands of a layman—and from one, too, who long held the foremost rank in a profession generally deemed not the most congenial to religious thinking—such a book as "*The Gospel its own Advocate*, by GEORGE GRIFFIN, LL. D.:" (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850.) The book is an eloquent exposition of the Christian evidences—and, as the title intimates, it unfolds chiefly the internal evidence, though the external is by no means neglected. Its pages glow with a genuine Christian enthusiasm; while, at the same time, they afford substantial refutations of the common objections brought against the Gospel.

(12.) THE beautiful paper, printing, and binding of the annual gift-books are too often but a setting-off of worthless wares. We are glad to chronicle the appearance of one in which no such deception is practised, namely, "*The Token of Friendship: a Gift-book for the Holidays, for* 1851, *edited* by Bradford K. Pierce:" (Boston: C. H. Pierce.) It contains a collection of articles of rare excellence, chiefly contributed by Methodist ministers, among whom are some of the most eminent names in the Church, and others that are rapidly rising to eminence. We trust that its success will be so decided as to insure a continuance of the enterprise in successive years.

(13.) WE should be glad to give extended extracts from the second volume of "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D. D.*, by Rev. W. HANNA, D. D.:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 12mo., pp. 547.) It carries on the biography from his thirty-sixth to his forty-third year, and covers the period of his highest pulpit power and popularity in the ministry at the Tron Church, Glasgow. It illustrates, even more strikingly than the first volume, Dr. Chalmers' indomitable energy and industry, while it affords affecting glimpses of his personal tenderness, as well as of a constantly growing religious life. His humility increased with his popularity; his piety with his reputation. The volume closes with his transfer to the chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews.

(14.) "*Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, by R. GORDON CUMMING, Esq.:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 2 vols., 12mo.) Mr. Cumming *may* tell a true story in this book; but his pages contain almost as many marvels as Munchausen. Taking the book for truth, it

is full of attraction for those who have a taste for wild and savage sports. One day he shoots half a dozen antelopes; the next, he chases a herd of ostriches; again, he lies down to sleep at night with a venomous snake under his pillow, and droves of wild dogs baying around him; anon, he careers through troops of buffaloes, and only leaves them to engage an army of elephants or giraffes; but he is not satisfied until he stands face to face with the king of beasts, and shoots down lions as other men do rabbits. It is a "wild and wondrous" tale; yet it may be true, as we have hinted. The book abounds with interesting notices of the native tribes of Southern Africa, and with anecdotes of the habits of the various animals that frequent the far interior of that continent.

(15.) THE "*Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1850: 2 vols., 12mo.) is not only a graphic record of a life of rare vicissitudes —mostly vicissitudes of sorrow—but also a running comment upon the lighter literature of the last half century. It abounds also in pleasant recollections of the literary men of that period, with most of whom Leigh Hunt was connected, either as friend or enemy. We should be glad to stop our notice here; but it is our duty to inform our readers that the author imbibed from his father—a refugee lawyer from America, who turned parson in England—the poison of Universalism, which he seems to take great delight in distilling freely for the behoof of the readers of his autobiography. The tendency of the book, taken as a whole, is evil.

(16.) MESSRS. GOULD & LINCOLN, of Boston, have published a new edition of the "*Life and Correspondence of John Foster, edited by* J. E. RYLAND," in one handsome 12mo. volume. We have nothing to add to our favourable notice of the first American edition of the work.

(17.) "*A New Method of Learning the German Language*, by W. H. WOODBURY:" (New-York: M. H. Newman: 12mo., pp. 504.) This book has already reached a *second* edition. It is designed to embrace both the analytic and synthetic modes of instruction, and to facilitate, as far as possible, the studies of those who are compelled to pursue the language without a teacher. Theory and practice are combined from the beginning, and the student is led on, step by step, through all the difficulties of the study. A synoptical view of the Grammar is given at the end of the volume, with reading lessons, and a vocabulary. The book is one of the most complete of the many German elementary books that have been put forth of late years.

(18.) "*The Eminent Dead; or, the Triumphs of Faith in the Dying Hour*, by BRADFORD K. PIERCE:" (Boston: C. H. Pierce, 1850: 12mo., pp. 502.) This is a collection of the dying testimonies of great and good men, of all denominations of Christians, and of many lands. An unambitious compila-

tion, it is yet a work calculated to be eminently useful; and it is, at the same time, full of attraction. Our human interest in such records can never fail: for we must *all* die. The treasures of the Church in the dying testimonies of her faithful children are vast, and the compiler, as he remarks in his preface, has found his chief difficulty in making selections from the multitude. He has done his work well; his volume is worthy of the widest circulation, and we trust will secure it.

(19.) COULD the real history of the Church of Rome be kept before the popular mind, no other argument or protest against her would be necessary. We trust that a wide circulation will be given to "*The History of the Confessional*, by JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1850: 12mo., pp. 334.) The plan of the work is good. First, the Roman system is stated at large; then the doctrine of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. After this the whole subject is examined in the light of the Scriptures, of Church history, and of experience.

(20.) WE regret that we have only space for a brief notice of "*Evangelism in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, by CHARLES ADAMS:" (Boston: C. H. Pierce, 1851: 12mo., pp. 316.) Mr. Adams' interest in the cause of Christian union, and his labours in its behalf, are well known to our readers; and the present work, notwithstanding its statistical character, may be regarded as a contribution toward the same end. Its design is to afford a descriptive and statistical exhibit of the present state of evangelical religion in all countries of the world; and thus, by laying the *real* spiritual condition of mankind before the eyes of Christians, to stimulate them to those higher efforts and sublimer sacrifices which we all *feel* must be put forth before the "earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God." And even apart from this high object, its value simply as a book of reference is sufficient to entitle it to a place in every Christian library.

(21.) A SIMILAR book, so far as its statistical aim is concerned—confined, however, to our own land—is "*The Churches and Sects of the United States*, by Rev. P. DOUGLASS GORRIE:" (New-York: L. Colby & Co.: 12mo., pp. 240.) We do not know a book in which so many useful facts are condensed into so small a space. The origin, history, doctrines, usages, &c., of the forty-seven (!) religious sects of the United States are exhibited—briefly, indeed, but yet sufficiently for ordinary purposes of reference.

(22.) WE omitted to notice in our last number "*The Recent Progress of Astronomy, especially in the United States*, by ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics in the University of the City of New-York:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 12mo., pp. 257.) The design of the book is to exhibit, in a

popular form, the chief astronomical discoveries of the past ten years; and it is most happily carried out. The unlearned reader can have little difficulty in following its luminous expositions; and the interest of the subject is so great that few who begin the perusal of the book will fail to finish it.

(23.) We are glad to hear of the complete success of the "*Iconographic Encyclopœdia of Science, Literature, and Art, translated and edited* by Spencer F. Baird, A. M., Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute," now in course of publication by Mr. Garrigue, to whose advertisement at the close of this number we invite the attention of our readers. That a *second* edition of so costly a work should be called for in so short a time is proof at once of the merit of the publication and of a growing demand for valuable and permanent literature. We have used the word "costly,"—but, in fact, the work, affording two thousand pages of letter-press with five hundred fine steel engravings for twenty-five dollars, is certainly one of the very cheapest.

(24.) Mr. Putnam has published a new edition of "*Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus, arranged* by Albert E. Church, A. M., Professor of Mathematics in the United States' Military Academy:" (8vo., pp. 344.) This edition contains not only such modifications as have been suggested by a thorough trial of the work in the recitation room, but also an elementary treatise on the Calculus of Variations. The work is, in our judgment, the best American text-book on the subject.

(25.) "*Religious Progress: Discourses on the Development of the Christian Character*, by William R. Williams:" (Boston: Gould & Lincoln: 12mo., pp. 258.) This book is a rare phenomenon in these days:—it is a rich exposition of Scripture, with a fund of practical religious wisdom, conveyed in a style so strong and so massive as to remind one of the English writers of two centuries ago; and yet it abounds in fresh illustrations drawn from every—even the latest opened—field of science and of literature. The Discourses are founded on 2 Peter i, 5–7, and show that the passage is not a mere enumeration of unconnected virtues that should adorn the Christian character, but an exhibition of the *necessary* growth of the Christian character from its deep root in Faith—that the passage is not a mere string of pearls, but a complete piece of jewelry, the setting of no single gem in which can be disturbed without damage or destruction to the whole. There are a few points, as might be expected, in which we cannot go along with Dr. Williams' doctrinal views; but his book, notwithstanding, we commend to our readers with the fullest confidence, as one that will, with the Divine blessing, at once enlarge their conceptions of the scope of Christian holiness and stimulate them to a more earnest and active religious progress.

(26.) Two years ago we called the attention of our readers to Dr. Latham's great work on the English language. We have now to chronicle the appearance of a treatise on this side the water similarly comprehensive in its aims, entitled, "*The English Language in its Elements and Forms, with a History of its Original Developments*, by WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor in Amherst College, Mass.:" (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 8vo., pp. 675.) The work treats, first, of the Origin and History of the Language; secondly, of its Phonology; thirdly, of its Orthography; fourth, of its Etymological forms; fifth, of its Logical forms; sixth, of Syntax; seventh, of Rhetorical forms; and, lastly, of Poetical forms. It thus attempts a complete survey of the field; and, as such, it deserves great credit. No other book of the kind is extant among us; Latham's (to which Professor Fowler is largely indebted) has not been reprinted; and if it were, it is not so well adapted to use in this country as the present work. It will pass into use in all our colleges and higher schools, without doubt.

We cannot but regret that Professor Fowler has seen fit to print his book in Websterian orthography instead of English. It is a very serious drawback, in our judgment, upon the value of the work as a text-book. We trust, also, that his next edition will have an *Index*.

(27.) WE have received the twelfth (and last) number of a "*Treatise on Marine and Naval Architecture*, by JOHN W. GRIFFITHS:" (New-York: Appleton & Co., 1850.) Of the subject itself we know nothing, but we are assured by those who *ought* to know, that this is one of the best treatises, both on the theory and practice of ship-building, that has yet appeared. It is finely printed; and the engravings, of which there are more than fifty, are remarkably well done.

(28.) Of the following pamphlets, sermons, &c., we can give nothing more than the titles:—

Church Development on Apostolic Principles: an Essay addressed to the Friends of Biblical Christianity, by S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

The Transfiguration: an Exegetical Homily, by Rev. C. PORTERFIELD KRAUTH, A. M., Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winchester, Va.

Unitarianism: a Dialogue, summarily Exhibiting, from their approved Authors, the Doctrines advanced by a Sect called "Chri-stians," in which their Arguments are Stated and Confuted, by Rev. C. L. BOWN, a Member of the East Genesee Conference of the M. E. Church.

The Passage into the Ministry: an Address delivered in St. Peter's Church, New-York, to the Graduating Class of the General Theological Seminary, at the Commencement, June 27, 1850, by GEORGE BURGESS, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maine.

The Age and Theology—an Address delivered before the Society for Religious Inquiry of the University of Vermont, at Burlington, August 5, 1850,

by HENRY WILKES, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Montreal.

The Methodist Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1851: and the Seventy-fifth of American Independence. Astronomical Calculations by DAVID YOUNG. Comprising also a Summary View of Methodism throughout the World, with other Ecclesiastical and National Statistics, &c.

Obituary Addresses delivered on the Occasion of the Death of Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, in the Senate and House of Representatives, July 10, 1850; with the Funeral Sermon, by the Rev. SMITH PYNE, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Washington, preached in the Presidential Mansion, July 13, 1850.

Noah's Ark: a Sermon, by the Rev. GEORGE LEALE, Wesleyan Missionary. Translated from the French, by the Rev. Thomas Thompson, M. A., Wesleyan Minister.

Twenty-fifth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Oneida Conference Seminary, Cazenovia, N. Y., 1850.

Introductory Lecture to the Winter Course of Instruction in the Philadelphia College of Medicine, delivered on Monday, at 5 o'clock, P. M., October 14, 1850, by JAMES M'CLINTOCK, M. D., Professor of Surgery and Anatomy.

An Address delivered before the Literary Societies of Centre College, Ky., June 25, 1850, by EDWARD P. HUMPHREY.

°°° A number of Critical Notices are omitted for want of room.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPEAN.

WE place upon record, for our own use, and and that of our readers hereafter, the Letter Apostolical of Pope Pius IX., establishing the Episcopal Hierarchy in England:—

POPE PIUS IX.,

FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE OF THE THING.

"The power of ruling the Universal Church committed by our Lord Jesus Christ to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, hath preserved, through every age, in the apostolic See, that remarkable solicitude by which it consulteth for the advantage of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, and studiously provideth for its extension. And this correspondeth with the design of its Divine Founder, who, when he ordained a Head to the Church, looked forward, by his excelling wisdom, to the consummation of the world. Among other nations, the famous realm of ENGLAND hath experienced the effects of this solicitude on the part of the Supreme Pontiff. Its histories testify that in the earliest ages of the Church, the Christian religion was brought into Britain, and subsequently flourished greatly there; but about the middle of the fifth age the Anglos and Saxons having been invited into the Island, the affairs not only of the nation, but of religion also, suffered great and grievous injury. But we know that our holy predecessor, Gregory the Great, sent first Augustine, the monk, with his companions, who subsequently, with several others, were elevated to the dignity of bishops, and a great company of priests and monks, having been sent to join them, the Anglo-Saxons were brought to embrace the Christian religion; and by their exertions it was brought to pass, that in Britain, which had now come to be called England, the Catholic religion was everywhere restored and extended. But to pass on to more recent events, the history of the Anglican schism of the sixteenth age presents no feature more remarkable than the care unremittedly exercised by our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, to lend succour in its hour of extremest peril to the Catholic religion in that realm, and by every means to afford it support and assistance. Among other instances of this care are the enactments and provisions made by the chief Pontiffs, or under their direction and approval, for the unfailing supply of men to

take charge of the interests of Catholicity in that country; and also for the education of Catholic young men of good abilities on the Continent, and their careful instruction in all branches of theological learning; so that when promoted to holy orders, they might return to their native land, and labour diligently to benefit their countrymen by the ministry of the word and of the sacraments; and by the defence and propagation of the holy faith. Perhaps even more conspicuous have been the exertions made by our predecessors for the purpose of restoring to the English Catholic prelates invested with the episcopal character, when the fierce and cruel storms of persecution had deprived them of the presence and pastoral care of their own bishops. The Letters Apostolical of Pope Gregory XV., dated March 23, 1623, set forth, that the chief Pontiff, as soon as he was able, had consecrated William Bishop, bishop of Chalcedon, and had appointed him, furnished with an ample supply of faculties, and the authority of Ordinary, to govern the Catholics of England and of Scotland. Subsequently, on the death of the said William Bishop, Pope Urban VIII., by Letters Apostolical, dated Feb. 4, 1625, to the like effect, and directed to Richard Smith, reconstituted him bishop of Chalcedon, and conferred on him the same faculties and powers as had been granted to William Bishop. When the king, James II., ascended the English throne, there seemed a prospect of happier times for the Catholic religion. Innocent XI. immediately availed himself of this opportunity to ordain, in the year 1685, John Leyburn, bishop of Adrumetum, vicar-apostolic of all England. Subsequently, by other Letters Apostolical, issued Jan. 30, 1688, he associated with Leyburn as vicars apostolic, three other bishops, with titles taken from churches *in partibus infidelium:* and accordingly, with the assistance of Ferdinand, archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Nuncio in England, the same Pontiff divided England into four districts, namely, the London, the Eastern, the Midland, and the Northern, each of which a vicar-apostolic commenced to govern, furnished with all suitable faculties, and with the proper powers of a local Ordinary. Benedict XIV., by his Constitution, dated May 30, 1753, and the other Pontiffs, our predecessors, and our Congregation of Propaganda, both by their own authority or by their most wise and prudent directions, afforded them all guidance and help in the discharge of their important functions. This partition of all England into four apostolic vicariates lasted till the time of Gregory XVI., who, by Letters Apostolical, dated July 3, 1840, having taken into consideration the increase which the Catholic religion had received in that kingdom, made a new ecclesiastical division of the counties, doubling the number of the apostolic vicariates, and committing the government of the whole of England in spirituals to the vicars-apostolic of the London, the Western, the Eastern, the Central, the Welsh, the Lancaster, the York, and the Northern Districts. These facts that we have cursorily touched upon, to omit all mention of others, are sufficient proof that our predecessors have studiously endeavoured and laboured, that as far as their influence could effect it, the Church in England might be re-edified and recovered from the great calamity that had befallen her.

"Having, therefore, before our eyes so illustrious an example of our predecessors, and wishing to emulate it in accordance with the duty of the Supreme Apostolate, and also giving way to our own feelings of affection toward that beloved part of our Lord's vineyard, we have purposed, from the very first commencement of our Pontificate, to prosecute a work so well commenced, and to devote our closer attention to the promotion of the Church's advantage in that kingdom. Wherefore, having taken into earnest consideration the present state of Catholic affairs in England, and reflecting on the very large and everywhere increasing number of Catholics there, considering also that the impediments which principally stood in the way of the spread of Catholicity were daily being removed, we judged that the time had arrived when the form of ecclesiastical government in England might be brought back to that model, on which it exists freely among other nations, where there is no special reason for their being governed by the extraordinary administration of vicars-apostolic. We were of opinion that times and circumstances had brought it about, that it was unnecessary for the English Catholics to be any longer guided by vicars-apostolic; nay, more, that the revolution that had taken place in things there was such as to demand the form of ordinary episcopal government. In addition to this, the vicars-apostolic of England themselves had, with united voice, besought this of us; many also, both of the clergy and laity, highly esteemed for their virtue and rank, had made the same petition, and this was also the earnest wish of a very large number of the rest of the Catholics of England. While we pondered on these things, we did not omit to implore the aid of Almighty God that, in deliberating on a matter of such weight, we might be enabled, both to discern, and rightly to accomplish, what might be most conducive to the good of the Church. We also invoked the assistance of Mary the Virgin, mother of God, and those saints who illustrated England by their virtues, that they would vouchsafe to support us by their patronage with God in the happy accomplishment of this affair. In addition, we committed the whole matter to our venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman Church of our Congregation for the propagation of the faith, to be carefully and gravely considered. Their opinion was entirely agreeable to our own desires, and we freely approved of it, and judged that it be carried into execution. The whole matter, therefore, having been

carefully and deliberately consulted upon, of our own motion, on certain knowledge, and of the plenitude of our apostolic power, we constitute and decree, that in the kingdom of England, according to the common rules of the Church, there be restored the Hierarchy of Ordinary Bishops, who shall be named from Sees, which we constitute in these our letters, in the several districts of the Apostolic Vicariates.

"To begin with the London District, there will be in it two sees; that of Westminster, which we elevate to the degree of the Metropolitan or archiepiscopal dignity, and that of Southwark, which, as also the others, (to be named next,) we assign as suffragan to Westminster. The diocese of Westminster will take that part of the above-named district which extends to the north of the River Thames, and includes the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford; that of Southwark will contain the remaining part to the south of the river, namely, the counties of Berks, Southampton, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, with the Islands of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, and the others adjacent.

"In the Northern Districts there will be only one Episcopal See, which will receive its name from the city of Hexham. This diocese will be bounded by the same limits as the district hath hitherto been.

"The York District will also form one diocese; and the bishop will have his See at the city of Beverly.

"In the Lancaster District, there will be two bishops, of whom the one will take his title from the See of Liverpool, and will have as his diocese the Isle of Man, the hundreds of Lonsdale, Amounderness, and West Derby. The other will receive the name of his See from the city of Salford, and will have for his diocese the hundreds of Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland. The county of Chester, although hitherto belonging to that district, we shall now annex to another diocese.

"In the District of Wales there will be two bishoprics, namely, that of Shrewsbury, and that of Menevia (or St. David's) united with Newport. The diocese of Shrewsbury to contain northward, the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Denbigh, Flint, Merioneth, and Montgomery; to which we annex the county of Chester from the Lancashire district, and the county of Salop from the Central District. We assign to the bishop of St. David's and Newport as his diocese, northward, the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan, Pembroke, and Radnor, and the English counties of Monmouth and Hereford.

"In the Western, we establish two Episcopal Sees, that of Clifton, and that of Plymouth. To the former of these we assign the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts; to the latter, those of Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall.

"The Central District, from which we have already separated off the county of Salop, will have two Episcopal Sees; that of Nottingham, and that of Birmingham. To the former of these we assign as a diocese the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, together with those of Lincoln and Rutland, which we hereby separate from the Eastern District. To the latter we assign the counties of Oxford, Warwick, Worcester, and Oxford.

"Lastly, in the Eastern District, there will be a single bishop's See, which will take its name from the city of Northampton, and will have its diocese comprehended within the same limits as have hitherto bounded the district, with the exception of the counties of Lincoln and Rutland, which we have already assigned to the aforesaid diocese of Nottingham.

"Thus, then, in the most flourishing kingdom of England there will be established one ecclesiastical province, consisting of one archbishop, or metropolitan head, and twelve bishops, his suffragans, by whose exertions and pastoral care we trust that to Catholicity in that country there will be a fruitful and daily increasing extension. Wherefore, we now reserve to ourselves and our successors, the Pontiffs of Rome, the power of again dividing the said province into others, and of increasing the number of dioceses as occasion shall require; and in general, that, as it shall seem fitting in the Lord, we may freely decree new limits to them.

"In the mean while we command the aforesaid archbishop and bishops that they transmit at due time, to our Congregation of Propaganda, accounts of the state of their churches, and that they never omit to keep the said Congregation fully informed respecting all matters which they know will conduce to the welfare of their spiritual flocks. For we shall continue to avail ourselves of the instrumentality of the said Congregations in all things appertaining to the Anglican churches. But in the sacred government of clergy and laity, and in all other things appertaining unto the pastoral office, the archbishop and bishops of England will henceforward enjoy all the rights and faculties which the other Catholic archbishops and bishops of other nations, according to the common ordinances of the sacred canons and apostolic constitutions, use, and may use; and are equally bound by the obligations which bind the other archbishops and bishops, according to the same common discipline of the Catholic Church. And whatever regulations, either in the ancient system of the Anglican Church, or in the subsequent missionary state, may have been in force either by special constitutions, or privileges, or peculiar customs, will now henceforth carry no right nor obligation: and in order that no doubt may remain on this point, we, by the plenitude of our apostolic authority, repeal and abrogate all power whatsoever of imposing obligation or conferring right in those peculiar constitutions and privileges of whatever kind they may be, and in all customs by whomsoever, or at whatever most ancient or immemorial time, brought in. Hence it

will, for the future, be solely competent for the archbishop and bishops of England to distinguish what things belong to the execution of the common ecclesiastical law, and what, according to the common discipline of the Church, are intrusted to the authority of the bishops. We certainly will not be wanting to assist them with our apostolic authority, and most willingly will we second all their applications in those things which shall seem to conduce to the glory of God's name and the salvation of souls. Our principal object, indeed, in decreeing by these our Letters Apostolical the restoration of the Ordinary Hierarchy of bishops and the observation of the Church's common law, has been to pay regard to the well-being and growth of the Catholic religion throughout the realm of England; but at the same time it was our purpose to gratify the wishes of both our venerable brethren who govern the affairs of religion by a vicarious authority from the apostolic See, and also of very many of our well-beloved children of the Catholic clergy and laity, from whom we had received the most urgent entreaties to the like effect. The same prayer had repeatedly been made by their ancestors to our predecessors, who, indeed, had first commenced to send vicars-apostolic into England at a time when it was impossible for any Catholic prelate to remain there in possession of a Church by right in Ordinary; and hence their design in successively augmenting the number of vicariates and vicarial districts was not certainly that Catholicity in England should always be under an extraordinary form of government, but rather looking forward to its extension in process of time, they were paving the way for the ultimate restoration of the Ordinary Hierarchy there.

"And therefore we, to whom, by God's goodness, it hath been granted to complete this great work, do now hereby declare, that it is very far from our intention or design that the prelates of England, now possessing the title and rights of bishops in Ordinary, should, in any other respect, be deprived of any advantages which they have enjoyed heretofore under the character of vicars-apostolic; for it would not be reasonable that the enactments we now make at the instance of the English Catholics, for the good of religion in their country, should turn to the detriment of the said vicars-apostolic Moreover, we are most firmly assured that the same, our beloved children in Christ, who have never ceased to contribute by their alms and liberality, under such various circumstances to the support of Catholic religion and of the vicars-apostolic, will henceforward manifest even greater liberality toward bishops who are now bound by a stronger tie to the Anglican Churches, so that these same may never be in want of the temporal means necessary for the expenses of the decent splendour of the churches, and of Divine service, and of the support of the clergy, and relief of the poor.

"In conclusion, lifting up our eyes unto the hills from whence cometh our help, to God Almighty, and all-merciful, with all prayer and supplication, we humbly beseech him, that he would confirm, by the power of his Divine assistance, all that we have now decreed for the good of the Church, and that he would bestow the strength of his grace on those to whom the carrying out of our decrees chiefly belongs, that they may feed the Lord's flock which is among them, and that they may ever increase in diligent exertion to advance the greater glory of his name. And in order to obtain the more abundant succours of heavenly grace for this purpose, we again invoke as our intercessors with God, the most holy mother of God, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, with the other heavenly patrons of England, and especially St. Gregory the Great, that since it is now granted to our so unequal deserts again to restore the episcopal Sees in England, which he first effected to the very great advantage of the Church, this restoration also which we make of the Episcopal dioceses in that kingdom may happily turn to the benefit of the Catholic religion. And we decree that these our Letters Apostolical shall never at any time be objected against or impugned on pretence either of omission, or of addition, or defect of either of our intention or any other whatsoever; but shall always be valid and in force, and shall take effect in all particulars, and be inviolably observed. All general or special enactments notwithstanding, whether Apostolic, or issued in Synodal, Provincial, and Universal Councils; notwithstanding, also, all rights and privileges of the ancient Sees of England, and of the missions, and of the apostolic vicariates subsequently there established, and of all churches whatsoever, and pious places, whether established by oath or by apostolic confirmation, or by any other security whatsoever; notwithstanding, lastly, all other things to the contrary whatsoever. For all these things, in as far as they contravene the foregoing enactments, although a special mention of them may be necessary for their repeal, or some other form, however particular, necessary to be observed, we expressly annul and repeal. Moreover, we decree, that if, in any other manner, any other attempt shall be made by any person, or by any authority, knowingly or ignorantly, to set aside these enactments, such attempt shall be null and void. And it is our will and pleasure that copies of these our Letters being printed, and subscribed by the hand of a notary public, and sealed with the seal of a person high in ecclesiastical dignity, shall have the same authenticity as would belong to the expression of our will by the production of this original copy.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Seal of the Fisherman, this 29th day of September, 1850, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

"A Cardinal Lambruschini."

Art. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

The recent troubles in the Wesleyan Church in England have given rise to a republication of "*An Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism, in which Various Misrepresentations of some of its leading Principles are Exposed, and its Present Form Vindicated,* by John Beecham, D. D.:" (London, J. Mason: 1850: 8vo., pp. 135.) The Essay was originally written in 1828, in view of the controversy which then arose about the organ question, and which involved, in the end, the entire constitution of Methodism. The chief object of the Essay was to show that the Conference is the principal authority in the Connexion; and as, after the lapse of twenty years, the same objections are now re-urged against the authority of the Conference, it is as appropriate and timely now as then. It treats, first, of the Constitution of Methodism previous to 1795 and 1797; secondly, of the Constitution of Methodism as settled by the regulations of 1795 and 1797; and, thirdly, of the Constitution of Methodism as it now appears. This last, according to Dr. Beecham, requires no fundamental changes, first, because it properly recognises the pastoral office, and consistently maintains its Scriptural authority; and, secondly, because it affords sure guarantees of the Methodistical rights and privileges of the whole connexion. The work is throughout methodical, candid, and perspicuous.

The *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken* for October, 1850, contains the following articles:—I. On the Exhibition of the Doctrine of the Trinity in Preaching, by Dr. K. H. Sack:—II. The Genuineness of the Epistle to the Thessalonians, vindicated against the attack of Dr. Baur, by Professor Grimm, of Jena:—III. Observations on certain Parts of the CXIXth Psalm, on Psalm LXII, 3, and Isaiah LXIV, 8, by Pastor Hauff, of Waldenbach:—IV. The Sacramental Character of the Washing of the Disciples' Feet, by Dr. Böhmer, of Breslau. The object of the article is to show that the washing of feet, as given in John xiii, has all the essential characters of a sacrament, and that it ought to be recognised as such by the Protestant Church:—V. A review of the first volume of Göbel's "History of the Christian Life in the Rhenish-Westphalian Church," which gives the history of the Christian life in both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Rhenish-Westphalia, from the beginning of the Reformation to the year 1609:—VI. A review, by C. A. Hahn, of Schmidt's and Monastier's Histories of the Waldenses, and of Herzog's tract on their origin, &c.:—VII. Opinion of the Theological Faculty of Heidelberg on the "Constitution" for the Evangelical Church of the Rhine-Palatinate, with an Introduction by Prof. Ullmann. The "Constitution," so called, here referred to, was prepared by a committee appointed at an extraordinary General Synod, held at Spire, in October, 1848. It commences with the declaration, that "The Protestants of the Palatinate desire to maintain a strict union as a Protestant Evangelical Christian Church." § 3 assigns the Holy Scriptures as the sole rule of faith. § 4 declares the doctrine of this Church to be "the word of God as it is contained in the clear expressions of Holy Scripture, and especially of the New Testament." § 7 guaranties freedom of faith and of conscience to every member of the Church as a sacred right. Against this Constitution seventy-eight clergymen and laymen have protested, and have appealed to the Theological Faculties of Evangelical Germany for their opinions. That of Heidelberg is given with great clearness in the article before us. The Constitution is pronounced to be fundamentally defective in points of *faith*, in points of *ritual*, and in points of *church-order*; and, in fact, to be but a wide opening of the door for Atheism and Pantheism to make their homes securely within the bosom of a so-called Evangelical Church.

Among the new works announced in England is a treatise chiefly on the evidences of Christianity, by the famous Evelyn, entitled, "*The True Religion.*" The original MS. has been preserved in the library at Wotton, and is now first published with the permission of W. J. Evelyn, Esq. We have not seen the work, but gather from the English notices that it is marked by those

peculiar attractions which characterize everything written by the author of "Sylva." Its principles are said to be of a "strict and decisive *Church* character."

The first Part of vol. I. of Conybeare and Howson's "*Life and Epistles of St. Paul*" has appeared. It is in quarto, with thirteen engravings in steel, seven maps and plans, and numerous wood engravings. The whole work is to be completed in twenty parts, of which twelve have appeared. It gives a complete biography of the apostle, and a new translation of his Epistles, inserted in chronological order. The Epistles are translated by Mr. Conybeare, and the narrative and descriptive portions of the work are by Mr. Howson.

Schleiermacher's "*Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*" has been translated by Rev. W. Farrar, and published by Clark of Edinburgh. (12mo., pp. 220.)

The first volume of the new edition of John Owen's Works (announced in our number for April, 1850) has appeared. It is edited by Rev. William H. Gould, and contains a Life of Owen by Rev. A. Thomson. The whole work will be completed in sixteen handsome octavos, at the remarkably low price of three guineas. (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter.)

A new edition of Bengel's "*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*" has lately been published in Tubingen, in two volumes. It is edited by his son, Ernest Bengel, assisted by Steudel. The price is about $4 00.

Dr. Karl Zimmermann has edited and published, at Darmstadt, "The Reformatory Writings of Martin Luther, in Chronological order, with a Biography of Luther," in four volumes, royal 8vo., price about $5. The first volume contains the reformatory writings from October 31, 1517, to August, 1520; the second goes to the end of 1524; the third extends from 1525 to 1530; and the fourth reaches to the death of Luther. The book is remarkably cheap.

The Journal of Sacred Literature for October contains the following articles:—I. Genesis and Geology, being an investigation of the apparent contradictions between Geology and Scripture:—II. Josephus and the Bible, an attempt to develop the value of Josephus' writings for the illustration (especially) of the New Testament:—III. On the Hypothesis which identifies Silas with the Author of the Book of Acts:—IV. Jewish Commentaries on Isaiah. (This article is simply an extract from Dr. Turner's "Biographical Notices of some of the most distinguished Jewish Rabbies."):—V. A Review of Cummings' "Voices of the Night:"—VI On the Literal Interpretation of Prophecy:—VII. Ramathaïm Zophim and Rachel's Sepulchre:—VIII. Life of Rev. H. Heugh, D. D.:—with Miscellanies and Correspondence. Dr. Tregelles is publishing in this Journal a very interesting account of his explorations of MSS. in the different libraries of the continent, and of his visits to eminent scholars in different parts of Europe. At Wolfenbüttel he visited Dr. Schönemann, (librarian of the Ducal library,) who, during the last five years, has become quite blind. Dr. Tregelles remarks:—

"It is scarcely possible to conceive any deprivation more trying to a student than the entire loss of sight, but we found Dr. Schönemann bright and cheerful, and far more willing to dwell on the *mercies* which God has vouchsafed him than on his deprivations. It was affecting to see his piercingly bright eyes, and to know that they were sightless. 'Day and night are now the same to me,' he said, *looking* at me apparently most earnestly. He showed us his *study*, where now he is compelled to study and to write through the eyes and hands of others, especially his *children*, whose care and attention are admirable. Dr. Schönemann's house is the same which was formerly inhabited by Lessing: to *Germans*, it has an interest in connexion with German literature; but to some, the name of Lessing is more painfully associated with '*The Wolfenbüttel Fragments*.' They told me there that those daring attacks on Christianity were never actually deposited in the Wolfenbüttel Library, but that Lessing procured them at Hamburg, from Reimarus, and that he published them under the false designation of being found in the Wolfenbüttel Library, simply because everything published from that library was exempt from all censorship of the press. At Amsterdam, I made particular inquiries of Professor van der Hoeven on the subject of Wetstein's books and papers; they are now in the library attached to the church of the Remonstrants, under the care of Professor van der Hoeven, (who is himself eighth in descent from *Arminius* through his daughter Gertrude;) I saw Wetstein's LXX., with many notes and various readings; his *correspondence* forms a pretty considerable collection, but it would require some time to go through it to search for anything of critical interest."—P. 458.

Eleven parts of Dr. H. A. W. Meyer's Critico-exegetical Commentary on the New Testament are now complete, namely, I. Matthew, Mark, and Luke—II. John—III. Acts—IV. Romans—V. 1 Corinthians

—VI. 2 Corinthians—VII. Galatians—VIII. Ephesians—IX. Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon—X. Thessalonians—XI. Timothy and Titus. The Commentary on Thessalonians was prepared by Dr. Lünemann of Göttingen, and that on Timothy and Titus by Dr. Huther of Schwerin. The whole work, as far as completed, can be had for about $11. Dr. Meyer is now at work on the Apocalypse.

The "Library of the Fathers" (London: J. H. Parker) has reached the thirty-first volume. The recent volumes are,—27. St. Chrysostom on 2 Corinthians—28. St. Chrysostom on St. John, Part I.—29. St. Augustine on St. John, Vol. II.—30. St. Augustine on the Psalms, Vol. III.—31. St. Gregory, Morals on the Book of Job, Vol. III. and last.

The barrenness of English Theological Literature in the department of Church History has long been deplored. As a means toward supplying the want, Dr. Maitland proposes the formation of a new "Ecclesiastical History Society," with three objects:—(1) To form a library of the accepted writers on Church history—for the use of the members of the society generally, but more especially of those who may be employed to edit old or compile new works. (2) To bring out new and critical editions of such writers as Fuller, Burnet, Fox, Strype, and others, whose works, inaccurate in themselves, have, nevertheless, by frequent quotations, become acknowledged authorities, and are not now to be superseded; while other books, such as Le Neve's "Fasti" and Newcourt's "Repertorium," he proposes to bring down to the present time. (3) With regard to original works, Dr. Maitland proposes to have competent persons employed, or encouraged to write or compile a great work on Church history, to take the place of Fleury and Baronius.

Rev. J. H. Newman is surrounded, it seems, at the Oratory of St. Philip, Neri, by an auditory partly of Romanists in form as well as in fact, and partly of Romanists in fact, but not in form,—otherwise called Anglicans. His teachings for the last year or so have been collected into a volume under the title of "Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church." The drift of his efforts, which is, in fact, to discredit the Church of England, and especially the Tractarian school, may be gathered from the following summary of the contents of the work:—

I. On the Relation of the National Church to the Nation—II. The Movement of 1833 Uncongenial to the National Church—III. Life in the Movement of 1833 not from the National Church—IV. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not toward the National Church—V. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not toward a Party in the National Church—VI. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not toward a Branch Church—VII. The Providential Direction of the Movement of 1833 not toward a Sect—VIII. Political State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church IX. The Religious Character of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church—X. Differences among Catholics no Prejudice to the Unity of the Church—XI. Heretical and Schismatical Bodies no Prejudice to the Catholicity of the Church—XII. Christian History no Prejudice to the Apostolicity of the Church.

The *Biblical Review* is no longer published.

A reply to Mr. Newman's Essay on Development has appeared in the form of "*Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine*," by Rev. W. A. Butler, M. A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. The work (which is posthumous) is said to be of great merit. Professor Butler had himself been educated a Romanist.

NEANDER'S library is to be sold at auction: Professor Jacobi informs us that the Catalogue is in preparation. The number of books in the library approaches 5,000, and they are, as might be supposed, mostly rare and valuable works.

The University of Berlin is at the present time the most complete and thoroughly manned institution for public instruction in Europe. To give an idea of the extent and variety of its lectures, we translate the outline of the course in *Theology* from the programme of lectures in the summer Semester, 1850:—

1. *Professores Ordinarii.*

C. J. Nitzsch, on the History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Gentiles, twice a week; on Dogmatic Theology, daily; on Homiletics, twice a week. *E. G. Hengstenberg*, on Genesis, five times a week; on Matthew's Gospel, compared with Mark and Luke, five times; on the Apocalypse, (a private exercise,) once a week. *A. Neander*, on Church History, daily; on the Epistle of Paul, daily; on the Antithesis of Catholicism and Protestantism, twice a

week. *F. Strauss*, on Practical Theology, four times a week; Exercises in Homiletics, twice. *A. Twesten*, on Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology, twice a week; on the Literary History of the New Testament, daily; on Philosophical Theology, five times; private exercise on the same, once.

2. *Professores Extraordinarii.*

F. Benary, Introduction to the Old Testament, five times a week; Interpretation of Job, four times; Exegetical exercises on the Old Testament, once. *J. L. Jacobi*, Ancient Church History, daily; Modern Church History, daily. *F. Piper*, Ancient Church History, five times; Ecclesiastical Antiquities, twice a week. *J. C. W. Vatke*, Universal Theology and the History of Religion, daily; Interpretation of the Psalms, five times. *F. Uhlemann*, Interpretation of Isaiah, five times; Antiquities of the Jews, twice.

3. *Privatim Docentes.*

G. Neumann, Prophetical Theology of the Old Testament, thrice a week; Interpretation of Isaiah, five times; Canticles, once. *S. Rask*, on the Gospels and Epistles of John, daily. *H. Reuter*, Symbolical Theology, five times; on the Nature and Notion of Religion, once. *C. Schlottmann*, Interpretation of the Psalms, five times; Disputations (private) in the Hebrew Language, once a week. *F. L. Steinmeyer*, History of Homiletics, twice a week. *F. A. Strauss*, Biblical Archæology, twice a week.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR JACOBI.

The New Ecclesiastical Constitution of Prussia.

Your readers are aware that a few years ago, in Prussia, the connexion of Church and State was in a certain sense dissolved. The Protestant Church, left to the independent regulation of its own affairs, has felt the necessity of a new organization, putting it under a jurisdiction constituted by itself, instead of, as formerly, controlled by the State Minister of Worship and of Public Instruction. Preliminary measures to this end are now going forward under the royal authority. That division of the Ministry, which heretofore constituted, in subordination to the Minister of Worship and Public Instruction, the highest spiritual court, is now constituted into an independent Supreme Ecclesiastical Council. It stands more as co-ordinate to the ministry than subordinate, and holds, in fact, immediately under the King.

This Council has jurisdiction over the expected Synods; over Worship, in relation to doctrines and liturgy; over festivals, the examination of candidates for the ministry, and the ordination and installation of ministers; over discipline, and many administrative relations. The former consistories are constituted central and superior courts. With these privileges the power of the Supreme Council is by no means insignificant; and with the tacit understanding that it is recognised by the King, the influence of the monarch becomes such as not to be easily distinguished from that of *summus episcopus*. It is among the defects of this fundamental law, that it seeks to preserve the former position of the king; well knowing, however, that this would give rise to strong opposition, the king's name is avoided, and the law is thus made ambiguous and obscure. We Germans are not yet able to resolve upon the bold step by which the churches in America made themselves independent of the State; indeed, there is also this great difference, that at the time when this step was taken there, the Christian life was more powerful than it is now in Germany. For yet a while, therefore, shall we in Prussia reap some advantage, but certainly not less prejudice, from the religious or irreligious tendencies of the head of the State. The plan of organization adjusts the organic law of congregations or societies after the manner of the Presbyterian Church. Under the guidance of the pastor is a church consistory, composed of laymen, at least four in number. The active right of choosing, on account of the often low state of Christian life, it has been necessary to connect with very stringent conditions. The right to elect is permitted to all who, in the Jewish sense, are independent heads and fathers of families, twenty-four years of age, and in possession of civil rights. Eligibility requires of a person to be thirty years of age, of moral conduct, and a participant in the church's means of grace. The pastor and church-warden present at least a double number of candidates, out of which the electors choose. It is then the duty of the consistory to sustain the pastor in his care for souls, to maintain the order of worship and of the Sabbath, to take charge of the property of the church, to concur in the appointment of the pastor and subordinate church officers, to represent the church in the school, and to superintend the care of

the poor and the sick. It is also its duty, by representatives, to take part in the synod of the circle. On the authority of the synods, however, and the time of the installation, the plan says nothing. This has taken from it the confidence of many; we also believe the activity of the synods might be deferred to a season of greater prosperity in the Church; we do not overlook the difficulty, but we believe that something must be adventured. In activity itself will the Christianity of the churches be invigorated.

Professor Mau.

Theological science has sustained another blow in the loss of Professor Mau, of Kiel, who died some weeks ago. His studies lay mostly in the line of New-Testament Theology; and he is known especially by his treatise "*Of Death the Wages of Sin; and of Salvation:*" (Vom Tode, des Sünden Solde, u. von d. Erlösung.) The work, which is distinguished for its acute and vigorous thought, was written in reply to one on the same subject by Prof. Krabbe, of Rostock. Its chief peculiarity is the doctrine that the death of the body is inherent in its constitution, not the effect of sin; and therefore that redemption has regard only to *spiritual* death.

Ritschl on the Early Church.

In Bonn, a kind of theology appears at present to be taking root, inheriting the principles of the Tübingen school of Baur, but not declaring so many of our canonical books of Scripture spurious; and therefore departing especially from both Baur and Schwegler in acknowledging the apostolic tenor of many of the epistles of the New Testament, and in the reception of the history of the first two centuries of the Christian era. A characteristic production of this mongrel school, and one put forth with no little confidence, is a book with the title, "The Origin of the Ancient Catholic Church," by Dr. Albrecht Ritschl, Private Tutor in Theology at the University of Bonn.* The author, in his introduction, gives a critique on the hitherto received idea of the origin of the ancient Catholic Church in primitive Christianity, in which Neander's conception of this period is characterized as unhistorical and self-contradictory; he then gives, in the first book, the dogmatics; in the second, the development of his work. The first book begins with a somewhat detailed, but gratuitous, selection of passages, explaining one-sidedly the relation of Christ to the Mosaic law, His personal importance as Messias, and the doctrine of Paul. For the first point, the most important consideration is, whether or not we are to hold the Gospels as authentic. Dr. Ritschl confines his discussion to the Gospel of Matthew. He observes that he expects to find in it inaccuracies and interpolations; he fails, however, in that definite explanation which was the more to be expected, as the critical doubt is here favoured by the discrepancy between the Aramaic original and the Greek text. Of Mark's Gospel the author says not a word; and the authentic Gospel of Luke he does not look for in our canon, but in that used by Marcion, out of which, as he assumes, the canonical book originated by retouching, according to a later tradition of the church. Already may be seen, in the relation of this circumstance, what is betrayed in other remarkable examples, namely, that the author lacks the ability to distinguish between the original and its proper derivatives. This, however, is a small matter compared with his neglect of the Gospel of John, of which he hardly once makes mention even in passing. In the construction of the history which Baur and Schwegler are bringing out, they borrow, indeed, also from the Gospel of the apostolical times, and attribute to it considerable importance; but, well knowing that its authenticity is sufficient to destroy the entire phantom of their primitive Church history, they attempt to accommodate its origin, as well as may be, to a later period. For any one, however, to venture, in order to describe the Church, for two hundred and fifty years from its foundation, to defame Montanius, Tertullian, the Alexandrian Fathers, Polycarp, the pupil of John, and Irenæus, the greater part of whom lived after this Gospel was written, thereby entirely ignoring this canonical book, is as contemptible as it is unexampled, and constitutes the most original feature of the entire work. It follows from this conduct, that the sublimest conceptions of Christ, which are especially to be found in this Gospel, are either designedly or tacitly avoided by the author. He declares, indeed, his belief in the sinless life of Christ, and in his dignity as the Saviour of men,—a valuable confession, but one which is irreconcilable with his total conception of Christ.

* Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche von Dr. Albrecht Ritschl, (Privatdocent der Theologie a. d. Universität Bonn.) Bonn bei Marcus. 1850. 622 Seiten.

For he holds Christ to be wholly circumscribed by the Jewish moral and ritual law, he understands the passage in Matt. v, 18, that no tittle shall pass from the Law till all be fulfilled, in its literal sense, and concludes from the command in Matt. v, 23, that Christ supposed sacrifices would continue to the end of the world,—an event, moreover, which he considered near at hand; —ideas not calculated to beget an exalted opinion of the author's logic. The declaration of Jesus, (Matt. xii, 6, 8,) that he is greater than the temple, and Lord of the Sabbath, gives Dr. Ritschl little uneasiness: he passes it over in silence. He is of opinion that Jesus, in the Sermon on the Mount, opposed only the statutes of the Pharisees, and not also the Mosaic lawgiving. Though he cannot conceal from himself that Moses, on account of the hardness of the people's hearts, suffered an infraction of God's word, (Matt. xix,) he yet rather attributes the text to an interpolation, or attributes indeed to Christ an inconsequence, sooner than doubt of his own opinion. Really this is not to be wondered at, when we learn that Christ conceived of the law not in its spirituality and unity, but as a mass of statutes, which he increased by laying down a single command for the regulation of the spiritual affections. Thus the fundamental error of the Pharisaic legislation would also attach itself to the lawgiving of Christ. He who spoke through the prophets and the Psalms must have understood the true nature of the law. The author is so incapable of understanding the nature of that morality—the Holy One, learning every instant the distance that separated his own godlike purity from the sinful company about him,—that Christ, in his opinion, never reflected upon it whether man could fulfil the law, much less presupposed his ability to do it; in which case Pelagius might justly have appealed to him. The sublime nature of Christ, and his very subordinate knowledge, are, in the author's opinion, irreconcilable with unity of purpose; and they have, according to his theory, given birth to diversity. The impulse to a holy life might proceed from the acknowledgment of Christ as the Messiah, and from the hope of his second coming; whereas the older apostles in the Jewish law may have persevered in reliance on the doctrine and precedence of Christ. This remained the character of the Jewish Christians, who maintained the continuance of the Jewish law in Christianity. Paul, however, was indifferent to the historical tradition of Jesus—(Dr. Ritschl treats the Acts of the Apostles much as he pleases)—but he deserves the credit of having established the doctrines of the Church,—really a very ambiguous credit to us, seeing he cared nothing for the history of Christ. Paul first established the doctrine of salvation not by works, but by faith,—a theory which, according to Dr. Ritschl, was very far from the conceptions of Christ. Paul laid down as the substance of faith the vicarious atonement of Christ, the just for the unjust, which involves a logical contradiction; and this doctrine, in consideration that the Gospel was the power of fulfilling the law, has abrogated that only law. Though every simple Christian and every Catechism can inform us how the atonement, received in faith, and with gratitude and joy, can make salvation possible, yet Dr. Ritschl sees in it nothing but contradiction, and declares that the difficulty of this doctrine, and its want of harmony, have broken down that legal character which separated the ancient Catholic Church from the apostle Paul, you have considered Christianity as a new Law; and as Paul's rule of life was insufficient—which, however, is by no means true—you have turned again to the tradition of Christ, but your taste is changed. The author now attempts to trace back the form of the Catholic Church of the second century to the teachings of Paul, while Baur and Schwegler find it in Jewish Christianity. Though he bitterly reproaches Neander for admitting a retrogression in the development of the Church, yet he himself makes the same admission; and not merely a retrogression through the Christians of the post-apostolic epoch, but one that inculpates Paul, and even Christ himself;—a discovery upon which we set no very high value. We pursue the exposition no further at present, suffice it to have demonstrated the nothingness of the groundwork put forth with such confidence.

Neander's Posthumous Works.

Neander's Church History is printed as far as the year 1294. He has continued the work in manuscript up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, so that Wiclif, Huss, and other important precursors of the Reformation have found a place in it. This last volume of the great work will shortly be printed. But it is not in the department of Church History alone that Neander has laboured: indeed, it is thought by many of his

pupils that his Exegetical Lectures on the New Testament are of more value, if possible, than his historical writings—certainly that they far excel anything of the kind in the existing Commentaries. During his course, he interpreted *all* the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse. Preparations are now making to publish the most important of these from the notes taken by the students. Although they must, of course, lack the finish and precision they would have received had the lamented lecturer himself prepared them for the press, they will yet form a most valuable contribution to theology, and will serve to place the scientific pre-eminence of Neander in a new and striking light.

His lectures also upon Doctrines, Ethics, the History of Doctrine, and of Morals, with a Philosophical Survey of Church History, will be very acceptable gifts, as well for general use as for the special benefit of students.

A Successor to Neander.

It is profoundly and universally felt that no survivor of Neander can make good his loss to the University of Berlin. Among the candidates named as most likely to be honoured with a call to his chair are NIEDNER, of Leipsic, ULLMANN, of Heidelberg, and LEHNERDT, of Königsberg. The two former are well and widely known from their theological writings; while Lehnerdt has a high reputation as a lecturer, and has obtained great influence over his students.

J. L. JACOBI.

Berlin, October, 1850.

Among the most important late publications on the continent of Europe are the following:—

S. Iustini Phil. et Mart. Opera quae feruntur omnia. Ad optimos libros mss. partim nondum collatos recensuit, prolegomenis adnotatione versione instruxit, indices adiecit *I. C. Thd. Otto*, phil. et theol. Dr., theol. in acad. Ien. professor. Tomi III. Pars I. et II. Opera Iustini subditicia. Editio altera. Ienae, pp. 208, 404, gr. 8. Also under the title: Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi. Edidit *I. C. Thd. Otto*. Vol. IV. et V.

Eine Idee über das Studium der Theologie. Von W. M. L. DE WETTE. Dem Druck übergeben und mit einer Vorrede begleitet von *Ad. Stieren*, Dr. d. Theol. u. Philos., Prof. d. Theol. an der Univ. Jena. Leipzig. 1850. 31 pp.. 8vo.

Zehn Gespräche über Philosophie und Religion; von Ludw. Fürst Solms. Hamburg u. Gotha. Pp. 306. 1850. 8vo.

Ueber die arabische Dichtkunst und das Verhältniss des Islam zum Christenthum. Eine im wissenschaftlichen Verein zu Berlin am 9. Februar gehaltene Vorlesung von Dr. *Fr. Dieterici*, Docenten an der Universität. Berlin. 1850. pp. 29. 8vo.

Vetus Testamentum graece juxta LXX interpretes. Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos novi testamenti parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephraemi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subjunxit, commentationem isagogicam praetexuit *Const. Tischendorf*, theol. Dr. et Prof. II Tomi. Lipsiae. 1850. Pp. 1272.

Novum Testamentum graece et latine; *Car. Lachmannus* recensuit *Phil. Buttmannus* Ph. f. graecae lectionis auctoritates apposuit. Tom. II. Berolini. 1850. Pp. 701. 8vo.

Geschichte der Pasagier, Joachim's von Floris, Amalrich's von Bena und anderer verwandter Sekten; von Dr. C. U. Hahn. Mit 6 lithograph. Tafeln Stuttgart, 1850, pp. 396. 8vo.

Among the new works in theology and kindred subjects recently announced in Great Britain, are the following:—

Three Essays: The Reunion and Recognition of Christians in the Life to Come; The Right Love of Creatures and of the Creator; Christian Conversation; by John Sheppard. 12mo., pp. 236:—The Four Gospels Combined; or, the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as narrated by the Four Evangelists. Being a Chronological Arrangement of the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in the Words of Holy Scripture, according to the Authorized Version, and omitting repetitions only. 12mo.:—Objections to the Doctrine of Israel's Future Restoration to Palestine, National Pre-eminence, &c.; by Edward Swaine. Second edition. Pp. 163:—Analysis and Summary of Old Testament History and the Laws of Moses. 12mo., pp. 516:—Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a Series of Expositions; by Rev. John Brown, D. D. 3 vols., 8vo., pp. 1704:—Light in the Dark Places; or, Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages; translated from the Ger-

man of Dr. A. Neander. Fcp., 8vo., pp. 108:—The Gospel in Central America: containing a Sketch of the Country—Physical and Geographical—Historical and Political—Moral and Religious. A History of the Baptist Mission in British Honduras, and of the Introduction of the Bible into the Spanish American Republic of Guatemala; by Frederick Crowe. 12mo.:—Prophetic Studies; or, Lectures on Daniel; by the Rev. John Cumming, D. D. fcp. 8vo:—An Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew Version of the Book of Genesis; by the Rev. William Paul, A. M.:—A Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans; with a new Translation and Notes, by W. W. Ewbank, M. A. To be completed in 2 volumes, post 8vo. Vol. I.:—Annotations on the New Testament, Critical, Philosophical, and Explanatory: intended as an Appendix and Supplement to the larger Greek Testament, with English Notes; containing Additional Annotations, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory; by the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D. D. 1 vol., 8vo.:—The Church of Christ, in its Ideal Attributes and Ministry: with an especial Reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants; by Edward Arthur Litton, M. A:—A System of Theology; by Godfrey William Baron von Leibnitz; translated from the Autograph MS., with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by Charles William Russell, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. 1 vol., 8vo.:—An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal; by Edward Harold Browne, M. A., Prebendary of Exeter. To be completed in two vols. Vol. I. 8vo.:—The Nature and Comparative Value of the Christian Evidences considered Generally, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year MDCCCXLIX, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury; by the Rev. John Michell, B. D., Vice Principal of Magdalen Hall, and late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College. 8vo.:—The Bible Student's Guide to the more Correct Understanding of the English Translation of the Old Testament, by Reference to the Original Hebrew. By an Alphabetical Arrangement of every English Word in the Authorized Version, the corresponding Hebrew may at once be ascertained, with its Peculiar Signification and Construction; by the Rev. W. Wilson, D. D., Canon of Winchester. 1 vol., 4to.:—A Synopsis of Authorities on the Doctrine of Baptism, &c.; containing Quotations and Abridgments from the Fathers and other Writers of the first Four Centuries; by J. A. Wickham, Esq. With a Preface by the Rev. H. D. Wickham, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. 1 vol., 8vo.

AMERICAN.

Professor H. B. Hackett, of the Trenton Theological Institution, has in press a "Philological and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," which will be published in the spring, in a volume of 350 or 400 pages. "Its aim," according to the Bibliotheca Sacra, "will be, to give a full exhibition of the meaning of the text, supported by the best critical authorities. Some questions of special difficulty will be discussed in an appendix."

Messrs. Lane & Scott have in press a reprint of a new English work of striking interest, entitled, "*Religion, the Weal of the Church and the Need of the Times*, by GEORGE STEWARD." The work contains a series of able essays upon topics of the times, and is, in most respects, as well adapted to stir up the Church in America as in England. The titles of its chapters are the following:—The Speech of God—The Word of God—Evangelism—Characteristics of the Age—Unbelief—Church Requisites—Church Provision—Methodism—Church Sanctity—Church Visitations (Revivals)—The Divine Government—Prayer and its Presages.

Cox's translation of Neander's monograph, "The Emperor Julian and his Times," has been published by J. C. Riker, New-York, in a 12mo. volume.

We learn from the Christian Review that Neander's Practical Expositions of St. James and of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, noticed some time since in this Journal, are in process of translation by Mrs. H. C. Conant, and will soon be published. A translation of Hagenbach's *Kirchengeschichte des* 18 *und* 19 *Jahrhunderts*, may also be expected from the same pen.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

An abridged edition of Smith's Great Dictionary of Antiquities, Mythology, and Biography, has been published in London, in one volume, 8vo., for the use of schools.

The seventh volume of the translation of Schlosser's "History of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Nineteenth, till the Overthrow of the French Empire," has been published in London. The eighth and concluding volume is announced for speedy publication.

M. Botta's Letters on the First Discoveries at Nineveh, have been translated from the French, and published in London, in one volume, 8vo. It is illustrated by numerous plates of ancient sculpture and inscriptions.—Among the recent additions to the collection of Nineveh marbles in the British Museum, are two bas-reliefs representing a Winged Human-Headed Lion and a Winged Human-Headed Bull. Mr. Layard writes of the winged Lion as follows :—

"This colossal figure formed one side of a portal leading from an outer chamber into the Great Hall of the North-west Palace at Nimroud. The one selected, stood on the north side of the western entrance. It was in admirable preservation, and about twelve feet square. Each entrance to the same chamber, and the entrance to most of the halls of the Assyrian palaces, were formed by pairs of similar monsters, either lions or bulls, with a human head and the wings of a bird. There can be little doubt that they were invested with a mythic or symbolic character—that they typified the Deity, or some of his attributes, his omniscience, his ubiquity, and his might. Like the Egyptian Sphynxes, they were probably introduced into the architecture of the people on account of their sacred character. Thirteen pairs of them—some, however, very much injured—were discovered among the ruins of Nimroud. At Koujunjik five pairs of winged bulls were dug out,—but neither in these ruins nor at Khorsabad was the winged lion found. They differed considerably in size—the largest being about sixteen and a half feet square, and the smallest scarcely five ; and in every instance were sculptured out of one solid slab. The head and fore part were finished all round,—the body and hind legs being in high relief. The spaces behind the back and between the legs were covered with a cuneiform inscription."

The Winged Human-Headed Bull is thus described :—

"The figure here engraved is similar in character to the Winged Lion, and formed the eastern side of the southern entrance to the Great Hall in the North-west Palace at Nimroud. It was sculptured out of a yellow limestone. The human head of the bull forming the opposite side of the entrance is now in the British Museum."

Among the new works recently announced in England are the following :—

The Kafir Language : comprising a Sketch of its History; which includes a General Classification of South African Dialects; Remarks upon its Nature, and a Grammar; by the Rev. John W. Appleyard, Wesleyan Missionary in British Kaffraria. 1 vol., 8vo.: —A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers; or, Narrative of Travel and Sojourn in Judea and Egypt; by the Rev. Moses Margoliouth. 2 vols., 8vo.:—Notes of a Residence in Nineveh, and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, &c.; by the Rev. J. P. Fletcher, Minister of St. Saviour's Church. 2 vols., 8vo. :—Revelations of Life, and other Poems; by John Edmund Reade, Author of "Catiline," "Italy," &c. Post 8vo. :— The Charities of London; their Origin and Design, Progress, and Present Position; by Sampson Low, Jun. Fcp., 8vo. :—The Philosophy of Spirits in Relation to Matter: showing the Real Existence of Two very distinct Kinds of Entity, which Unite to Form the different Bodies that Compose the Universe; by C. M. Burnett, M. D. 1 vol., 8vo. :—The Stones of Venice; by John Ruskin, Author of the "Seven Lamps of Architecture." 1 vol., 8vo. :—A Volume of Table-Talk; by Leigh Hunt. Fcp., 8vo. : —Characters, Costumes, and Modes of Life in the Valley of the Nile; by E. Prisse, the letter-press by J. A. St. John. 1 vol., 4to., with 31 plates, said to be one of the most beautiful works of art ever issued from the English press :—Curran and his Contemporaries; by Charles Phillips, Esq. 2 vols., 8vo. :—Notes on North America, Agricultural, Social, and Economical; by James F. W. Johnston, F. R. SS. L. & E., &c., Author of "Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology :"—Thoughts on Being: suggested by Meditation upon the Infinite, the Immaterial, and the Eternal; by Edward Shirley Kennedy. 8vo. :—Elements of Catholic Philosophy; or, Theory of the Natural System of the Human Mind. 8vo. :—

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1851.

Art. I.—PHILOSOPHY AND FAITH.

1. *An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. D. Morell, A. M. New-York: Robert Carter. 1 vol., 8vo. 1848.
2. *Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX. Siècle.* Par Emile Saisset, Agrégé à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Paris: Charpentier. 1 vol., 18mo. 1845.

We have no design of subjecting the works specified in our rubric to any formal examination. We shall avail ourselves of their assistance without entering into their excellencies or defects. Mr. Morell's is sufficiently familiar to the reading public, and has been already criticised often enough, to render such a labour on our part with respect to it a work of supererogation. M. Saisset's is little more than a collection of essays originally published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," and written in the highest strain of polemical declamation—we might, perhaps, venture to add, of polemical sophistry also. To criticise the latter, might be deemed false heraldry; for it is as contrary to the ordinary etiquette and procedure of the literary censorship to review a review, as it is in the theory of coat-armour to blazon metal upon metal. Moreover, M. Saisset's articles were written with a direct reference to a local question—the general superintendence of education—which was then agitating the French public; and if the subject at any period possessed much interest for Americans, the time has now passed away, and the present condition of France presents new and more exciting topics for our study and investigation. Under these circumstances, we deem it of more importance to enlarge upon our texts than to point out the merits and note the deficiencies of the text-books themselves.

The struggle between science and religion, between philosophy and faith, has been protracted through centuries; but it is only within recent years that the breach has become so open and avowed as to be declared by many to be irreconcilable. Even Bayle, an acute sceptic in an infidel age, who did more, perhaps, than any other single individual to exhibit the difficulties and the conditions of concord, expressed a lively hope that this conciliation would be effected in his own day.* But the contest is both more arduous and more general now than in the times of Bayle: it is no longer confined to the hierophants of human speculation, but has been diffused among the multitudes; and on all sides we hear the mingled voices of despondency, despair, and exultation—exultation on the part of those who triumph in the abasement of religion—despair on the part of those who would uphold, if they only knew how, what they regard as the tottering fabric—and despondency on the part of the small remainder who, clinging to the faith themselves, witness with dismay the terrible success of the strong influences which are warring against it. Such a time is not one in which we can, without madness, conceal the magnitude of the danger, or supinely disregard the conditions of the enigma to be solved. "It is well," as Dr. Chalmers said, "to know the dimensions of the spectre," if spectre it should prove on examination to be. Certainly we cannot safely affect to ignore its existence, with such universal evidences of its vitality around us.

A recent writer in the Westminster Review has boldly announced the failure and exhaustion of Christianity. Strauss and Morell, to whom we might add Saisset, and many others, propose, as the sole remaining expedient for the preservation of religious faith of any kind, to sublimate Christianity in such a manner that all that is essential or characteristic will necessarily be volatilized. Comte declares continually, in his "Cours de Philosophie Positive," the absolute incompatibility of science with religion; and, widely opposed as are the systems of Comte and Saisset, the latter approximates closely to the great *Positivist*, by his denial that there can be any perfect conciliation between philosophy and faith, and by his proposal to erect the former into an authority co-incident and co-equal with Christianity.†

At such a time, the duty of every man who is unwilling to renounce

* "Sperare potuit (Relius) ex sublimibus illis ingeniis, a quibus nova systemata hodie proficiscuntur, non defore, quæ gloriæ aculeis stimulentur opera sua, fierique posse, ut extricationem hactenus incognitam excogitent."—*Resp. Posth. ad Clericum, cit. Leibnitzii Opera*, tom. i, p. 114. Ed. Dutens.

† Saisset, Essais, &c., Preface, p. ix, xxiv, 287, 322.

his Christian convictions is clear and obvious. He must strain every nerve to establish that reconciliation between religion and philosophy which has been asserted to be impossible; or, if he despairs of being able to accomplish this, he must endeavour to detect those fallacies in philosophy which prohibit the concord. The problem is by no means of easy solution—nay, rather, it is the most difficult, as well as the most important, which the human reason can entertain. But, whatever may be the obstacles to be surmounted, to which we are by no means blind, we purpose co-operating in the achievement of the desired harmony, by examining into the character and validity of the various systems of metaphysics, and especially of those which are now most in vogue, and which threaten the most plausible or violent assaults on the religious convictions of men.

M. Saisset very truly remarks, that "there is no problem in philosophy anterior to the question of method."* All the differences of the conflicting schools may indeed be readily traced to the dissimilarity of the methods which they respectively employ. But the fundamental inquiry, in establishing or testing the value of any particular method, is, as Mr. Morell perceives, (*Morell*, p. 732,) to determine the origin or mode of human knowledge; or, if this be regarded as beyond our attainment, to investigate the grounds alleged by each metaphysical system as the source of certitude, and the degree of certainty which they severally attribute to human knowledge. This is the first and the great question which must be decided before any legitimate scheme of philosophy can be constructed, and the mode in which it is settled will both fix the method, and predetermine nearly all the details, of the system, which can be little more than developments from this great first principle. John Locke truly and instinctively felt that on this cardinal point everything hinged, when he devoted the first book of his "Essay on the Human Understanding" to the consideration of the foundations of human knowledge. This book, it is true, is the least satisfactory portion of his celebrated Essay; but it honestly, though ineffectually, grappled with a difficulty which could not have been safely neglected, Mr. Morell's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.† Yet, though this question is the first in logical

* This observation, which had been frequently made before, is endorsed by Mr. Morell, pp. 46, 55, 731.

† Morell, p. 80. Mr. Morell's criticism on Locke meets, in the main, with our assent and approbation, but in this particular point we must disagree with him. Before we can expect our reasoning on any subject to be accepted as valid, most especially in regard to such a subject as the human understanding, we must exhibit the basis on which that reasoning stands, and from which it must

order* and importance, it was by no means the first in time, to whose solution the mind of man was applied when regard was paid to philosophical speculations.

Notwithstanding all reasoning, and indeed all practice, must rest upon the assumed or implied certainty of human knowledge, still many ages of laborious inquiry must necessarily have passed away before philosophers could have arrived at that ultimate problem of metaphysics—the determination of the real certainty or uncertainty of human knowledge, and the causes of either character which might be deemed its appropriate attribute. Philosophy (or the examination into the relations and dependence of the processes of mind, the phenomena of existence, and the aspects of the objective universe) at first contented itself with resolving the details, which fell under the cognizance of simple observation, into regularly concatenated sequences of more general facts, and thence proceeded to simplify and co-ordinate these facts by due subordination to a higher generalization. The latter development of philosophy was effected by deductive reasoning from the more general notions familiar to the minds of men,† whose accuracy was either never called in question, or was assumed on vague conjecture or loose and hasty induction.‡ To this source we may refer, in great measure, the cosmogonies of the Greeks, and the dreams of some of their earliest philosophers. Still it was the necessary tendency of the development of the philosophic spirit, tracing backward the explanation of phenomena, and seeking for the discovery and exposition of the laws of nature, to find itself at length brought face to face with the great question of the certainty of human knowledge; and the attempted solution of this problem seems to have constituted the distinguishing merit of the Eleatic school. They, like Spinoza, in the seventeenth century, and the Hegelians and Schellingists of our own day, placed this

derive its claim to validity. Locke was therefore right in his aim, however he may have failed to attain its satisfactory accomplishment.

* Mr. Morell, p. 89, notices with approval the distinction between the logical and chronological priority of ideas, and intimates that V. Cousin borrowed the terms from "the language of the schools." He might have found them continually and familiarly employed by Aristotle, Metaph. vi, 13, p. 1038, b. 27, Ed. Bekker & Brandis, xii, 2, p. 1077, b. 1, and the passages cited by Waitz ad Aristot. Organon, p. 14, a. 26, p. 71, b. 21.

† The *κοιναὶ ἀρχαί*, or *κοιναὶ δόξαι* of Aristotle, v. Asclep. Schol. Aristot., p. 586, a. 21, p. 591, b. 9.

‡ Inductive reasoning is still commonly supposed to be due to Bacon, either in its form, or, according to Macaulay, in its application. Aristotle assigns its first scientific employment to Socrates, Metaph. xii, 4, p. 1078, b. 17, 24–29, and familiarly uses and mentions it himself. Of course, it had been loosely employed long before.

certainty in the identity of the world and mind, and in the constant hypostasis and revelation of the Deity harmoniously in the spheres of matter and of intellect.* Hence, the Eleatics sought, by the invention of logic, the co-incident truths of knowing and being in the development of the processes of reasoning, which were themselves equally regarded as so many modifications of the Divine apparition. We cannot forbear noticing the close analogy which exists between this philosophy and Cartesianism, and especially its intimate affinity to modern German Idealism. The empty sophistry which resulted from the Pantheism of Xenophanes and Parmenides, led to the ironic doubt of Socrates, and the perfection of a more formal logic, and also stimulated the systematic attempt of Plato to build up a theory of certainty on the basis of primordial types†—independent, absolute, archetypal truths, existing solely in the volition and contemplation of Deity, but partially communicable to men in proportion to their approximation to the Divine nature by meditation, purity, and asceticism. The efforts of Socrates were contemporaneous with the development of the Empiricism of Protagoras,‡ whose philosophy very closely approximated to that of the French Encyclopædists, and of the scepticism of Hippo, who anticipated the fundamental principle of the philosophy of Comte.§ It was to withstand the blighting consequences of such theories, and, at the same time, to furnish against the other sophists a stable basis for the recognition and distinction of vice and virtue, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, that Socrates undertook his crusade against the perverse ingenuity of the times. His views, as expounded in the elaborate system of Plato, were analogous to the theories of those moderns who attempt to deduce the certainty of our knowledge from the supposed existence of universal and necessary truths. But to the acute mind of Aristotle it was evident that

* The Pre-established Harmony of Leibnitz must not be confounded with this form of Pantheism. Leibnitz's doctrine, though Pantheistic in tendency, was an attempt to reconcile Cartesianism with Christianity.

† Aristot. Metaph., xii, 4. See Plato, Theætetus and De Republ., Mauriee, Hist. Met. and Mor. Phil., ap. Encycl. Metrop.

‡ Protagoras held that "man is the measure of all things," and that "opinions are all equally true, or equally false." (Aristot. Met., iii. 5, p. 1009, a. 5.) From Plato's Theætetus, c. viii, p. 241, Ed. Tauchn, he appears to have held also the fundamental position of the Sensationalists, that "sense is the sole source of knowledge."

§ Οὐ λέγει γὰρ (ὁ Ἵππων) ἄλλο τι εἶναι παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα φυσικὰ πράγματα. (Asclep. et Cod. Reg. Schol. Arist. Metaph., i, c. 3.) Hippo was satirized on the comic stage by Crates on account of his atheism, (Schol. Aristoph. Nubes, v. 97,) and is on the same account called "foolish" by Aristotle, (Metaph., i, c. 3, p. 983, and Alex. Aphr. Asclep. et Cod. Regius. ad loc.)

the *ideas* of Plato were assumptions;* that, even if existent, their existence could not be proved, their connexion could not be traced, nor their mode of communication discovered. It was further apparent to him that the adoption of absolute ideas rendered necessary the adoption also of archetypes in a series advancing *ad infinitum*, and that the various gradations of these ideas became entangled with each other, and neutralized each other in frequent instances. It was furthermore evident to Aristotle, that the Eleatics had transcended the legitimate limits of human speculation by asserting the fundamental identity of matter and mind, and the supposed identification of both with the pulsations of the Divine essence; that the Sophists had rendered truth and knowledge impossible, by denying it a valid basis, and by recognising the equal and simultaneous truth of all contradictions; that Hippo had foolishly excluded a large portion of even the phenomena of consciousness, which he affected to ignore, as his system was too narrow to embrace them; and that Plato had overleaped the same limits which the Eleatics had transcended, by the supposition of his archetypal ideas. Aristotle sought accordingly to establish philosophy principally on the basis of the senses; but he recognised, at the same time, the impossibility of drawing certitude from this source,† and referred the certainty of human knowledge to the *forms* in which it was perceived by the mind, and to those indemonstrable principles‡ which are evidenced by the common belief and the common sense of mankind, and which constitute the necessary basis of all our reasoning. The philosophy of Aristotle, when examined carefully, without prejudice, with a due allowance for the complexion of the age in which he wrote, and in a spirit of comprehensive criticism, will be found to assimilate itself very closely to that of Bacon,§ and to furnish the undeveloped type of that of Kant.‖

It is this sober and comprehensive character of the Aristotelean philosophy, which neither oversteps the limits of the human mind, nor fails to approximate closely to them, which gave to the

* Aristot. Metaph., xii, c. 2, c. 4.

† The ordinary supposition, that Aristotle was a pure Sensationalist, is indubitably a delusion. See Aristot. Metaph., iii, c. 5, p. 1010, a. 2, p. 30, c. 6, p. 1011, b. 5; iv, c. 12, p. 1019, b. 25.

‡ Aristot. Metaph., iii, c. 6, p. 1011, a. 8–13, c. 7, p. 1012, a. 17; x, c. 5, p. 1062, a. 2, c. 6, p. 1063, b. 10; iii, c. 4, p. 1006, a. 8, and Alex. Aphr.

§ We are unable to trace, with Coleridge, any analogy between Plato and Bacon, though Bacon is closely related to Aristotle. They both give a practical prominence to empirical science, without concealing the higher principles of mind.

‖ Aristotle's direct anticipations of the doctrines of Kant are very numerous.

Stagirite his lofty and enduring ascendency throughout the middle ages, and which, in the grievous intellectual doubts and difficulties of the present time, is gradually reclaiming to his standard the strongest minds of the age,* disgusted with the barren and crushing theories of Sceptics and extreme Sensationalists, and distracted by the logomachies and transcendental reveries of Idealists and Eclectics. The world, indeed, never goes back, and it cannot, and ought not, to return to its old servile allegiance to Aristotle, so far as to hail him again as "the master;" but it will be necessitated, if it would retain its belief in Christianity and the sanctity of religion, to plant itself on similar ground, and to observe like abstinence from metaphysical systematization; and to imitate and develop the processes, and to incorporate the results, of his philosophy in any new doctrine which can hope to be valid. It must also recognise him as one of most efficient labourers in the cause of sound knowledge and metaphysical research.

To return to our examination. The same battle which was fought between the systems of antiquity, was fought over again during the middle ages between the Mystics, Realists, Nominalists, and Sceptics. The same enigma has been involved in all the metaphysical disputes of modern times, and is at this moment revealed in all its energy between the conflicting sects and parties of the present day. We cannot go so far as the Abbé Bautain, who sees in modern metaphysics only the repetition of the Greek dreams,† for we recognise a constant advancement through the recurring cycles of analogous development and similar phenomena; but the mutual resemblances of ancient and modern schools furnish some ground for the strong expression of M. Bautain, and at any rate suffice to illustrate the identity of those fundamental difficulties, to the solution of which the energies of both have been devoted.

But notwithstanding the maintenance of unremitted efforts through recurring centuries, and successive forms of civilization, the great question still remains without any satisfactory solution. Is human knowledge blessed with certitude? and, if so, whence is its certainty derived? Is the human mind limited merely to vague opinion? or can it also arrive at the recognition of truth? And by what means do we distinguish between opinion and knowledge?

The elaborate, acute, but chimerical systems of German Tran-

* This is indicated by the endless Commentaries on Aristotle's Logic and Metaphysics, published in Germany within the last twenty years; by Waitz, Aristot. Organon, Præf., p. v, and by the Edinb. Rev., April, 1849.

† Les veilleries renouvelées des Grecs, cit. Saisset, p. 21.

scendentalism and Nature-philosophy rest entirely upon the same baseless assumption as that which furnished the central doctrine of the Eleatics. The Scotch philosophers take, as their starting-point, an hypothesis analogous (however paradoxical it may appear) to the archetypal ideas of Plato. The Eclectics, enlarging the field of speculation, follow in the footsteps of the Alexandrian school.* The Mystics, like Philo Judæus, Origen, and the later Neo-Platonists, regard all knowledge as individual inspiration, and the Sensationalists or Positivists limit certainty to sensuous and empirical observation—yet what adequate guaranty can we have on their principles of the accuracy or credibility of the reports rendered by the senses?

The knot, which has not been untied, and perhaps never may be, was cut by Kant and Jacobi. The former referred all knowledge to the inexplicable co-operation of sensible influences and intellectual processes, assigned to the mind the formal part in all perception and reasoning,† and thus rendered certitude purely relative to the individual intellect. At the same time, however, he made provision for that conviction of certainty in practice, which is necessary for the explanation, and even for the rationality, of human action. The latter denied any intelligible foundation for the certainty of our knowledge, or for the construction of a metaphysical system, referring our practical convictions of truth to the irresolvable function of belief, which he regarded as a primitive property of our being.

We cannot hope to offer a satisfactory solution of these mysteries, which have been left to our day without solution, notwithstanding the labours of long centuries, and the successive speculations of so many profound philosophers. A calm and diligent scrutiny of the phenomena of the reasoning processes may, however, be of essential service, by preparing the way for future discoveries, or, at any rate, by exhibiting, in their true colours, and without disguise, the real difficulties of the problem, which, if they cannot be removed, must be candidly acknowledged to be insurmountable. The great stumbling-block which has produced much of the discord of the schools, and left these fundamental inquiries in such a confused and bewildering state, has been the anxiety to discover some valid foundation for speculation, without the patience to determine how far that basis really accords with the true phenomena of the human mind. This desire of arriving speedily at some cer-

* The infatuation of system has distorted Saisset's views on this subject, pp. 86–90.

† Aristotle's distinction of matter and form is virtually undeveloped Kantism.

tain, simple, and available basis for speculation, has led to assumptions and premature conclusions, which necessarily infect all subsequent deductions. It has warped, in various ways, the judgment of metaphysicians; it has induced them to exaggerate the importance of different elements in the philosophy of being and of mind; it has made them unduly subordinate, or reject others; it has thus given rise to different and conflicting schools: but, while it has established cognizable, though vague distinctions, it has rendered all systems imperfect, distorted, and more or less false. There can, accordingly, be no reasonable hope of any considerable improvement in our metaphysical science, until we re-examine, without favour or affection, and without theory or sect, the great fundamental problems of the human mind. It is this important labour that we would now commence, thinking our efforts well spent, if they only indicate the nature of the work to be done, and stimulate others to its prosecution.

To proceed, then, with the investigation. We have a direct apprehension of simple facts, whether by observation of phenomena without, or by consciousness of moods and changes within. These facts we combine, classify, analyze, generalize, and employ as the premises for our deductions, or our data for further inductions. For the external world, the senses furnish the channel by which our perceptions are in the first instance acquired; but they are perceived by the mind only according to the laws of the mind itself. The phenomenon perceived must receive its form from the faculty perceiving, before it can become a portion of our information.* The exciting agency may be external, but there is a necessary union with an internal determining agent; and it is the product of both which constitutes our elementary knowledge or perceptions. If, then, the special occasion or substance of our knowledge is derived from without, and its form is given from within, it is a necessary consequence that all the knowledge to which man can of himself attain, is merely relative to the human apprehension, and is limited by the processes of the human mind. In all speculation relating to the mind, the data are furnished either mediately or immediately by the consciousness, which, in this case, occupies the same position, and performs the same functions, as the senses do with respect to external phenomena. The data themselves, in both cases, though suggested in different modes, and conveyed through different channels, bear the same relation to the mind in its percipient capacity,

* To those who may not be aware of the flood of light which etymology can occasionally throw over the most recondite problems of metaphysics, we would recommend the study of Vico's "Sapienza Antica d'Italia."

and can in neither case transcend the limits imposed by the laws, conditions, and regular processes of the perceiving mind. The apprehension of facts in both cases takes place in due subordination to the processes of the apprehending agent; in neither case can we go beyond the product to the nice estimation of the objective and subjective factors which have co-operated in its production. The result, with the bare recognition of its dualistic origin, is the ultimate step in the analysis of mental phenomena, which it is in our power to accomplish: we know that this result is due to certain concurring causes; but we cannot separate these causes from each other, so as to consider them capable of independent action; nor can we explain their exact nature, or the precise modes of their action. We know, then, that, beyond the most recondite and elementary fact which philosophy explains, there is another fact which it recognises, but cannot explain. This latter fact, of which we are only conscious, is the great postulate on which all philosophy and knowledge must rest, though it has scarcely been as yet prominently regarded in this light. That it has been more or less distinctly apprehended by many, if not all schools, is evinced by the *indemonstrable principles* of Aristotle, the intuitions *à priori* of Kant, the fundamental *principles of belief* of the Scotch school, the *belief* of Jacobi, and the *consciousness* of Reinhold.

So far, however, we are only furnished with the simplest elements of knowledge, of which simple perceptions may be said to constitute the alphabet; and yet we have already recognised the existence of a fundamental, but inexplicable fact, which must affect all combinations and developments of those simple perceptions. When we proceed to combine or compare facts, in order to infer any consequence, the judgment is called into play, and reasoning begins. The same difficulty recurs in this operation of the mind as was experienced in the case of simple apprehension. To take the two propositions which are necessarily presupposed in all reasoning. If we say that the world has an existence independent of our perceptions, and of the forms of the reasoning process, where is the proof of this? Or, how can we prove the existence of the perceiving mind? Each of these dogmas is obviously beyond the range of proof. For, if the nature of the human mind limits us to the contemplation and explanation of the *tertium quid*, resulting from the combined influence of the percipient and the thing perceived, (the *αἴσθησις* and the *αἰσθητόν*,) the premises in any reasoning that we can institute, about these or any other topics, must necessarily involve a *petitio principii*, which will render nugatory any conclusion. Yet, even passing by this logical fallacy, the mind cannot go out of

itself—cannot transcend its own laws and conditions, which it needs must do if it could examine, with any prospect of a definite result, into the certainty, as established by logical proof, of the existence of either matter or mind. It will not suffice to say that we recognise their existence by our own consciousness—this does not explain the difficulty, nor does it even cut the Gordian knot, if we are aiming at proof. At best, it is offering a postulate instead of a proof, which, in this particular inquiry, would be inadmissible, when we profess to be seeking for a proof. But all that we are directly conscious of, is the product in the mind, and the processes of mind, which have preceded or accompany such recognition. But every step presupposes the existence, and the belief in the existence, of that mind whose existence is attempted to be proved. Thus we are ever proceeding in a vicious circle, from which escape is impossible. If we lay hold of the other horn of the dilemma, and endeavour to prove the existence of matter, we are entangled in a similar mesh. We have only to take a single step to involve ourselves in exactly the same labyrinth; for, as we cannot separate the action of the percipient from the influence of the thing perceived, nor contemplate a thing perceived without contemplating in the same act a thing perceiving, our first procedure must be to prove the existence of mind. The reciprocal implication of correlatives in the last sentence is not owing to any obscurity or imperfection of language, nor is it a play upon words, but it is the logical result of the necessary implication of interdependent ideas.

The impossibility of proving the existence of either matter or mind—the objective or the subjective element—may be exhibited in simpler terms, though they will still represent virtually the same argument. Is it not the grossest of all fallacies to dream of proving the existence of that mind whose continuous agency we employ in the attempt either to prove or disprove its existence? And is it not an equally gross fallacy to think of proving the existence of matter, when matter, whether it be substantial or phenomenal, is the subject of cognition only so far as it is capable of apprehension by the mind?

In what we have said, it will be perceived that we do not touch the question of the essence of either matter or mind. Mind may be material, or matter phenomenal—a *camera obscura* fitted up in the mind—and our remarks are still equally applicable; for, whatever may be our estimate of the nature of either, there is a wide distinction between the thinking agent in its act of perceiving or reasoning, and the object which is perceived and reasoned about, when it does not reason only about itself.

This distinction is the only antagonism required by our remarks.

But, however impossible it may be to prove, and chimerical to attempt to prove, the existence of mind or matter, we are, nevertheless, convinced of their existence—convinced in spite of argument, without proof, and independent of all reflection. They are ultimate facts, which we cannot help believing, but which are too mysterious and enigmatic to admit of any full solution.

Now, both of these facts are, as we have seen, necessarily involved in all reasoning, of whatever kind it may be, and to whatever subjects it may be applied. They are postulates, which even those who refuse to recognise them, cannot avoid virtually adopting. This is sufficiently evident in regard to mind, and that, we have already shown, cannot be separated from the recognition of the existence of matter also. But without recurring to this position, we cannot prove the possibility of a reasoning mind except in connexion with a living body, and this body is existent matter, whatever matter may be defined to be. We would again repeat what we have so recently observed, that we do not here determine anything in regard to the essential nature of matter and mind, but regard them simply as two things converse or correlative to each other; and this is indeed all that, in any systematic scheme of philosophy, they can legitimately signify. As such they must, and do exist; but as anything else, they are merely the products of conjecture. Under this limitation, the existence of matter is as fully recognised in the philosophy of Berkeley as in that of Cabanis and Broussais; and the existence of mind is in reality no more denied by them than it was by him. This, indeed, would be a startling paradox to those philosophers themselves, for the negation of the one or the other was the contemplated scope of their respective systems; but they deceived themselves, like so many others who have written or thought upon such subjects, into the belief that they were contending about genera, when the whole disputation was in truth limited to the discussion of specific differences.

We have now shown that the existence of mind and the existence of matter are postulates—truths firmly believed, incapable of rational negation, because their denial would render all reasoning, even that latent reasoning on which action proceeds, impossible—but incapable also of proof. We have, furthermore, seen that the co-operation, or the mode of co-operation rather, of the percipient and the thing perceived, in the production of a perception, is in a great measure insoluble; and that the verity of our perceptions must in consequence be another postulate. Nor should the intro-

duction of postulates into the theory of human knowledge and mental operations be a matter of surprise. For if all reasoning be, as Aristotle says, and as every one must admit, from the better known to the less known,* then either the human capacity of knowledge must be absolutely without limit, and the human mind consequently unlimited in its range also, or we must necessarily, at some point of our investigations, encounter some fact which cannot be better known, and which, therefore, must be incapable of receiving proof.† Hence arises the truth of the sententious and sagacious maxim of Theophrastus, so often pressed by Aristotle, *ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον ἀναιροῦσι λόγον*,‡ (they annihilate all reasoning, who would have a reason for everything.) In all knowledge, such postulates are to be expected; they may be so plain as to be received without suspicion, or so remote as to excite neither observation nor inquiry; they may be precisely expressed, or covertly assumed, but they are always necessary. In many sciences, a needless and tedious chain of truisms may be cut short by the adoption of postulates dependent at a long interval upon those which necessity would impose; and, again, the postulates of one age may be refuted as such, and referred to higher principles, by the more efficacious investigation of a succeeding generation. But in the science of metaphysics, and also in the narrower science of the human mind, (as understood by the Scotch school,) the same facts are submitted to the notice of every one who reflects upon the subject—the difference between individual philosophers consists principally in the more or less accurate observation of those facts, and the caution with which they are analyzed and combined. In this science, the first principles are those which must be first discovered and first established; and it is from them we reason: there is but little room thenceforward for induction. We may in consequence anticipate, that whenever the use of postulates may be avowedly and generally received in metaphysical speculation, and once carefully established, there will be need of only trivial modifications thereafter.

As, however, it may seem alien to the genius of modern science, and especially to the spirit of the Baconian philosophy, to intro-

* Aristot. Analyt. Post., lib. i, c. i, p. 71, a. 1. It is a doctrine frequently urged by Aristotle.

† Aristot. Metaph., iii, c. 4, p. 1006, a. 8, and Alex. Aphrod. Schol. Metaph., vi, c. 17, 1041, b. 9, &c.

‡ Theophrast. Metaph., c. 5. The same maxim is, however, constantly repeated in equivalent terms by Aristotle himself, Metaph., x. c. 6, p. 1063, b. 10; c. 5, p. 1062, a. 2; iii, c. 4, p. 1006, a. 8; Analyt. Post. i, c. 2, pp. 71, 72; Alex. Aphrod. Schol., p. 527, b. 26, p. 525, a. 20, p. 592, b. 31, p. 605, a. 42; p. 653; Asclep. Schol., p. 599; Ammonius, p. 519.

duce postulates even into metaphysics; and still more especially as the philosophy of Bacon has been hitherto studied usually in a one-sided and partial manner, and has rarely been received in its full comprehensiveness, we will, even at the expense of a slight delay, insert a notable, though too little noted passage, from Lord Bacon himself, bearing directly on this subject:—

"Wherefore, whatever primitive matter is, together with its influence and action, it is sui generis, and admits of no definition drawn from perception, and is to be taken just as it is found, and not to be judged of from any preconceived idea. For the mode of it, if it is given to us to know it, cannot be judged of by means of its cause, seeing that it is, next to God, the cause of causes, itself without cause. For there is a certain real limit of causes in nature, and it would argue levity and inexperience in a philosopher to require or imagine a cause for the last and positive power and law of nature, as much as it would not to demand a cause in those that are subordinate.

"On this account the ancients have fabled Cupid to be without a parent, that is, without a cause. And they did so not without design. Nay, perhaps there is not anything more important; for nothing has more corrupted philosophy than the seeking after the parents of Cupid; I mean, that philosophers have not received and embraced the elements of things as they are found in nature, as a certain fixed and positive doctrine, and as it were by an experimental trust in them, (tamquam fide experimentali;) but have rather deduced them from the laws of words, and from dialectics, and slight mathematical conclusions, and common notions and similar wanderings of the mind beyond the bounds of nature."*

To proceed, however, with our investigation. It is ordinarily said, that in reasoning we perceive agreement or disagreement between the two terms compared: but the question instantly presents itself, whence do we arrive at this recognition of agreement or disagreement? Whence comes the conviction that the supposed agreement or disagreement is not merely delusive or false? Or in simpler terms, whence arises our conviction of the identity of equivalent propositions? We may call the faculty, by which the result of the comparison is determined, the judgment; but this brings us no nearer the desired solution, it can "teach nothing but to name our tools." But how does the perception of agreement or disagreement take place, and how does it produce conviction? Grant that the perception and conviction are indissolubly connected, or even that they are identical, still the difficulty remains unsolved—*quæ esset conclusi argumenti fides?* †—What is conviction? What is certitude? And whence do they arise? We are able to arrive at certainty sufficient, if not

* Bacon, Fable of Cupid. Bacon's Works. Ed. B. Montagu, vol. xv, p. 45. The original Latin, vol. xi, p. 99, is much more precisely and appositely expressed. Compare with Bacon, Aristotle and his Scholiasts cited in the preceding note. Plato, Timæus, p. 17. Des Cartes, ap. Morell, p. 117. Spinoza, ibid. p. 125. Jacobi, ibid., p. 597. Leibnitz, Op. tom. i, pp. cxliv, clxi.

† Cicero. Acad. Prior. lib. ii, c. ix, § 27.

for our full intellectual satisfaction, at least for our wants; and we do entertain convictions, whether we admit or deny their theoretical validity. Here then is another ultimate fact, which lies beyond the range of metaphysical solution, and which, if recognised at all—and it cannot be denied by any man of sane mind—must be received as a postulate.

In simple apprehension or perception, then, (we do not intend to confound these phrases,) there are two postulates involved in every explication of the phenomena of this intelligible world which the mind of man can offer. Hence the terms of our simplest propositions are incapable of a merely rational explanation; that is to say, an explanation fully comprehended by the reason, and falling entirely within the limits of its sphere. In judgment, another postulate must be admitted—that of the practical certainty of human judgment,—and consequently our propositions are removed still further beyond the absolute empire of the reason. In our syllogisms* a like postulate again recurs. In all our logic and reasoning, therefore, there is something beyond the grasp of human reason which constitutes the basis of our certitude and knowledge, and which, if we refuse to recognize it as such, must render all our reasoning invalid, and in either case exhibit the fallacy of the position of Protagoras, that "man is the measure of all things," so constantly repeated in our own day by the followers of Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, &c., who measure all things by the human mind, and educe an episodical creation out of the development of its processes.†

Let it not be objected to our remarks, that convictions are not always well-founded; that the certainty supposed to attach to particular propositions may be completely negatived by future discovery or reflection; and that it is a thing therefore relative to the evidence. To these it might be answered, that the strongest convictions are frequently those least supported by evidence: but we are not now considering the correct or the incorrect influence of certainty, nor in what cases it may be legitimately entertained; we are not treating of the subject-matter of certainty, but of the state of mind which is so denominated, or the faculty by which it is apprehended. This exists independent of the inherent truth or falsehood of the proposi-

* We make no distinction here between inductive and deductive reasoning. Mr. Mill, in a very ingenious discussion and analysis, (Logic, b. ii, c. iii,) has attempted to prove the syllogism a form of induction; it would be a much easier task to prove the opposite; but this is not the place for such a disquisition.

† Aristotle justly says of the Pythagoreans and Platonists, *ἐπεισοδιώδη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν.* Metaph, xi, c. 10, p. 1076, a. 1; and again, *οὐκ ἔοικε δ' ἡ φύσις ἐπεισοδιώδης οὖσα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων, ὥσπερ μοχθηρὰ τραγῳδία,* xiii, c. 8, p. 1090, b. 19.

tions of which certainty is predicated, and may be equally evinced in either contingency. When Juvenal remarked satirically that a virtuous woman at Rome was

Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno,

he firmly believed that no such bird existed as a black swan. His conviction and his certitude were not impaired by the discovery of black swans in abundance, more than sixteen hundred years after his death. That we at one time have a perfect assurance of the truth of propositions or conclusions, which after experience leads us with as firm a conviction to deny, is a necessary result of the gradual acquisition of all knowledge, and the inevitable fallibility of man. The subject-matter may be imperfectly apprehended; it may be seen in a false or insufficient light; or our data may be deficient in extent, without our being conscious of such deficiency; but the mind performs a definite act, which is in all cases the same, when it entertains certainty in regard to any proposition or conclusion whatever. It cannot do otherwise. But unite in the production of one result two elements, one of which is uniform and constant, and the other varying, imperfect, and deceptive, and the result will be varying and deceptive too. Put gold, or silver, or copper, or lead under the die of a coining machine, and you get coins of these different metals, differing in value, matter, and appearance, but the same identical act has been performed by the hammer and the die in each case, and the same impression has been left. In the same way, the fallibility of the proposition of which we may be assured, does not affect the character of that state or operation of the mind, which we call certainty. How it is arrived at we are unable to explain:—we may readily point out the sequences which constitute the exciting cause or the occasion; we can even discover the prerequisite conditions; but the determining cause, or the nature of the act, is beyond our solution.

It is perfectly preposterous that the mind should be conceived to be perfectly competent to understand its own entire nature. There are primordial facts under which the *understanding* must be content to stand, to which it must be subordinate. These, if we choose, we may assign, like Kant, to a new and distinct sphere, the sphere of the pure reason; but we do not render them more intelligible by thus giving them "a local habitation and a name." They occupy the same relation to our knowledge, whether we attribute them to a distinct faculty, or leave their attribution indefinite. In either case, they equally form the remote premises, which are obviously or latently assumed in all our actual or possible reasoning. We are

consequently compelled in every investigation into the truth or certainty of human knowledge to go back to an inexplicable property pertaining to the human mind, which is in all cases the foundation of our convictions. It is true that certainty, as appertaining to merely human speculation, is hereby rendered relative to human apprehension and experience, including, however, under the latter term both objective and subjective experience: but, indeed, what reason could there be for supposing that a finite being could be competent to the attainment of anything but finite and relative knowledge; or what need is there that he should be capable of acquiring knowledge other than what is relative to his own finite condition? Nay, further, what possibility is there of forming any definite conception of the capacity of man for the reception of any knowledge which is not purely relative to his own nature as a practical and acting being, and to his own destiny as consequent upon his actions? The knowledge of man is proportioned to the wants of man, and neither does it transcend them, nor can it be consistently imagined to do so.

But, having recognised the grounds of the certainty of our knowledge in an ultimate, inexplicable fact, we are not at liberty to assume that all our supposed knowledge is thereby rendered absolutely certain; nor, on account of its relative character, are we necessarily to limit ourselves to the recognition of the phenomenal alone. The first procedure would authorize and sanctify all the vague reveries of dreamers and mystics, founded upon any assumption or conjecture from which they might be pleased to set out, provided the belief in its truth were, in the first instance, fortified by the fanaticism of ignorance, or the blind bigotry of uninquiring enthusiasm. The latter would negative everything that might not be capable of strict logical proof from directly observed facts, while at the same time it would render that logic itself invalid. The former would furnish an impregnable basis, though no ground of conciliation or agreement, for all forms of Mysticism and Idealism; the latter an equally strong foundation for Sensationalism or Positivism. In the one case we assume the absolute, the infinite, the immaterial; in the other, we deny, or at least ignore, the real in the world of matter and of mind. The history of philosophy teaches us that such has been the genetic origin and development of the various conflicting metaphysical systems, since the first rise of ontological and psychological speculation.

It is somewhat singular that men should not have reflected more maturely and soberly upon the nature and import of such notions and terms, as the infinite, the absolute, the unconditional, the necessary, the immaterial, &c. These are all negative in meaning and in form; they convey only negative ideas, from which no affirmative conclu-

sions can be drawn. The infinite is contradistinguished from the finite—the absolute opposed to the dependent—the immaterial merely the negation of the material.* Of the same character, though affirmative in form, are the universal and the eternal, in their usual metaphysical acceptation. The infinite, so far as it conveys any precisely assignable meaning, signifies only the indefinite, denying the existence of recognized or cognizable limits, but certainly not conveying any more tangible or positive idea. All terms and all propositions present themselves to our minds in a binary combination, to which, if we are Eclectics, and adopt the categories of Cousin, we may add as a third element, the relation between the two interdependent terms. This axiom is of a fundamental character in logic; and if we neglect it, we are in danger of substituting the *norma loquendi* for the *norma sentiendi*.† Cousin's derivation of his two primitive ideas of action and being, with the twin scales of their dependent categories, and the whole reasoning with which Mr. Morell follows in the footsteps of his master, is founded upon a misconception of the habitual logical distinction to which we refer. The consequence is, that the superstructure of a system of universal metaphysics, attempted to be raised upon the basis, stands upon defective, because unequal, props. The logical distinction is the interdependent opposition of the two terms incident to the necessary dualism of all conception or predication. The mental apprehension or expression of any one simple idea, necessarily, by the act of segregation or exclusion, implies the co-incident apprehension of its converse or opposite. It divides the intelligible universe into two parts; one of which is the term conceived or expressed, the other, all which is not this. Thus, the apprehension of what is (τί ὄν) involves also the recognition of what is not, (τί μὴ ὄν,) and does this by an act of exclusion inseparable from the act of apprehension itself.‡ But both

* The doctrine laid down above is assigned to Hobbes by Morell, p. 75, but it may be equally said to be the doctrine of Leibnitz and Aristotle. "Definitio illa, quod spiritus sit substantia immaterialis, dicit tantum quid non sit, non quid sit." Ep. i, ad Loeflerum. Leibn, Op. tom. i, p. 17. Aristot. Metaph. iv, c. 15, p. 1021, a. 25, x. c. 10, p. 1066, b. 11. To them we may add Locke, b. ii, c. xvii. To all such binary ideas we may apply the words of Aristotle: Ἄμφω δὲ λεκτά, ὅπως διανοητά, De Zenone, p. 978, a. 28, as the distinction from which they arise is purely a logical one, and the negative term a purely logical creation.

† Hæc omnia sunt loquendi potius quam sentiendi principia. Leibnitz, ad Mar. Nizolium. Op. tom. iv, p. 64.

‡ See the writers on Logic, and Aristot. Metaph., iii, c. 2, p. 1004, a. 15, b. 27, c. 7, p. 1012, a. 2, and Alex. Aphrod. Schol. ad loc. Metaph. viii, c. 1, p. 1046, a. 29. See also De Morgan's Formal Logic, c. ii: yet we cannot altogether assent to him, "that it is an accident of language whether a proposition is universal or particular, positive or negative," p. 40.

of these terms are not equally comprehensible, nor do they give rise to similar conceptions; for of these interdependent pairs the existence of only one and the temporary rejection of the other can alone result from the act of expression or apprehension. Consequently, it is barely valid to assume one of the two, that which is affirmative in sense, as furnishing a basis of actual fact for the structure of a philosophy; but it is perfectly illogical to assume the negative term also for this purpose. The positive term alone is comprehensible; the negative, from its latitude, variety, and indefiniteness, not so. "That which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered." If we may use an algebraic illustration, (and we are not unaware what fallacies and affectations are frequently latent in such illustrations,) we may say that x representing the intelligible universe, or the universe of ideas, and a the particular term apprehended, x will be divided by the apprehension of a into a and $x-a$. Of these two parts a is comprehensible, $x-a$ incomprehensible until the value of x can be appreciated and definitely understood—which it never can be, as it obviously transcends the range of human capacity. But the finite, the conditional, the material, the general, fall under the category of a; their opposites, the infinite, the unconditional, the immaterial, the universal, &c., under the category of $x-a$: consequently all propositions about the second class of ideas are, like those ideas themselves, utterly vague, and without distinct significance, except in so far as they sever certain classes of ideas from the possibility of clear apprehension by the human intellect. Their very names refer us merely to the negation of all that we can conceive of the properties of being—and we cannot assign properties to an object of whose very existence, except as a negation, we cannot by possibility know anything. But though we cannot interpret these terms, and are not justified in assuming the indefinite in any of its forms as the basis of a definite system, we are not at liberty to cashier them altogether. Because $x-a$ may be incapable of valuation, we have no right to strike it out of the equation, and treat a as equal to x; yet this is exactly the process which has been adopted by M. Comte, and that school of which he is the founder and the noblest and ablest representative. Fichte and Hegel endeavoured to develope the value of $x-a$ from an assumed value of x: Schelling, from a similar assumption, attempts to evolve the value of a, which, to some extent is given, and has promised to evolve that of $x-a$: the Scotch school assumes the value of $x-a$; and the Eclectics propose to borrow the interpretation of $x-a$ from the Idealists, and that of a from the Sensationalists, to reconcile both, and to constitute a positive system out of values which reciprocally exclude each other. For,

if the Idealists have overleapt the barriers of nature by assigning a positive character to the vague and incomprehensible, the Sensationalists have left the track as far on the other side by giving an exclusive character to the positive and comprehensible. Both have erred from the same fallacy—the old sophism of Protagoras—the assumption that the human mind is the measure of the universe, and not merely the measure of that fragmentary knowledge of the universe of which it is capable. The one school has pretended to stamp with a cognizable reality, and to define by sharp outlines, the vague and dreamy conceptions which float like irresolvable nebulæ before the mind; the other has denied any existence to these shadowy forms of human apprehension, and has excluded them from the domain of philosophy, as being merely the ignes fatui of the distempered imagination. The one has, by distortions and illusions, drawn within its circle, or fancied that it has done so, much which legitimately lies beyond it; the other has cut itself loose from and ignored everything which does not fall within the sweep of its sensible horizon. From this original diversity in regard to the estimate of the canon by which the intelligible world is measured, follows naturally the diversity in the estimate of the universe which is measured thereby.

In our explanation of these ultimate operations of the human mind, we are conscious of not having expressed ourselves with that perspicuity and precision which the subject merited. We have, indeed, intentionally avoided, as far as possible, the employment of technical phraseology, but we have not attained fully that distinctness of utterance at which we aimed. Like Kant, we make a candid confession of our failure, and only offer as our excuse the apology of Aristotle, *in pari materia*, *περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων οὐ μόνον χαλεπὸν τὸ εὐπορῆσαι τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ διαπορῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ ῥᾴδιον καλῶς.**

From what has been said it will be evident that human knowledge, such as it is, contains, inseparably blended together, two elements, the comprehensible and the incomprehensible, the definite and the vague. We cannot dispense with either element, though they respectively enter into different branches of knowledge in very dissimilar proportions. It has also been seen that there are certain inexplicable facts, anterior to the possibility of reasoning, and consequently involved in every act of reasoning, which form the first principles of human knowledge. We will endeavour to apply these important truths to the different departments of human knowledge, so as to determine the nature and the degree of that certainty which is attached to each.

* Aristot, Metaph., ii, c. i, p. 996, a. 15.

In all strict scientific knowledge—that is, in all knowledge which is dependent upon proof, and for which the human mind collects its own materials, and constitutes itself the sole judge and arbiter of their truth and application—we are bound to limit the materials which we may assume as data for reasoning entirely to observed phenomena. This is the stadium to which the human mind, when relying upon its own resources, is confined in its search after dogmatic truth. We must recognise, however, the dependence of even these materials upon real existent causes as an undoubted fact, received as such in consequence of our own internal conviction—a conviction which is universal among all men sufficiently civilized to reflect methodically on such subjects, and tacitly or virtually admitted even by those philosophers who first obscure its recognition by the darkness in which they envelop themselves, and then deny it. This belief in the real existence of causes only lies below our knowledge, as the safe-guard against unending scepticism. It may be an assumption—relatively to the explanation of our reasoning processes it is so; but if so, it is an involuntary one, and a necessary condition for all action and reasoning. We cannot, however, adopt it as a legitimate premiss in our scientific reasoning, for we only know that it is so; we cannot prove it to be so, nor explain how it is so. We cannot say that we have observed it, though we are conscious of analogies to confirm it: but we cannot deny it; for, if it were not so, we could neither reason nor act at all. Our business is to determine how far it is presupposed and ought to be recognised in all speculation—to limit its application within the legitimate boundaries—and to draw clearly the line of demarcation between this practical faith in realities, which we cannot prove either by reason or reasoning, and the phenomenal character of all subsequent knowledge resting upon this basis, which is attainable by those processes of the human mind which are subjected to our examination. A philosopher, indeed, would not be very far wide of the truth, if he were to say that all the great intellectual requirements of the age might be summed up in the desideratum of a satisfactory theory of practical and scientific limitations. For, if the main question in metaphysics must always be the question of method, the question whose solution is most important in the present day, in order to arrive at a correct method, is the question of limitations—the determination of the actual range of the human faculties by legitimate induction, and the horizon beyond which the mind cannot extend its view—the establishment of the character and degree of its dependence in reasoning upon truths not subjected to its analysis—the discovery of the degree of certainty afforded to scientific knowledge by the inexplicable postu-

lates of metaphysical philosophy—and also the degree of uncertainty attached to all such knowledge by the phenomenal character of the materials with which reason is principally conversant. These points, however, we are compelled to leave almost untouched at present, in order to arrive at those more immediately pressing questions on account of which this inquiry was mainly undertaken.

We would only remark here, that, in what we have hitherto said, we have not pretended to form a catalogue of the fundamental and inexplicable facts which are involved in, and presupposed by, all reasoning. It has been our desire to show that there were such facts; and those which we have mentioned, have been specified only as examples where illustration was required.

It would appear, then, that faith, belief, conviction—call it by any of these names, but a principle which is "the evidence of things not seen"—lies at the very foundation of all reasoning, and is necessarily presupposed in all reasoning, which without it would be impossible. This existence of reason, based upon faith, in the mind, above and beyond reasoning, and wholly beyond the range of demonstration, we have shown to be incidentally recognised by Aristotle and many other philosophers, and it is strikingly confirmed by the analogy of instinct in animals. Give what philosophic interpretation you please to the term instinct; let it be an inferior order of reason—a less pure or direct emanation of Deity—a mere phenomenon of the development of the universal and essential thought—or simply a mechanical obedience to a sensational excitement, the analogy remains undisturbed. As the main spring in our perceptions of truth, and the impulse in the actions of the brute creation, there is an inexplicable faculty, whose operations are spontaneous, lying beyond the sphere of explanation by reason. We recognise it as a fact—as a cause; we cannot mount above it to explain its nature, detect its origin, or bring it within the circle of human comprehension. It is an ἀρχή—a first principle—a postulate; or, in the still happier language of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, it is in both cases a *rationalis instinctus*.

If we adopt any system of metaphysics whatever, and trace back the sequences and concatenation of its doctrines to first principles, we are certain to be brought ultimately to the recognition of this fundamental fact. In physical science its potency and presence, though efficaciously involved, are rarely recognised, because rarely required in the details. In ethical science, whose subject is the spiritual nature of man, we may close our eyes wilfully against its admission, but its rejection will produce fallacies, at some stage or other of our reasoning, which cannot be solved without its aid. In

our daily practice it is of constant efficacy; we cannot take a single step in thought, speech, or action, without the co-operation of its latent but vital power. Our whole doctrine, then, on these points, may be summed up in two expressions, one from the New and the other from the Old Testament: the declaration of St. Paul, "We walk by faith, not by sight;" and the language of Elihu, in Job, "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."

So far we may be thought to have done little more than combine together the doctrines of Kant and Jacobi; but we think we escape the objections which have been made to their metaphysics by a further step, which we cannot help regarding as an important advance. If faith be the remote foundation of all scientific knowledge, as it is the proximate ground of all practical thought and action, Christianity, or religion in general, claims our assent by an appeal to exactly the same principle in human nature, which is the necessary condition of all reasoning and knowledge. The revelation is recognised as divine by the human faculty of faith, which admits of no further philosophical interpretation; but all our first principles are received in virtue of the same faculty. Once admitted as the direct message of God, the separate doctrines are entitled to and receive a readier, a firmer, and an easier credence, than the conclusions which we painfully elaborate for ourselves, by building the materials of fallible observation and fallible reasoning on the basis of a faith, of whose nature and origin we are as ignorant, or even more ignorant, in science than in religion. It follows, however, as a corollary, that, as religion is principally addressed to, and received by this faith, it does not constitute a legitimate subject for the plastic manipulations of human speculation, in the same sense or in the same degree with scientific or practical doctrines.

We conceive that it is only by the firm recognition of these or equivalent principles, and by the adoption of that scheme of metaphysical interpretation of the nature and origin of the certitude of human knowledge which thence results, that we can logically admit the belief in Christianity within the circle of our accredited truths. Theologians, philosophers, and men of science in our day agree in allowing a discrepance between religious truth and scientific truth. If this discrepance be not disproved, and a valid ground of conciliation be not discovered, it is easy to see that religion must yield to science, backed as the latter is by the pride of intellect, the seductions of interest, and the perverse tendencies of the human heart. But, as faith in some truths which science cannot master or explain, but without which science cannot exist, is the great fundamental fact

both of metaphysics and philosophy, and the necessary substratum of all our knowledge of what kind soever, it is in perfect harmony with this law of the human mind, that an inexplicable religious faith should exist spontaneously in the minds of men, to be called into action, like all our other mental faculties, whenever submitted to the agency of the due exciting causes, under appropriate conditions; that it should be competent to recognise the divine truth of revelation, receive with implicit belief the truths of Christianity, without the evidence of adequate logical proof, and in a degree not to be established by rationalistic demonstration; and that it should embrace the promises of the Gospel in consequence of that higher, more mysterious, and more potent evidence within, which is inwoven into our whole mental and moral nature, but which we cannot interpret further than to refer it to the will of God, though we cannot deny and can scarcely misapprehend its vital potentiality.

We have not the time, if we had the inclination, to develop these views into a system of philosophic theology. But we contemplate no such result; as system, on the principles which we have laid down, is a fallacy in religion, inasmuch as it must be the grossest of all fallacies to attempt to reduce within the limits of a system, which by its nature is limited to the range of the human mind and rational explanation, truths which we recognise as lying beyond the sphere of human interpretation. Method is all that we could pretend to establish; but we have only time to sow the seeds which may germinate and fructify in others. We regret, indeed, being compelled to renounce our design of showing how far and how fully a method proceeding from the principles above established would harmonize equally with the requirements of religion and the conditions of reason; and still more do we regret that the want of space prevents us from answering, in advance, those objections to our views which they might themselves suggest to a hasty and superficial appreciation.

According to all other explanations of the nature and certainty of human knowledge, it seems to us that Christianity can only be received by the negation of the supposed ordinary conditions of scientific truth,* hence illogically: or, on logical grounds, by the negation of the religious principle of a supersensuous faith; though, in this case, the evidence is inadequate to support the conclusion, and is therefore in reality invalid, however skilfully or effectually the fallacy may be disguised. The former process was adopted by the Catholic commentators on Newton's Principia, who professed to receive the Papal decrees *contra Telluris motum*, and is still followed by many of our

* This Strauss sees and constantly urges. Pt. i, c. i, § 18, vol. i, p. 112; § 150, vol. iii, p. 432, Life of Jesus.

orthodox evangelical divines. The latter is the hazardous course attempted to be pursued systematically by the German Rationalists,—a course which, under the influence of the Hegelian metaphysics, has resulted in the mythical idealism of Strauss, the shadowy transcendentalism of Morell, and the equivocal doctrine of Saisset. There is, indeed, one more alternative—the negation of Christianity *in toto*, because contrary to the spirit and methods of both science and philosophy; and this, it is much to be feared, has become the general, though often concealed, practice of the present day. This is the avowed creed of Comte, and virtually the standing-point of Strauss also: and further, it is the strict logical result of the attempt to reason either from supposed absolute, universal, and necessary truths, or from the hypothesis of the limitation of all admissible knowledge to the recognition of phenomena, and the explanation of merely phenomenal laws. M. Comte has indeed committed a gross philosophical and pernicious practical error in asserting (as a retort upon the theologians of every age) the absolute incompatibility of science and religion, and therefore denying the latter; but he has been driven into this untenable and lamentable position by refuting, from the opposite metaphysical extreme, the fallacy of those who would utterly dissever and dissociate the laws of man's moral and intellectual nature.

If there be an impassable chasm between religious faith and scientific knowledge, religion must ultimately be the sacrifice. The task in our day, therefore, becomes nearly identical with that which Leibnitz proposed to himself as a propædeutic to his Théodicée:* to reconcile reason with religion; to show the essential analogy, notwithstanding a formal difference, between the two; and to establish such a method of metaphysical speculation as, being true in itself, shall restore to science a valid and real basis under a phenomenal vesture—to mental and moral philosophy, fixed and indisputable principles; and, while doing this, shall also absorb the truth of all former metaphysical systems, illustrating while abandoning their errors, and furnish a satisfactory refutation at once to the positivism of Comte, and the transcendental mythicism of Strauss. *Hoc opus, hic labor est:* this is one of the great tasks of the present generation, perhaps the greatest. "Le premier et le plus grand soin de la philosophie," says Kant, "est de tarir une fois pour toutes, les sources de l'erreur, et de lui enlever ainsi toute son influence pernicieuse:" and thus only, so far as we can see, can it be done. Unless this solution can be satisfactorily achieved, reason must remain, in our metaphysical, moral, and scientific speculations, such as it was de-

* Dissertatio De Conformitate Fidei cum Ratione. Leibn. Op., tom. i, pp. 60–116.

clared to be by Bayle—the instrument merely of destruction and annihilation.* The objections of Bayle were certainly not answered by Leibnitz; nor can they be answered, unless we are willing to recognise (which reason will enable us to do) the existence of the fundamental principles of reasoning, beyond the scope of demonstration, and the necessary and indissoluble dependence of reason itself upon something higher than itself. It is true that this recognition appears to be a profession of ignorance at the outset of our knowledge—yet it is merely ignorance of demonstration; but we should be willing to say, with that universal scholar, J. J. Scaliger,—

> "Nescire velle, quæ magister optimus
> Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est;"

or with Cicero, "Nec me pudet fateri nescire, quod nesciam." Indeed, that ignorance is the beginning and end of our knowledge, has been the common-place of philosophers, from Socrates to Coleridge.†

One of the first things to be done is to admit our inability to demonstrate first principles and truths which lie beyond the legitimate range of demonstration. We must forego the amusement of attempting to solve that *crux metaphysicorum*—the demonstration of the being and attributes of God, and the revealed truths of the Christian faith. What need could there have been of a revelation to make these things known, if they fall within the scope of human demonstration? We may learn wisdom from an enemy, especially from one so sagacious, so profound, and so sincere as Comte. "Natural theology," says he, "is the beginning of Atheism."‡ It may be used as an illustration or confirmation of doctrines already received from revelation; it cannot be employed as a substitute for it, without endangering the whole edifice. We think we could show, to the satisfaction of all candid minds, that every attempt to demonstrate the being of God (independent of revelation) involves a *petitio principii*,

* Bœlius constanter in suo Dictionario, quotiescumque ita fert argumentum, adserit, Rationem nostram refutando magis et destruendo, quam probando atque ædificando, idoneum esse, &c. Cit. Leibn. De Conf. Fid. Cum. Rat., § 80. We think we have met the requisitions prescribed by Bayle for the reconciliation of religion and reason. Ut rationem cum religione conciliasse te evincas, ostendendum non modo, præsto esse axiomata philosophica, quæ Fidei nostræ favent, sed etiam axiomata illa particularia, quæ tamquam Catechismo nostro parum consona, nobis objiciuntur, reapse illi consonare ratione quadam distincte concepta. Cit. ibid., § 77. Op. tom. i, p. iii.

† The celebrated aphorism of Coleridge, "In wonder (i. e. ignorance) all philosophy began, &c.," is found in Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Bacon, &c.

‡ Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos., tom. iv, p. 77. Mr. Morell's arguments are utterly invalid; vide North Brit. Rev., Feb. 1847, Art. i, p. 169, by Dr. Chalmers.

which ultimately insures the overthrow of the argument and the consequent deductions. Our narrow limits forbid the insertion here of the analysis and refutation of the celebrated *à priori* demonstration of the being of God by Des Cartes and Clarke, which we had written out. We can only call attention to the fact that the Pantheism of Spinoza is necessarily involved in the ontological and psychological arguments for the existence of God, which form the fundamental principles of Des Cartes.*

If a clear idea is necessarily a true one, and the idea of God, and of his self-existent essence, the clearest we can entertain, it is necessarily an exclusive one; and whatever extent, modification, or significance may be given to the term God, by the clear apprehension of individual reason, or individual fantasy, will be the legitimate representation of the facts of absolute existence. These two principles, earnestly entertained, and logically developed, lead directly to Spinozism. Nor can we regard the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz—with its attendant doctrines, the *vis viva*, monadology, and the identity of indiscernibles—as anything else than disguised, mutilated, and illogical Spinozism. The *vis viva* of Leibnitz was merely a modification of the *vis creatrix* of Des Cartes; and the pre-established harmony itself simply a curtailment of Spinoza's twin-attributes of being or substance, thought and extension. In all such cases,—as in all strictly developed systems of metaphysics, (though most strikingly exemplified by Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, and Oken,) elaborated by the human mind, as the *ultimus arbiter sententiarum*, without recognising its own dependence upon revelation, inspiration, and an unexplained concurrent in the production of thought,—God and the universe are necessarily reduced to the dreamy creations and impalpable phenomena of our own minds. Such, we think, is the result to which modern systems of metaphysics have manifestly come; and their condition may perhaps reflect back some light upon the theory we have been attempting to explain. In philosophy, as in religion, we have no firm ground to stand upon, unless we recognise the dependence of the human mind on higher inspiration than its own; without this, it is borne about to and fro, "dubitans, circumspectans, hæsitans, multa adversa reverens, tamquam in rate in mari immenso."†

To return from this application of our principles to theology. M. Comte, as the representative of the Positive school, regards all our science as nothing more than the co-ordination of observed facts by theories, expressed under the form of definite laws; which

* See the argument of Des Cartes in Morell, pp. 118, 119.

† Cic. Tusc. Disp., lib. i, c. xxx, § 73.

laws, however, indicate merely the co-existence, antecedence, or sequence of phenomena.* Hence, the object of science and systematic philosophy must be to lay down rigorously these laws, which are to be received as the formal links of observed correlation, but are not to be received as the series of genetic causation. With this, science has nothing to do.† The regular recurrence of the phenomena, in all departments of observation, is a preliminary assumption requisite to the constitution of a body of science;‡ but this assumption daily receives new confirmation as our knowledge expands. So far we agree with M. Comte; and think that he has rendered valuable service to the cause of science by laying down stringently and precisely the barrier which it cannot hope to pass. We limit our agreement, however, merely to strict systematic science and philosophy; for his explanation indicates truly their limits, but without touching the fundamental doctrines on which they rest. Beyond these confines, however, lies the vague region of things cognizable, though neither explicable nor comprehensible; those primitive convictions, which we cannot trace to their sources, because they constitute the original, underivative cognitions of the human mind, and the basis of all possible reasoning. Their truth (relatively to humanity) we always admit by implication in our action; and we are bound to recognise them also in our explication of the processes of thought, if we would not destroy the possibility of even our phenomenal, though systematic, science. We are bound, then, to recognise the validity of assumptions, which our science does not, and cannot explain, but without whose recognition our science cannot be constructed, nor advance a single step. Science confesses their necessity, and sanctions them by requiring their aid as the indispensable basis of all scientific interpretation and development. We agree with Kant cordially in drawing a distinction between practical and scientific knowledge; but we do not, like him, dissever the one from the other—nay, we rather make their substantial identity prominent. We agree with Reinhold in assigning a perfect authority to the consciousness; but we exclude its operation from the details of scientific systematization. We agree also with Jacobi in regarding faith as the implicit, inexplicable principle of assent to intellectual judgments—as the sufficient and indispensable bridge by which we pass from practical conviction to scientific theory; but we regard it also as the bond of union

* Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos., tom. i, pp. 4, 5, et passim.

† Ibid., tom. vi, pp. 659, 710–713, 843.

‡ This is recognised by Aristotle, Metaph., x, c. 4, p. 1061, and Herschel, Disc. Nat. Phil., part ii, c. i.

between the vague generalities of indistinct conception and the precise significance of sensational phenomena. Science is the systematic solution which the mind, after analysis and reflection, gives in subordination to its explicable powers of the phenomena of the universe, (in this case, τὸ σύνολον, not τὸ πᾶν;) consequently it can systematically embrace only so much as those mental powers are able to observe, interpret, and co-ordinate with its own observed processes. Practice is governed less by such scientific knowledge than by the whole range of human capacities, explicable or not, limited only by those conditions which Providence has prescribed to their operation, the reasons of which can be neither detected nor explained, though it may be possible to discover the range of their legitimate influence, and the necessary limitations to be imposed upon their valid employment. Hence, in our ordinary transactions we act upon conjecture, which is that state of mind in which evidence of some sort, though not sharply defined or capable of accurate estimation, certainly preponderates, but in which the determining cause of action is undoubtedly a belief beyond, and, in some cases, independent of logical evidence. We receive the truths of religion distinctly by faith*—a faith which, to perfect its results, requires the more direct co-operation of the Divinity—because the work is not one of the merely rational understanding; and, furthermore, because the logical evidence is never adequate to the convictions to be produced, the conclusions being always wider than the sum of the data which we can use as premises. But science, in its development, discards conjecture, and it rejects the direct employment of faith, as being often delusive and contradictory to its strict logical concatenation. In the inception, however, of science, we avail ourselves of conjecture, which frequently furnishes the materials of our analysis, or the thread for our guidance; and we require the assistance of faith to determine the fundamental data, including the relative or provisional certainty of our knowledge, from which science proceeds. If, at this stage of our inquiries, we reject the aid of faith, or undemonstrated conviction, (ἀναπόδεικται ἀρχαί,) the result will be a mere dry and formal science, founded upon a logical contradiction, and without any principle of coherence or intelligible reality; and, ultimately, this spectral formalism will work itself out into the very body of our science, and the original

* We declare distinctly and uncompromisingly against the doctrine of Saisset and Morell, that the credibility of revelation is dependent upon the fallible judgments of men. We cannot consent to recognise human faculties as a legitimate measure of things divine; and we think that Mr. Morell's logical dogmas logically lead to a purely logical infidelity.

hollowness of the system will render all our knowledge vague and unsatisfactory. In some of the old books is given the portrait of Nobody; he is represented by the hat, ruffle, bodice, breeches, stockings, and shoes, which form the ordinary integuments of civilized humanity. But this human vesture is filled only with wind, and thus presents a fitting denizen of the Isle of Ruach, whose inhabitants live upon wind.* Such must be all science which does not avow its ultimate dependence upon faith.

We may illustrate this exposition. Cause and effect, so far as capable of explanation by human reasoning, and, therefore, so far as explicable by science, or so far as admitting legitimate co-ordination in scientific systems, can only be resolved, as Hume and Brown† have shown, into the antecedence and sequence of events, not contingent, nor mutually dependent upon a higher antecedent, as in the case of day and night, but connected together by habitual, direct, and exclusive relations. Our own consciousness, however, assures us that cause and effect are something more than this—what more we cannot define; the analogies of our own being, as Sir John Herschel has so well pointed out, serve to strengthen this conviction; and we are compelled to assume by faith, at the outset of our science, the reality of cause and effect as one of our fundamental data, without which all our science would be shadowy, indeterminate, and devoid of certainty. But we must not go beyond the simple recognition of this truth; in developing our science, we must not build inferences or deductions upon it, because this would be drawing within the legitimate sphere of systematic speculation that which can only be recognised as lying beyond it. Herein is the point in which we consider that we mainly differ from Jacobi, as we differ from Kant, in harmonizing science and practice, by recognising as the basis of science those leading truths which our practice constantly and instinctively adopts. Herein, also, we differ widely from Comte, for he would attempt to exclude from both science and practice the recognition of anything in the facts which we observe, or are conscious of, beyond the phenomena themselves. But we have shown, at the commencement of this discussion, that even in the recognition of phenomena there is a process involved, which cannot be phenomenal, whatever else it may be.‡

The growing length of this essay warns us that we have not the

* Rabelais, Faictz et Dictz de Gargantua et Pantagruel, No. iv, chap. xliii.

† Hobbes, Glanville, and Malebranche preceded them: so did Aristotle, though obscurely, Metaph., iv, c. 2, &c.

‡ So Leibnitz. Phænomena sensuum veritatem rerum absolute non magis promittunt quam somnia. De Conf. Fid. cum Rat., § 65; Op. tom., i, p. 105.

space requisite for the further development of these views, nor even for those necessary explanations which might guard against their misconception or imperfect apprehension. It also denies us the opportunity of completing our original design by the cautious and critical examination of the different metaphysical systems now in vogue, with such light as the conclusions to which we have come might have afforded us. This has, indeed, been done in the progress of our inquiries, sufficiently to enable an earnest seeker after truth to apply to them the principles we have laid down, if he should find them to be correct after a diligent and candid examination; for speculations on such topics, we can assure our readers, are not to be comprehended and appreciated without careful study. We can only add, here, that our modern systems of metaphysics, and, indeed, all strict systems—(we except Bacon and Aristotle, rightly comprehended without the neglect of either side of their philosophy; but they did not pretend to construct systems)—have erred, and paved the way for strictly consequential infidelity, by attempting to transcend the legitimate limits of the human mind, and to incorporate into their systems what, by its nature, could not fall within their sphere; or by the converse fallacy of denying that which the reason recognises, though it recognises it as inexplicable. The root of error is, in both cases, the same—it is the old sophism of Protagoras, that man is the measure of the universe, with the dependent sophism of Des Cartes and Leibnitz, which has often unconsciously reappeared, that a clear idea is necessarily a true one. It is but too true that philosophers have been so blinded by the glare of their own creations, so hedged in within the narrow limits of their fondly-adored systems, so protected by them from the perception of everything that militates with them, or is not included in them, as rarely to have recognised the solemn and palpable truths expressed in the aphorism of Goëthe:—

> "Wohl unglückselig ist der Mann,
> Der unterlässt das, was er kann,
> Und unterfängt sich, was er nicht versteht;
> Kein Wunder, dass er zu Grunde geht."

Persius, speaking of his own philosophical studies, under Cornutus, beautifully remarks:—

> "Premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat."

How fully is the line exemplified by the "Critical History of the Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century!" How strikingly illustrated by the whole history of metaphysics! and how deeply cognizant of its truth must every man be, who, without being dazzled

by the tinsel glitter of systems, has ever trusted himself to what Coleridge has so happily termed "the quicksilver mines of metaphysical speculation!" Yet it is important to the best interests of humanity that these mines should be at least occasionally re-opened and worked, and that the dangerous fumes should be encountered by a few for the benefit of all. It is not in human power to discard metaphysics altogether, as Morell, Saisset, and Victor Cousin prove, and as Comte exemplifies by his attempt and failure. The paradox attributed to Aristotle* contains an irrefragable truth: "If we ought to philosophise, we must philosophize; if we ought not to philosophize, we must philosophise: in either case, we cannot help philosophizing." Mr. Morell, following step by step in the footprints of Victor Cousin, has shown that philosophy or metaphysics is a natural and inevitable development of the human mind. As it is concerned with the first principles of our knowledge, it is inextricably implicated with all our reasoning. We cannot divest ourselves of its influence if we would. Let it be recollected that the familiar terms of our ordinary language, substance, essence, being, existence, genus, species, property, difference, accident, general, special, particular, individual, quantity, quality—(we have discarded quiddity and entity, though we retain non-entity)—habit, mode, relation, accident, &c., &c., are strictly logical and metaphysical terms, and that they retain much of their philosophic import, though they have lost their technical precision. From this, it may be judged how impossible it is to exclude metaphysics from even the lower circles of reason and practice. Nay, if our metaphysics be erroneous, the error will ultimately reappear in all our reasonings and actions; and such, we think, is peculiarly the case in the present day. A false and corrupt philosophy has infused a corroding venom into the whole organism of society, and has produced a daily-spreading belief that religion must be rejected as inconsistent with science, while, at the same time, it has fearfully sapped all the foundations of faith. The injury which has been introduced by mistaken metaphysical speculation must be redressed by the juster employment of the same: we must fight the fire with fire; and, following the suggestion of Abraham Tucker, we must cure with the spear of Achilles the frightful ulcer which that spear has occasioned. We doubt, indeed, the possibility of constructing a valid metaphysical system; but a valid metaphysical method, whose re-

* Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τινι προτρεπτικῷ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι, ἐν ᾧ προτρέπεται τοὺς νέους φιλοσοφεῖν, λέγει, ὅτι εἴτε φιλοσοφητέον, φιλοσοφητέον, εἴτε μὴ φιλοσοφητέον, φιλοσοφητέον, πάντως δὲ φιλοσοφητέον.—Prolegg. Phil. David, ap. Aristot. Schol., p. 13, a. 2.

sults might be incorporated with our systems of logic, notwithstanding the heated declamation of M. Saisset, we regard as a desideratum capable of being supplied, and necessary to be supplied, before we can hope for a solution of the mental, moral, religious, political, and social contradictions and heresies which are distracting Europe, and introducing disorder into our own country. We regard the enigmas proposed to our times in these several spheres as imperatively demanding speedy and adequate solution. The relation of philosophy to faith is a question of vital and urgent importance. For this reason we consider that the present age is one in which the renewal of the inquiry into the character and foundations of metaphysics is necessary, and the multitude of philosophers shows that the necessity is recognised. For this reason, too, we have girded ourselves for the task, though unused, and ordinarily disinclined to such speculations. But for our own part, we are willing to adopt the verse of Persius, quoted above, as the motto and colophon of our labours,—our motto as indicating the result of our own and all previous speculation—our colophon, as expressing our own belief that the main requisite of our modern philosophy (which is not deficient in either depth or ingenuity, though it be the deceptive depth and fallacious ingenuity of the ancient Sophists) is to confess its inability to evolve the complete explication of the universe out of the powers of the human mind alone, without the previous confession of its entire dependence upon something higher and indemonstrable, beyond the range of human explanation, whence all the validity of accurate reasoning, and the semblance of truth in all fallacy, are derived. It would be a slander on our own doctrines to pretend that our arguments tend to prove the being of God or the truth of revelation—for these we have declared to be beyond the range of human proof; but the tendency of this whole discussion, we think, is to show the necessity of the recognition of both, not from proof, but from the invalidity of all reasoning, which does not start from their acknowledgment, and the acknowledgment of its own dependence thereon. If this doctrine be once definitely established as a logical pre-requisite of all reasoning, we may then hope to remove the apparent discord between science and religion, which has already proved nearly fatal to the latter—we may harmonize philosophy with Christianity, without imitating Saisset in assigning co-ordinate and co-equal powers to both—we may redeem the age from the charge of a lack of faith, which has been too justly brought against it—we may yet see that reconciliation of reason with faith, which Bayle sighed for, and Leibnitz endeavoured to effect—and we may then anticipate, without the arrogant pretension

of a system of metaphysics, a metaphysical method which may merit to become truly the philosophy of the nineteenth century; and, while glorifying the time by its own glory, may offer some alleviation for the innumerable miseries which have resulted from the ostentatious, sophistical, and blighting pretensions of the self-styled age of intellect.

Art. II.—THE USE OF MATHEMATICS IN EDUCATION.

"*The Logic and Utility of Mathematics, with the best methods of instruction explained and illustrated.*" By Charles Davies, L.L. D. Barnes & Co., New-York.

Professor Davies states the object of his work to be "to present the elements of mathematical science separately and in their connexions; to point out and note the mental faculties which it calls into exercise; to show why and how it develops those faculties, and in what respect it gives to the whole mental machinery greater power and certainty of action than can be attained by other studies." In carrying out his plan, he has certainly produced a book of great practical value, if not of the most profound scientific character. Apart from its theoretical views, its practical suggestions, the result of many years' experience as a teacher, will commend the work to all who are engaged in mathematical instruction.

But the question naturally arises, did we need such a work? Is not the world sufficiently satisfied of the importance of mathematical studies? An examination of the course of studies pursued at most of our public institutions, will show that the mathematics have a place in them all; but not by any means the position claimed for them by our author. Indeed, he goes so far as to argue that they are pre-eminently fitted to form the great basis of all education. He asks,—

"What system of training and discipline will best develop and steady the intellect of the young; give vigour and expansiveness to thought, and stability to action? What course of study will most enlarge the sphere of investigation; give the greatest freedom to the mind, without licentiousness, and the greatest freedom to action, consistent with the laws of nature and the obligations of the social compact? What system of study is, from its nature, most likely to insure this training, and contribute to such results, and at the same time lay the foundation of all that is truly great in the practical? It has seemed to me, that mathematical science may lay claim to this pre-eminence."

Now, we believe that the world thinks more of the immediate practical results of mathematics, than of their importance as a means of training for general usefulness. The mass of men, and even of

educated men, are perhaps too easily satisfied with the results of the labours of the engineer and the architect, and have come to consider these purely physical results as the only desirable ones. The work of Professor Davies will do much to dissipate this idea; and to convince men that mathematical studies most naturally and successfully call into exercise and mature those powers of mind upon which excellence in any and all departments of life depends. He has, perhaps, been less guarded in some of his statements than could have been desired; indeed, the book is calculated, almost, to make the impression that this one line of study would of itself be sufficient for the adequate development of the human mind in education. But while we cannot go along with this extreme view, we are yet fully of the opinion, that mathematical studies might with great advantage be commenced earlier, and carried further, than they now are in our seminaries and colleges. Without further reference to the work before us, we shall devote the remainder of this article to a brief consideration of the general subject.

The primary object of education being the development and cultivation of the powers of the mind, that course of instruction is least objectionable which tends to call forth naturally, and exercise strongly, all the intellectual faculties; and that student is best educated, who, at the conclusion of his course, has most entire command of these powers. For the attainment of this end it would seem natural that the subjects of study should be varied,—not merely to meet the varied classes of mind to be educated, but to afford expansiveness and play to each individual mind. And there is no just ground for the fear that formerly prevailed, that these separate branches of study cannot be carried on simultaneously without detriment to either. No one in this age of the world is prepared to deny the usefulness of classical training. No other *one* means of education is to be compared with it, for imparting the power of delicate discrimination in the use of words, or of quick perception of the different shades of thought and feeling expressed by language. But while we would not have these studies neglected, we claim a high rank for mathematics as best adapted to secure habits of attention and accuracy; to develop the powers of abstraction, generalization and analysis; and to cultivate the power of close reasoning, with much that goes to form certainty and strength of judgment.

Locke remarks that, "among all the ideas we have, as there is none suggested to the mind by more ways, so there is none more simple, than that of unity, or one. * * * It is the most intimate to our thoughts, as well as the most general idea we have." This idea is the basis of all mathematical science. All the operations of

the different branches of mathematics are but modifications of it. The principles upon which these modifications are based, are so simple and apparent, that they may well be termed axioms, or self-evident truths. They are general propositions; and "are perfectly conceived by a simple process of induction, the moment the facts on which they depend are apprehended." This basis gives force and certainty to all legitimate operations upon the fundamental idea, and is the source of the authority of mathematical demonstration.

In studying the most simple branches of the science, the learner operates upon the most obvious ideas he possesses, by using their simplest relations: to these he can always refer as tests of accuracy; they are few and simple, while the fundamental truths of all other sciences are numerous, complicate, and remote. As the student advances, he finds that every operation implies its own test,—furnishes from its own conditions the means of ascertaining the accuracy of the result. In algebra, the truthfulness of the answer is, to a certain extent, apparent in its very statement. In addition to this, in these operations there are no superfluities; every element has its use and application—every particle, though infinitely small, forms an integral part of the whole, and must appear in the result. Who can fail to perceive how such uses of such principles, must tend to form habits of precision and accuracy?

The power of analysis, as well as of generalization, is developed most advantageously by mathematical training. To separate into elements, to distinguish between parts, and to classify these elements and parts, is the office of the mathematician. The solution of every algebraic equation demands the exercise of the faculty of discrimination, which in other departments of study is so essential to clearness and accuracy. The known and unknown quantities must be distinguished and appropriately arranged; the factors which enter into these quantities must be discussed and classified; and the whole process is, in fact, but the analysis of the truth expressed in the general questions given for solution.

The process of generalization is but the reverse of this operation of analysis, and the power to generalize—to grasp formulæ which, though brief and concise, shall yet contain all the particular principles on which the operation depends—is justly regarded as one of the most important mental operations. It is useful, not only in every branch of study, but in every department of life. It enables us to express in simple sentences truths, whose elucidation would require volumes. There are no studies which so easily, so naturally, so necessarily lead to the formation of these habits as the mathematics; and the operations of mathematics afford

opportunities for practice in them which no other studies give. In other departments, the student is expected to do at once, what he is taught by repeated efforts to do in the mathematics; and if he fail in his attempt, he is not led on by an observation of principles to their gradual development, but is shown a specimen of what he is to achieve, and told to imitate it. If an analysis of any particular work is required, he is shown the instructor's analysis of the first chapter, and left to exercise his ingenuity, and torture his ignorance, in futile attempts to present the argument with form and comeliness. We cannot believe this to be so good a method as that which the study of mathematics affords; and if we take into the account the habit of patient attention and continued research that these studies develop—the mental calmness and elevation they engender, we are forced to believe that the man who aspires to eminence in any department of life requiring labour, research, and a grasp of general principles, with undiminished hold upon minute particulars, can in no other way more easily attain his object, than by pursuing a course of mathematics.

The power of abstraction is probably first developed and best cultivated in mathematical studies. The separation of the idea of numbers from the objects connected with them is one of the first operations of abstraction. A child can tell that one orange and two oranges make three oranges, long before he can understand that one and two make three. When he can thus abstract numbers from the things they represent, the child is able to begin any of the more complicated operations of arithmetic. A more complete abstraction is required in understanding algebra; for here the figures which have become familiar in arithmetic are to be discarded for letters, which have a more general signification. From this we may ascend to those branches which require a degree of abstraction that no other studies demand, and to investigations more general than the language employed in the metaphysical and moral sciences will admit. Who does not know that there are parts of analysis in the higher calculus, where the path of discovery is so dark, and the mental processes so subtle and evanescent, that the most profound masters—while they have with wonder admitted the certainty of the conclusion—have been staggered and divided about the nature and even the truth of the principles by which it is attained?

If this power be desirable, where else can it be so well developed? What other branches of study present for use a language so complete, so simple, capable of expressing the simplest fact, and of unfolding, by a different arrangement of the same signs, the most recondite and hidden truths of philosophy?

The objection has however been brought against mathematical studies on this point, that they too completely absorb the mind, and unfit it for the ordinary duties of common life. And we are pointed with great glee, and many witticisms, to the mathematician in his study, boiling his watch, with an egg in his hand—so completely abstracted from all surrounding circumstances, as to give them no heed. That *some* mathematicians have been "absent-minded" men, is unquestionably true; and it may also be admitted that the study of the science is an absorbing one to those who pursue it thoroughly and exclusively. But the cause is not to be found in the study itself, but rather in the fascination which its power and beauty throw around the mind. The pleasure derived from mathematical operations is not entirely owing to the exactness of the results obtained, but arises, in part, from the simplicity and uniformity of the language which the science of necessary truth employs,—neatness, conciseness, and simplicity constitute the elegance of any scientific demonstration, and these elements convey to the mind a peculiar pleasure. The elegance of a system depends upon the regularity with which its departments are ordered, and the simplicity of their connexions with fundamental principles. The concise and simple expression of this regularity in the structure of the language appropriated to describe and enumerate these various parts, is productive of the same satisfaction, and completes the agreeable uniformity. Thus, the nearer we approach perfection in the language of science, the more real pleasure we derive from its cultivation. And the attainment of these desiderata in the mathematics, gives them a rank far beyond all other sciences. The language employed has, by continued accessions, reached a point where improvement seems not only impossible, but even undesirable. The mathematician is enabled, in consequence, to enjoy the same kind of pleasure in scientific details, that he receives from beauty of style in works of imagination; or that the cultivated musician derives from reading a musical composition without sounding a single note. What wonder, then, that the man devoted to these studies becomes absorbed by them! What wonder, that, when he is discussing some truth which, though written upon the heavens, has never found an interpreter, he should, in the sublimity of such contemplations, lose sight of mere temporary and physical necessities! If the language he uses produces melody to his ear, and if his mind is gazing upon an unkown planet whose existence the sweeping telescope shall afterwards reveal,—let him alone; he communes with God in the exercise of a god-like faculty, and by such communion the world is benefitted.

Close reasoning is an object with every scholar, and, with a view

to a general education, is perhaps the most important result of mathematical training. The number of those who have leisure, taste, or capacity for abstract researches, must of necessity be very limited; but all, who, in any condition of society, aspire to the liberal and cultivated exercise of their faculties, will derive inestimable benefit from that previous discipline of the understanding, which the study of the mathematical sciences seems so admirably fitted to bestow.

It has, however, been objected, that the study of the mathematics, tending as it does to demonstration, unfits the mind for moral or probable reasoning. This we cannot admit. In the work before us, Professor Davies has made it one of his leading objects—

> "To point out the correspondence between the science of logic and the science of mathematics; to show, in fact, that mathematical reasoning conforms in every respect to the strictest rules of logic, and is indeed but logic applied to the abstract quantities, number and space."

We think he has laboured successfully, and, having always recognised this truth, though we do not remember ever to have seen its demonstration or elucidation attempted before, we have never felt the force of the distinctions that some have been accustomed to draw between mathematical and probable reasoning. The process of reasoning is the same in both,—the relation of the premises to the conclusion may be no less apparent in the one case than in the other; the difference in the force of the reasoning is not in the form, but in the certainty and necessity of the fundamental truths from which the reasoning proceeds.

A student can learn to reason more easily, when, in the examples presented to him, the relation of each step to the preceding one is clearly evident, and when the fundamental proposition is true of necessity, than when the steps are doubtful, and the premises obscure. And as in the mathematics the reasonings are all based on self-evident truths, and are conducted by means of the most striking relations between the known and unknown, these characteristics give to the system a great superiority as a plan for practice. And we firmly believe, that, with a proper explanation of the characteristic differences existing between the fundamental principles of mathematics and the first principles of other sciences, the student may use the facility acquired in demonstration, in the elucidation of any other argument, or in the pursuit of any other discussion. He may feel that there is not equal certainty in the result, but he will be able readily to perceive that this does not arise from any defect in the reasoning—any difference in the logic; but from a difference in the things to which the logic is applied.

But whatever may be the true theory on this point, experience has not proved that those who discard the discussion of mathematical questions, and the power thereby developed, are any more apt to reach right conclusions on moral subjects, than those who approve them. No one more strenuously opposed mathematical studies on this ground than the celebrated Gibbon. He says, "As soon as I understood the principles, I relinquished forever the pursuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I desisted before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration, so destructive to those finer feelings of moral evidence, which must however determine the actions and opinions of our lives." This opinion is given as the dictum of a man whose "finer feeling of moral evidence," all unhardened by habits of rigid demonstration, led him to denounce Christianity as a fable and Christ as an impostor! While it is a notorious truth, that almost all the best judges of moral evidence, and particularly the great advocates for the truth of Christianity, have been men of mathematical training. And it would have been happy for Mr. Gibbon, and for the world, if his "finer feeling" for this method of induction had led him to form a better acquaintance with their writings.

But it is sometimes objected, that the operations of mathematics, being each one essentially particular, contract the mind, and unfit it for comprehending an extensive subject. The surprising discoveries that have been made in this science, and the power of making them which the study of certain parts communicates, by leading the mind along the natural path of invention, are sufficient answers to this objection. But it ought not to be forgotten, that if the view of the mind is circumscribed in a particular proposition, while the attention is fixed upon a single point, still, few employments give exercise to a greater grasp and comprehension of mind, than the keeping in view an ultimate object through all the parts of a long mathematical operation, and observing the bearing of each argument and each proposition on the final result. At the same time, the isolation of thought thus engendered arms the mind with microscopic power, and gives a fulness and completeness to the results of its operations, which can only thus be obtained.

Nor need we fear that the study of the mathematics will tend to form a mechanical and sceptical character, or render the student insensible to nice shades of evidence, or unsusceptible of beauty and truth in matters of taste and morals. It would not be difficult, though the task would far exceed our present limits, to obviate most of the force of this objection, which we fear operates in many minds

to the prejudice of mathematical pursuits, by reasonings on the nature of the science, and its necessary effects upon the mind. We must refer our readers for the consideration of this point to the work of Professor Davies. But it is unnecessary to confute by argument, what history so plainly contradicts:—Plato, the very representative of genius and imagination, wrote as the inscription for the portals of the academy, "Let no one enter here who is ignorant of Geometry." Pascal, whose originality of thought and faultless taste gave splendour to the literature of his native land, was a mathematician distinguished by his love for the science, and the success with which he cultivated it. Did Des Cartes reason less profoundly, or discriminate less logically, because of his mathematical skill? Was the theology of Dr. Barrow less orthodox, or his eloquence less convincing, because he had filled the chair of mathematics at the university? Or did Stewart investigate the laws of mind with less skill, or examine with less patience the parts of this boundless science, or treat the whole with diminished power, taste, and beauty, because for years he laboured in the department of mathematics at Edinburgh? The fact is, that nothing tends more effectually than mathematical demonstration to the attainment of those habits of precision, neatness, and accuracy, that make and mark the scholar in any department of life.

In addition to these advantages, there remains to be noticed the elevation of mind consequent upon constant meditation on sublime subjects. It must be remembered that astronomy is, to a great extent, a mathematical science; and that a new world has been discovered in the heavens by the calculations of the mathematician. The ancients, as they walked the plains of the East, and looked inquiringly into the calm depths of creation, from out which the stars gleamed, were ready to ask, Who shall ascend into heaven to bring them down? But the modern astronomer, by the aid of his mathematical tables, weighs them, computes their orbits and their revolutions, and ascertains them with as much accuracy as though he had trod the realms of ether, and measured them all with the rod of the angel of the Apocalypse.

The world acknowledges the debt under which it rests to mathematicians for the elevation of philosophy and letters. Not only have they laboured successfully in the other departments to which they have devoted themselves, but they have done much in their own proper sphere to elevate mankind. They construct the almanacs, which at one time were the only popular literature, and which now penetrate with their illumination portions of our land where the school-book is unknown, and the Bible never opened. They

built the pyramids, brought the light of science and of letters into Europe, and discovered the New World. They cover the earth with the iron tracks, along which "the rattling engine and the rumbling car" are carried by the power of steam,—they thread the air with the iron nerves, along which thought is conveyed with the speed of electricity,—they cover the ocean with the white wings of our ships, for they construct the charts by which the safety of navigation is effected.

Though Homer and Æschylus sang divinely in Greece, yet that classic land boasts no higher names than Plato and Aristotle. Galileo and Torricelli gathered more fame for Italy, than Dante and Tasso. France glories more in the names of D'Alembert and La Place, than in those of Voltaire and Racine; and there are no gems of purer brilliancy in the coronet of England's fame, than the names of Bacon, Barrow, Napier, and Newton.

Art. III.—ELIZABETH FRY.

1. *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from her Letters and Journal, &c.* Edited by two of her Daughters. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry.* By Rev. Thomas Timpson.

"What a scene," says Wilberforce, "does this world exhibit to any spiritual being who from his elevation sees the globe go once round!" Such an elevation seems to have been attained by some mortals whose spirits were "touched to fine issues," and who, "in obedience to the heavenly vision," devoted their energies, with all their newborn intensity of purpose, to deeds of beneficence and piety. Deeply moved by such a view of the condition of his race, Howard no longer found pleasure or repose in the improvement of his beautiful estate at Cardington, and in devising plans for ameliorating the condition of his tenantry. After a glimpse of the world's misery, he could not till his little field in peace, when wide-spread wastes demanded culture. From his own genial fireside, that gladdened with light and warmth the domestic and social circle, he passed on to a higher sphere of usefulness, where his illustrious example became a beacon light to guide the philanthropist of his own and of succeeding generations.

The name of Elizabeth Fry, his successor in these philanthropic labours, has been so long "a word of beauty," that it was with no common interest we opened the Memoir of her Life, edited by her

daughters,—no book to carry to the fireside, or to read between the dawn and dusk of a midsummer day, but two ponderous octavos of five hundred pages each,—rather formidable in these days when "of making many books there is no end." The thread of her life is interwoven with so many others, that it would be difficult to give a faithful portrait of her without touching upon the eventful passages in the history of the numerous family connexions in whose weal and woe she so strongly sympathized. Then the barest outline of her "religious visits" and her frequent journeys would make a good-sized volume; and as these "dry bones of fact must be clothed with the raiment of thought" and feeling, we appreciate the difficulty of any attempt to compress their ample materials by her biographers. Mr. Thomas Timpson, whose work we have placed at the head of our article, was not thus troubled. He had no access to any of Mrs. Fry's family papers, yet during her life, if we mistake not, he commenced his labours as her self-appointed biographer, and with the addition of the closing scenes of her history from the pen of her brother, he presented his book to satisfy the awakened public curiosity, before the mass of her letters and papers could be prepared for publication. His only personal acquaintance with her was when he acted as Secretary to the "Coast-Guard Library Committee," and his only records were printed reports and pamphlets. Of course his book is meagre and unsatisfactory, giving merely an outside and distant view of Mrs. Fry's character, and with this many readers, deterred by the size of the large work from purchasing and reading it, will content themselves.

Elizabeth Fry was born in the year 1780, of an ancient family in Norfolk. For four generations her ancestors had been Quakers, and her family was allied to the Barclays, Hanburys, and other leading Quaker families in the kingdom. Till she was five years of age, Mr. Gurney, her father, resided at Norwich, and in the summer at the pretty little village of Bramerton;—to this place she traces the formation of her early tastes, especially of that love of nature, "from the mountain to the field flower," which was a marked feature in her character. "The beauty and wild scenery of the Common; the trees, and flowers, and little rills that abounded on it; the farm-houses and cottages of the poor," awoke, in the little child, the love of the country and attention to the poor, which remained with her through her womanhood. She retained a vivid remembrance of her poor neighbours—"Greengrass, with her strawberries round a pond, and one-armed Betty, and the gardener who brought them fish from a pond." She had a deep reverence for her father and mother: her mother had, with great personal beauty, fine abilities and attain-

ments, and though not fully enlightened as to spiritual things, she was earnest and sincere, praying and reading the Bible with her children, and training them in the love and fear of God. It would indeed have given a new impulse to her maternal labours, could she have known that she was moulding the character of Elizabeth Fry. Parents "know not what" their children "shall be;" but they should labour as does the workman in the manufactory of the *Gobelins*, who, with the wrong side of the tapestry before him, sits patiently day after day inworking his many-coloured threads. To his eye all is confusion, but to the spectator, from a different stand-point, is revealed the picture with its rich colours and its rare beauty. Elizabeth Fry dwells fondly on the recollections of her childhood.

"I remember with pleasure my mother's beds for wild flowers, which, with delight, I used as a child to attend to with her; it gave me that pleasure in observing their beauties and varieties, that, though I never have had time to become a botanist, few can imagine in my many journeys how I have been pleased and refreshed, by observing and enjoying the wild flowers on my way. Again, she collected shells, and had a cabinet, and bought one for Rachel and myself, where we placed our curiosities; and I may truly say, in the midst even of deep trouble, and often most weighty engagements of a religious and philanthropic nature, I have derived advantage, refreshment, and pleasure, from my taste for these things, making collections of them, and various natural curiosities, although, as with the flowers, I have not studied them scientifically. My mother also encouraged my most close friendship with my sister Rachel, and we had our pretty light closet, our books, our pictures, our curiosities, our tea-things, all to ourselves."—Vol. i., p. 23.

This devoted mother died when Elizabeth was twelve years of age, leaving eleven children, the eldest scarcely seventeen, the youngest not two years old. The family had removed seven years before her death to Earlham Hall, a large, old, irregular house, situated in a well-wooded park, the river Wensum flowing near it; on the banks of which, beneath the shade of ancient trees, these young people were wont to meet, to walk, and read, and sketch, on summer evenings. In this lovely home Elizabeth's childhood passed away; and here she and her sisters grew up to womanhood. No quiet Quakeresses they: left by an indulgent father to their own devices, with an obscure faith and wavering principle, they associated familiarly with worldly and irreligious people, danced, dressed gayly, and made the old walls of Earlham echo with their native warblings and their gushing merriment. Elizabeth, a tall, graceful girl, with a sweet, pleasing countenance, and "a profusion of soft, flaxen hair," was an excellent horsewoman, and rode fearlessly through the country attired in a scarlet riding habit. It was an eventful day in her history when she went to hear William Savery, an American Friend, who was to minister at the meeting-house in

Norwich, two miles from Earlham. Elizabeth, "rather restless, with smart purple boots laced with scarlet, sat with her six sisters under the gallery." Who would have singled her out as destined to become one of the first of Christian heroines, one of the noblest of philanthropists? But the light was dawning. At that meeting, "the gayest" that William Savery "ever sat in," her attention was fixed by the voice and manner of the stranger, and her heart penetrated with his words. She dined with him at her uncle's—went to meeting again in the afternoon—and wept most of the way during the drive home. The next morning he came to breakfast, after which he preached to the young girl, now awaking to new thoughts of immortality and of God, and predicted (surely the spirit of the future must have looked out of her eyes!) "the high and important calling into which she would be led." Soon after, she visited London, and there plunged into its gayeties—went to Drury Lane and Covent Garden—was intimate with Mrs. Opie—visited Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Inchbald—"enjoyed grand company," dinners, and routs—and at the Opera found "the house dazzling, the company animating, the dancing delightful;" and of these scenes of vanity she afterwards deliberately records her opinion:—

"The lessons then learnt are to this day valuable to me. I consider one of the important results was, the conviction of these things being wrong, from seeing them and feeling their effects. I wholly gave up, on my own ground, attending all public places of amusement; I saw they tended to promote evil; therefore, even if I could attend them without being hurt myself, I felt in entering them I lent my aid to promote that which I was sure from what I saw hurt others,—led many from the paths of rectitude and chastity, and brought them into much sin; particularly those who had to act in plays, sing in concerts. I felt the vanity and folly of what are called the pleasures of this life, of which the tendency is not to satisfy, but eventually to enervate and injure the heart and mind."—Vol. i., p. 55.

One of the first entries in her diary after her visit to London, declares, that she does not find Earlham at all dull, and mentions a visit to a dying servant in the park. She was not spoiled by the London season. She then refers to a dream which repeatedly visited her "in slumberings on the bed," and there "sealed instruction." Till she was seventeen, she says, she was "flirting, idle, rather proud and vain," wrapt up in trifles, never thinking of religion, sceptical in her principles. About this time she "never missed a week without dreaming" that she "was nearly washed away by the sea;" and night after night she "felt all the terror of being drowned, or hope of being saved." After William Savery came to Norwich, she "went on dreaming the dream;" but the day when she felt that she "had really and truly got true and real faith,

that night she dreamed the sea was coming as usual to wash her away, but she was beyond its reach." She never dreamed the dream again! A visit to Colebrook Dale, the residence of the well-known philanthropist, Richard Reynolds, and of other valuable Friends, strengthened Elizabeth's faith, and presented Quakerism in a new and interesting light before her. While here, Deborah Darby, a female preacher, prophesied that Elizabeth "was to be eyes to the blind, speech to the dumb, feet to the lame." On her return, she resumed her habits of visiting the poor, and a little school of poor children, whom she taught on Sunday evenings, so increased in numbers that she met them in the laundry; and when, on the eve of her marriage, they assembled for the last time, eighty-six mourned the loss of their fair young teacher. Her diary, which is at this time rather monotonous, exhibits her gradual progress. She literally *felt* her way, "proving all things, and holding fast to that which is good." The peculiarities of Quakerism—the Shibboleth of her sect—troubled her most, because her reason did not fully approve of them, but as she found increasing comfort from their adoption, she soon became established in the faith and forms of a Friend. In August, 1800, she married Joseph Fry, a member of the Society of Friends, and a merchant in extensive business in London, and she at once removed to a capacious house in St. Mildred's Court, where her husband, as junior partner, resided.

Before following her to her new dwelling and her altered life, we will linger at Earlham Hall, and look upon that group of brothers and sisters that made it illustrious. Would that some gossiping pen had traced for us its angles and quadrangles; its dining and drawing-rooms; its nooks and corners, with the minuteness that Southey has the house of his grandmother. We should then have felt more at home in this Earlham family—"the new constellation," for which Wilberforce wanted "a name that would include all that was to be esteemed, loved, respected, coveted." There was Joseph John Gurney, so well known for his appeals for the oppressed, for his unwearied philanthropy; and Rachel, the joint-owner with Elizabeth of "the light closet and the little set of tea-things"—the beautiful, lively, warm-hearted girl—the generous, self-sacrificing woman. There, too, was Louisa, better known as Mrs. Samuel Hoare, who wrote Hints on Education, and some other works, and was said to be the most talented of the family; and John, remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the fascination of his manner, and, when refined by affliction, for his lovely Christian character; and Priscilla, the youngest, and perhaps the most gifted—in the expression of her lovely face, her delicate complexion, the exquisite neatness and simplicity

of her dress, her skill in the use of the pencil and the needle—in all this she was the very woman; and to this she added a very superior mind and powers of eloquence, which, dormant as they would have been in the possession of most women, were in her developed in no ordinary degree as she spoke in the character of minister among Friends, with a clearness of perception, with a power and pathos, which ranked her, in the estimation of competent judges, among the first orators of the day. Southey says, "There are two impossibilities,—for a stranger to find his way about Norwich, and to know the names of all the Gurneys;" so we will decline the task of completing this brilliant circle. The genial and powerful influence it exerted was strikingly exemplified in the transformation it produced in the character of Thomas Fowell Buxton, who came from school with his friend, John Gurney, to spend his holidays at Earlham. He came a self-willed, unformed boy, fond of the pleasures of the field, and not fond of study,—he departed with new aspirations awakened within him. The native power "coiled up" in his mind was drawn forth by contact with the intellectual and cultivated minds around him; and this and subsequent visits shaped his destiny, and led him to obtain that religious faith which gave symmetry and proportion to his noble character. Laden with college honours, the fruits of laborious and self-denying study, he came to claim the hand of Hannah Gurney, of which he had proved himself so worthy. The same burning ardour and intense power of concentration which made him prosperous in his business, made him, when enlisted in the stern struggle with gigantic evils, one of the first men of his time, the associate and successor of Wilberforce in the great work of Emancipation—the co-labourer with his brothers-in-law, Samuel Hoare and the two Gurneys.

This lovely group of brothers and sisters all became pious, though they walked in divergent paths—some of them joining the Established Church, while others remained in the Society of Friends. Elizabeth Fry maintained with them through life the closest intimacy, and in intercourse with them, with her brother-in-law, the Rev. Francis Cunningham, and with other evangelical Christians, her own spirit grew more catholic; she ascertained her own views with more luminous exactness, as she was called upon to defend them in conversation with others, and in after years, having visited the different branches of the family, she says:—

"My desire is, as I go along, to take a leaf out of every one's book; and surely at Lowestoft, Earlham, North Repps, Lynn, and Runcton, I might do it. It is well to see the truth through different mediums: for, however the colour of the glass that we see it through may vary, the truth itself remains the

same; and beholding it of many hues, may be the means of throwing fresh light on divers parts of it. How does the knowledge of others often make us think little of ourselves! At least I find it so, and am much humbled in most of your houses."—Vol. ii., p. 168.

Of one of these visits her sister, Mrs. Cunningham, gives a glowing account. It presents a picture of social intercourse sanctified and brightened by the introduction of heavenly truth.

"On Tuesday we went off to breakfast with the Hawtreys. As usual, we met with a warm reception, and had a cheerful, pleasant, talking breakfast with them; the family service afterwards was peculiarly edifying. Surely these times do have a peculiar savour which is not to be forgotten; it adds to the precious seasons which are foretastes of heaven. Her mind appears to me in more lively exercise, and more gifted than ever; rich both in graces and gifts. She is indeed beloved of the Lord, and dwells in safety by him. Wednesday was a full day: my sister and I walked about most of the morning, visiting the schools, making calls, &c. Nothing can be more benevolent and beautiful than her spirit, overflowing with love and tenderness. Our dinner party was not very large, but cheerful and pleasant: the first part of the evening was necessarily devoted to the agreeable; after which my little society of women and several others assembled in the parlour. My beloved sister went to them, and gave them a little sketch of her Newgate histories. We afterwards all removed into the drawing-room, and had a beautiful meeting, very suited to the subject we had been upon. My husband took the Prodigal Son as the subject for reading, which my sister applied to herself and to all of us, as being led as penitents to return to our Father's house; and O! the display of mercy, and of goodness, and of longsuffering, in the exquisite character of the God of Israel! The prayer at the conclusion was, as usual, like an air from heaven. I hardly know any Scriptural treat so great as uniting with her in *prayer!* it is such a heavenly song—so spiritual; so elevating, enjoying glimpses as it were of the eternal world. Our large party then broke up in much love."—Vol. ii., p. 166.

In later life, when Mrs. Fry's children were grown up and married, and had chosen other religious teachings than those by which their early youth was guided, she established "Philanthropic Evenings," on which occasions were gathered together once a month her children and grand-children, for prayer, religious communing, and counsel upon benevolent objects. These were found most pleasant and profitable, and perhaps they might suggest a means of union and usefulness for large family connexions. This plan we once saw carried out in a family dwelling in one of those well-ordered English homes emparadised in beauty. The system which made the gardens and conservatories, stables and laundries, models of order, pervaded their plans of benevolence, which were not spasmodic, but incorporated into their daily life. Once a month a family council was held; parents and children gave reports of the success of their different charities; and appropriations were made for the coming month.

Elizabeth Fry's London home afforded full scope for the exercise

of hospitality. Her own large family and members of her husband's were constant guests, and at the Yearly Meeting her house was thrown open for the reception of Friends, assembled from all parts of the kingdom. Strange contrasts were there—her young, beautiful sisters in the light classic draperies then fashionable, and the plain caps and black silk hoods, the ample folds and long peaked waists of the drab camlet gowns worn by the Friends. Engagements multiplied. Amid the manifold cares of life, she was ofttimes "thankful merely to get through the day;" and she felt that it was "a sad thing to spend one's life in visiting and being visited:" and of how many lives passed in the bustle of large cities is this the sum and substance! During these nine years of London life six children were added to her family, and she passed through many illnesses and much suffering. She found herself, instead of being, as she hoped, "a useful member of the church militant, a care-worn wife and mother." But even amid her own domestic cares, when sickness and death invaded the circle of her friends, her ready hand smoothed their pillow, her gentle voice breathed words of Christian hope into the ears of the departing, and the poor and needy were visited and relieved. At the death-bed, and by the open grave of her father, who during his last illness laid hold "with simplicity and ardour" on the hope set before him, and died in joy and peace, expressing to his assembled children his "belief that they had been to him a strength and stimulus in all good things," Elizabeth Fry uttered the grateful ascription, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty: just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints,—be pleased to receive our thanksgiving!" She now obeyed the monitions of the secret voice which had long called her to the exercise of the ministry among the Friends; shrinking as a modest, retiring woman from this public vocation, but following the convictions of duty, she from this time forth devoted herself to the work.

In 1809, Mr. Fry removed his family to Plashet, an estate in Essex, on which his father had resided, still retaining, however, the house in St. Mildred's Court for their winter home. A pleasant change it must have been for Mrs. Fry, from the smoke and din of London to the pure air and the calm of a country life. Mr. Fry made extensive improvements in the estate, and Mrs. Fry and her children, "Dennis Regan, the Irish gardener, and the Norfolk nurse," were busily occupied with baskets and trowels in transplanting primroses and violets from the fields and hedges, and making beds of wild-flowers. It would have been easy for the wife and mother to become absorbed in these new and delightful occupations, rejoicing in the beauties of nature, observing the transforming power

of wealth and taste in producing velvet lawns, luxuriant gardens, wooded walks and shrubbery, and in watching the gradual unfolding of her children—those human flowers. And thus have multitudes of the high-born, well-bred, and highly educated, dwellers in luxurious homes, glided through life, doing nothing more for our lost and ruined race than making occasional visits, and bestowing alms upon the poor families in their neighbourhood. But Elizabeth Fry could not satisfy herself with so narrow a sphere of useful activity; while she diligently performed social and neighbourhood duties, she felt the power of her vocation to a broader field. She established a girl's school for the parish, persuading an old man and his sister, who dwelt in a picturesque, dilapidated house, with gable end and projecting porch, opposite the gate of Plashet House, to give up a modern room attached to the old building for a school-room; and here a school of about seventy girls was organized, which, though removed to a more central position, is still in existence. One closet in Mrs. Fry's house was filled with garments, and another with medicines for the poor; and in hard winters she had gallons of soup boiled in an out-house, supplying hundreds of poor people with a nourishing meal. She frequently visited two long rows of hovels inhabited by some poor Irish, about half a mile from Plashet, threading her way through children and pigs, up winding stairways and by narrow passages, to the rooms she sought. On one occasion, in a season of extreme cold, she "drove to Irish row with the carriage literally piled up with flannel petticoats," which her children assisted her in distributing; she induced some of them to adopt more orderly habits, and to send their children to school; and by the permission of their priest, she circulated the Bible among them. Small-pox was rarely known in the villages over which her influence extended, as, at intervals, she investigated the state of the parish, with a view to vaccinating the children, frequently performing this operation herself. The gipsies, those Pariahs in England, removed by their vices and habits from contact and association with the people, were not out of the pale of Mrs. Fry's sympathies. They were accustomed, in their annual migrations, to encamp in a green lane near Plashet. A gipsy mother applied for relief for a sick child, and Mrs. Fry at once took advantage of this open door to do them good. She visited their camp, carrying with her food and clothing; bestowed on them medical advice; remonstrated with them on their evil ways; and set before them the path of life. Bibles were distributed, and year after year these exertions for their good were continued.

But a wider field was opening for the exercise of Mrs. Fry's benevolence. In 1813, at the request of her brother-in-law, Samuel

Hoare, and three other members of the Society of Friends, she visited Newgate, accompanied by Anna Buxton, sister of Sir T. Fowell Buxton. Newgate was then a scene of horror: hundreds of prisoners, men and women, huddled together without any classification; the tried and untried in rags, filth and idleness—corrupting and corrupted. It was like a den of wild beasts, considered unsafe for a woman to enter. She at once employed her children in preparing green baize garments for the most destitute of these wretched women. Four years, however, passed away before she entered upon those systematic efforts for the relief of the prisoners, which resulted in so much good. These were to Mrs. Fry years of deep affliction; the death of her brother, John Gurney, and of her paternal friend, J. Gurney Bevan; loss of property and severe cough, which confined her many weeks to her room, and frequent illnesses in her family; and above all, the death of a lovely little girl of five years old, who bore her mother's name, and was more like her in character, appearance, and manner than any of her children—these were the afflictions sent by her heavenly Father to refine and purify this chosen instrument for the accomplishment of his benevolent purposes.

The transformations effected by Mrs. Fry in Newgate, have become a matter of history. Her gentle voice, her holy teachings, her wise regulations, evoked order out of this wild chaos. Into this scene of horror, "of begging, swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, and dancing," she introduced quietness and industry, The women were neatly dressed; employment was furnished them; they were divided into classes of twelve, including a monitor; and a matron was appointed to superintend them, and to keep an exact account of their work and their conduct. A school was established for the children of the prisoners, and the women assembled twice a day to listen to the reading of the Scriptures. All these changes were brought about by the voluntary and hearty co-operation of the women. Eleven ladies assisted Mrs. Fry in these labours, forming The Ladies' Newgate Association. Their watchful care over the prisoners ceased not with their removal from Newgate for transportation. Instead of breaking windows and furniture before their departure, and going off in open wagons "shouting amidst assembled crowds," Mrs. Fry succeeded in having them removed in hackney coaches with turnkeys in attendance, while she, with other ladies, in her own carriage, accompanied them to Deptford. The convicts on board the ship were arranged in classes with their monitor, patch-work and knitting were provided for them, religious books were placed within their reach, and a school established for their unfortunate children. The parting services on board these ships were peculiarly impres-

sive, as Mrs. Fry with her fine voice and melodious intonation prayed and read the Scriptures to those wretched creatures, to whom she seemed "an angel of mercy." One of these occasions, presenting a scene worthy of the poet's or the painter's pencil, is thus described by Miss Young, daughter of Admiral Young:—

"On board one of them, (the female convict ships lying off Woolwich,) between two and three hundred women were assembled, in order to listen to the exhortations and prayers of perhaps the two brightest personifications of Christian philanthropy that the age could boast. Scarcely could two voices, even so distinguished for beauty and power, be imagined, united in a more touching engagement, as indeed was testified by the breathless attention, the tears, and the suppressed sobs of the gathered listeners. All of man's word, however, there heard, heart-stirring as it was at the time, has faded from my memory; but no lapse of time can ever efface the impression of the 107th Psalm as read by Mrs. Fry, with such extraordinary emphasis and intonation, that it seemed to make the simple reading a commentary, and, as she passed on from passage to passage, struck my youthful mind as if the whole series of allusions might have been written by the pen of inspiration, in view of such a scene as was then before us. At an interval of twenty years, it is recalled to me as often as that Psalm is brought to my notice. Never in this world can it be known to how many hearts its solemn appeals were that day carried home, by that potent voice."—Vol. ii., p. 20.

It was, in returning from a visit to one of these convict ships, that Mrs. Fry, and her friend and associate, Mrs. Pryor, met with an adventure of which Mr. Martin, the present harbour-master at Ramsgate, has given a spirited account:—

"It was on a fine sultry day, in the summer of 1821, that I was racing up the River Thames in the command of the Ramsgate Steam Packet Eagle, hoping to overtake our Margate competitors, the Victory and Favourite steamers, and bringing them nearer to view as we rounded the points of the Reach of the river. It was in the midst of this excitement that we encountered one of those sudden thunder squalls, so common in this country, and which, passing rapidly off with a heavy rain, leave behind them a strong and increasing northerly gale. I was looking out ahead, pleasing myself with the reflection that we were the fastest vessel against a head wind, and should certainly overtake our Margate friends; when, upon entering Long Reach, about two miles below Purfleet, I saw a boat labouring with very little effect against the gale, and with a whole ebb-tide just making to add to their difficulties: in this boat were two ladies, in the close habit of the Society of Friends, evidently drenched with the heavy shower which had overtaken them. I was then a dashing, high-spirited sailor; but I had always a secret admiration of the quiet demeanour of that Society, and occasionally had some of them passengers with me, always intelligent and inquiring, and always pleased with any information a seaman could extend to them. Well, here was a dilemma! To stop would spoil my chase, in which most of my passengers were as eager as myself—but to go on and pass two ladies in such a situation! I passed the word softly to the engineer; desired the mate to steer alongside the boat carefully; threw the delighted rowers a rope, and before the passengers were fully aware that we had stopped the engine, the ladies were on board, the boat made fast astern, and the Eagle again flying up the Thames. I have those two persons strongly, nay, indelibly stamped upon my mind's eye. The one I had last as-

sisted on board still held my hand, as she thanked me with dignified but beautiful expression: 'It is kind of thee, captain, and we thank thee. We made no sign to thee; having held up our handkerchiefs to the other packets, we did not think we should succeed with thee.' I assured them that I could not have passed them under such circumstances, and called the stewardess to take them below into the ladies' cabin, and see to their comfort. They had been well cloaked, and had not suffered so much as I had anticipated.

"The gale had cleared away the rain, and in a very short time they came upon deck again. One of them was Mrs. Fry, and she never lost an opportunity of doing good. I saw her speaking to some of my crew, who were looking very serious as she offered them tracts, and some of them casting a side glance at me for my approval or otherwise. I had some little dislike to sects, then, which I thank God left me in riper years,—but who could resist this beautiful, persuasive, and heavenly-minded woman? To see her was to love her; to hear her, was to feel as if a guardian angel had bid you follow that teaching which could alone subdue the temptations and evils of this life and secure a Redeemer's love in eternity! In her you saw all that was attractive in woman lit up by the bright beams of philanthropy; devoting the prime of life and health, and personal graces, to her Divine Master's service; and I feel assured, that much of the success which attended her missions of mercy, was based upon that awe which such a presence inspired. It was something to possess a countenance which portrayed in every look the overflowing of such a heart, and thus, as an humble instrument in the hands of Divine Providence, she was indeed highly favoured among women."—Vol. i., p. 469.

It was not alone to the preparation of these female convicts for their voyage that Mrs. Fry extended her interest and care. Tidings came from the distant colonies of the destitute condition of these unfortunate women, thrown upon those shores with no incentive to virtue, no shelter from vice, and she represented to those in authority the necessity of erecting buildings where they should be received, and placed under the care of matrons who would recommend those who deserved a favourable report to be taken into service by respectable inhabitants.

The reform in Newgate soon attracted public attention; lords and ladies, statesmen and magistrates, foreign travellers and quiet citizens, bishops and clergymen, flocked there to see whether these things were so; and Mrs. Fry's mornings were frequently occupied in accompanying parties to the scene of her successful labours. Letters from all parts of the country, from ladies who wished to form associations to visit prisons, from magistrates in favour of prison reform, demanded long and careful answers, and all this press of business was accomplished by Mrs. Fry, with the help of the young people of her family.

In August, 1818, Mrs. Fry, accompanied by her brother, J. J. Gurney, made a tour through Scotland and the north of England, holding public meetings among Friends, and visiting prisons in the different towns. It was a tour like one of those so frequent in Howard's life, and brought to light, through notes published by Mr.

Gurney, much misery and many gross abuses. The state of the poor lunatics confined in these prisons, much affected Mrs. Fry: in a miserable, dark, dirty, narrow cell at Haddington, she saw a poor lunatic who had been there in unvaried solitary confinement for eighteen months. In a disused prison in Kinghorn, Fifeshire, they were shown a cell where a young laird, in a state of lunacy, had been confined six years in wretched solitude, and where he terminated his sufferings by swallowing melted lead. She made frequent appeals in behalf of the insane, and in favour of those ameliorations which are now everywhere to be found in lunatic asylums. In a correspondence with the late Walter Venning, who was unwearied in the interests of prison reform in St. Petersburg, Mrs. Fry made many valuable suggestions relative to the treatment of the insane, which were adopted by the Dowager Empress in a lunatic asylum of which she had the oversight. This palace-like house, situated about five miles from St. Petersburg, with a very extensive garden, and a large stream running through the grounds, was enlarged, and many additions made for the comfort of its inmates, who were allowed every possible indulgence, instead of the ancient barbarities with which they were treated. Truly Deborah Darby had the vision of a seer!

A visit which Mrs. Fry made to Brighton for her health, led to important results. The want and beggary with which that watering place is rife arrested her attention; and profiting by the suggestions of Dr. Chalmers, whose acquaintance she had recently made, on the best mode of aiding the poor, she succeeded in forming a District Society, under the patronage of the Bishop of Chichester. The objects of the society were, "The encouragement of industry and frugality among the poor, by visits at their own habitations, the relief of real distress, and the prevention of mendicity and imposture."

But a still more extensive plan of benevolence owed its being to attacks of faintness, to which Mrs. Fry was subjected, which led her to an open window at night, or in the early morning, for the refreshment of the pure air. Sickness and health were alike made tributary to the great object of her life—to do the most good possible. "Whether," says her daughter, "through the quiet dawn of the summer morning, or by the fitful gleams of a tempestuous sky, one living object always presented itself to her view—the solitary blockade man pacing the shingly beach." He was one of the *Coast-Guard*, stationed at regular intervals around the rocky coast of Great Britain for the detection of smuggling. These men were placed in unfrequented and almost inaccessible situations, cut off by the nature of their occupation from the sympa-

thies of the neighbourhood, harassed by nightly watchings, exposed to danger, whilst their families passed their time in dreary solitude. Mrs. Fry became interested in their behalf, and obtained from the Bible Society a grant of fifty Bibles and twenty-five Testaments, the distribution of which brought her into pleasant relations with officers and men. Ten years afterwards, on a visit to the Isle of Wight, Mrs. Fry remained in the long, low inn at Freshwater, while her niece went to Alum Bay. The view from her window renewed the associations of those early morning hours at Brighton. The beautiful sea fixed not her gaze, which wandered to the gloomy-looking Preventive-Service buildings in full view. Her weariness was unheeded. She walked to the coast-guard station, where she was soon in the midst of a large group, inquiring into their resources for their own religious improvement, and for the education of their children. She found them in great want of books, and from this visit originated the great undertaking of supplying the five hundred stations in the United Kingdom with libraries. The expense and difficulties attending this enterprise were great, but through Mrs. Fry's perseverance it was accomplished, and 25,896 volumes were provided for 2,100 persons. How many hours of lonely watching these have beguiled—how many lonely watchers they have made better and happier men, the records of eternity alone can tell; but the brightened looks and grateful words of many of these dwellers in solitary places, bear ample testimony to the thoughtful benevolence of Elizabeth Fry.

How often does the slight incident, the casual interview, the arrowy word, form the first link of a chain that passes through the hands of thousands! It is well, from the height of some great enterprise, to look upon its feeble beginnings:—it is encouraging, in the day of small things, to trace mighty results to their apparently trivial causes. John Gurney took his young daughter to see Bridewell, and the powerful impression then produced may have given the leading direction to her career. The sight of a colossal dragon-tree and of a fan-palm in an old tower of the botanical garden at Berlin, first implanted in the mind of the celebrated naturalist, Baron Von Humboldt, the seeds of an irresistible desire to travel. Their leafy fingers beckoned him into those labyrinthine walks, which he trod with such unequalled diligence and success;—that dragon-tree was the "open sesame" to the hidden treasures of the universe. Wilberforce rode out to the cliffs of Cheddar, but the gratification of his taste in viewing those stupendous works of nature was lost in the contemplation of the moral desolation that reigned around. The cold chicken and wine put into the carriage

for his refreshment were untouched; he was absorbed by one idea, which found utterance on his return to Cowslip Green: "Miss Hannah More, something must be done for Cheddar." The way was soon made plain by the simple proposal of Wilberforce—"If you will be at the trouble, I will be at the expense;" and thus from this pleasure excursion originated those extensive schools, superintended by the Misses More, which educated and blessed thousands of the ignorant and depraved. Several such instances sparkle in the pages of Mrs. Fry's biography. In a morning's drive with Miss Neave, Mrs. Fry, in her peculiar tone and manner, expressed an earnest wish that there were some refuge for young female offenders, discharged from prison for a first offence. These words, which made a deep impression on Miss Neave, were never forgotten, and led to the establishment of the Tothill-fields Asylum. In a conversation with her friend Mrs. Benjamin Shaw, in the yard at Newgate, on the extreme exposure of vicious and neglected little girls in London, Mrs. Fry suggested to her thoughtful contemplation the idea of a school of discipline in their behalf: the result was, the establishment of an effective school. That fervid word, that suggested thought, will they not furnish themes for grateful recollection in eternity? But we must not linger amid Mrs. Fry's works of charity. A single one of them would render illustrious the life of many a worthy matron, and be inscribed in lines of light on her monumental tablet: but each successive mile-stone that marked Elizabeth Fry's course, might also be a stone of remembrance for some deed of mercy.

A loss of property obliged Mrs. Fry's family to leave their pleasant home at Plashet, and after a winter of sickness and suffering in London, they removed to a small house in Upton Lane, adjoining Ham House grounds, the residence of her brother, Samuel Gurney, Esq. The failure in business, which led to this removal, affected Mrs. Fry deeply; her hospitalities were necessarily circumscribed, and many luxuries, almost made necessaries by use, were obliged to be given up; but still she enjoyed her small garden, and the fine view it commanded of "Greenwich Hospital and Park, the shipping on the river, and the cattle feeding in the meadows." Pleasant records do these pages present of weddings and family gatherings. Royal receptions, too, there were. The Princess of Denmark breakfasted informally at Plashet; and a white day in the family annals, was that on which Mrs. Fry, with the Lady Mayoress and the Sheriffs, met the king of Prussia at Newgate, and after a reading there, the whole party drove to Upton Lane, where Mrs. Fry, with her husband and seven sons and sons-in-law, met the king at his carriage door, and leading him into "the drawing-room, where all was

in beautiful order, neat and adorned with flowers," presented to him her eight daughters and daughters-in-law, and afterwards her twenty-five grandchildren. Then followed the luncheon, "which was handsome and fit for a king, yet not extravagant—everything most complete and nice." The sight of these clustering olive-plants would have astonished many persons on the continent, who were wont to fancy that Mrs. Fry, always deeply immersed in the great enterprises of benevolence, must be free from domestic cares.

A pleasant episode in her life is her visit to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, whither she went in 1833, to escape the press of engagements at home. The agreeable friendships Mrs. Fry formed in Jersey; the almost unequalled softness and richness of the scenery of this lovely island; the days spent in the open air on the bold, rocky cliffs of the northern coast, where the family group enjoyed the fine marine views, while Mrs. Fry visited the cottages of the Jersey peasants, conversing with them as well as their Norman *patois* would allow, and distributing among them her French text-books, afforded her refreshment and repose. She was a keen observer of new phases of life and character—the parsimonious and industrious Jersey peasant; his cottage, with "the fire of *vrâck* or sea-weed burning on the hearth, and the suspended kettle," containing the soup compounded of lard, cabbages, and potatoes, the frugal fare of the family; his greatest treasure, his cow, with her "curved, tapering horn, firm skin, and deer-like form," "tethered in a picturesque enclosure;" and the hydrangias and carnations which made gay and fragrant the cottage garden—all were seen and noted by her quick eye. On Sunday mornings she met with a little band of co-religionists, in the cottage of Jean Renaud, an old patriarch residing on the sea-shore, and in the afternoon, in the town of St. Helius, aided by her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Fry, and her friend Rebecca Sturges, she ministered to large and attentive congregations, assembled in a room engaged for the purpose. In the mean time her benevolence was not diverted from its ordinary channels: several valuable district societies were established for the relief of the poor; the work-house, hospital, and prison were visited, and salutary reforms suggested, to aid in carrying out which, Mrs. Fry found it necessary to pay two subsequent visits to these islands.

We cannot follow Mrs. Fry in her numerous journeys through Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and different parts of England, where she made "religious visits" to the Friends, and pursued unwearied her own philanthropic objects. Paris she visited in 1838, 1839, and 1843; inspected its institutions for the unfortunate and the guilty; and conversed freely on religion and its kindred topics in large

companies of the fashionable, noble, and intellectual, whom the prestige of her name had gathered together. She was enabled, she says, "to show to them the *broad, clear,* and *simple* way of salvation, through our Lord and Saviour, for *all;* and even in dinner visits—some of them splendid occasions—the way was opened for the truth, especially one day, as to how far balls and theatres were Christian and right, and the importance of circulating good books—above all the New Testament. In 1839 she travelled through the south of France, turning aside from the beaten track of travel, to visit Congenies, and hold communication with an ancient community of Quakers who dwelt there.

Those who like glimpses of royalty will follow with interest the dignified Quakeress into the crimson and gold drawing-room of the Tuileries, where she and the interesting Duchess of Orleans, then in her early widowhood, sate with Bibles in their hands, conversing on affliction and its supports and consolations. Again she was seated at dinner, and on another occasion, at a handsome luncheon, "with the King and Queen of Denmark, in their beautiful country palace," conversing freely with her royal friends on the state of their prisons, and of the persecuted Baptists, and pleading with them for prison reform and religious toleration. At Minden, we see her in the morning, walking on the bad pavements of the street with a poor old Friend, who wore "a knitted cap close to her head," and taking tea in the evening at the palace, with the Prince and Princesses of a German court. But the most interesting of these royal interviews was that at the castle of the Countess of Reden, in the beautiful mountains of Silesia. There she and her brother, Joseph Gurney, addressed an assembly, composed of the king, queen, and royal family of Prussia, and the poor Tyrolese—the exiles of the Zillerthal, for whom the king's kindness had provided pretty little Swiss cottages among these mountains of the Reisenberg. In this journey through Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Denmark, Mrs. Fry was accompanied by her brother Joseph and her two nieces: in a previous tour through Holland and Denmark, the well-known philanthropist, William Allen, and his niece, and her brother, Samuel Gurney, and his two daughters, were her companions.

The last of these continental visits Mrs. Fry made in the Spring of 1843, when she visited Paris. After this, in the beautiful language of Dr. Arnold, her "outward work seems visibly contracting, and softening away into the gentler employment of old age." In July of that year she was prostrated with a distressing illness. For weeks and months Mrs. Fry's family were gathered around her, as she passed through agony almost intolerable—all the waves and bil-

lows then rolled over her; but she felt "the Rock always underneath her;" she saw "the gates of mercy open, and the rays of light shining from them." But this sickness was not unto death—much sorrow and bereavement was this servant of God to pass through before she slept in peace. Her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Fry, to whom she was tenderly attached, passed before her into "the silent land." A beloved little grandson, Gurney Reynolds, soon followed. Suffering in body, enfeebled in mind, the spirit within rose above the wreck, and asserted its immortality. In July, drawn by her son William, in her wheeled chair, she attended the Friends' meeting at Plaiston, where she spoke in a clear voice and solemn strain, alluding to those who were gone, and praising God for the Christian's hope. But the strong man, in the fulness of health and strength, was to pass away before the mother burdened with infirmities. "God is good," were the last words of William Storrs Fry, as, a few weeks after, stricken down with scarlet fever, he breathed his last. One lovely daughter died twelve days before, and another a week after her father, of the same disease. "Sorrow upon sorrow." The names of a beloved niece, daughter of Mrs. Hoare, and of her brother-in-law Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, were added to "the rapidly increasing catalogue of the loved and the lost." Seven years before, she said most touchingly, "It is deeply interesting entering the new year with my only three remaining sisters. We much value and enjoy being together, but we feel like a few remaining autumnal fruits at the close of no common summer of family love and unity." The chill of life's winter had now come, but she earnestly desired to revisit Earlham, amid whose woods and walks the joyous child sported—where the maiden mused and wove airy fancies—where the matron had full many a time brightened the chain of family affection—and whither now the aged pilgrim turned for the last time her faltering steps.

The pilgrimage was accomplished, and visits paid to her sister Mrs. Buxton, and to her brother Daniel Fry, at Rometon. She then returned to Upton Lane, which was brightened by a large family, partly in honour of the marriage of her youngest son to a member of the Society of Friends, a connexion which was particularly agreeable to her—"a ray of light on a dark picture." The week after she went to Ramsgate, and there, while her flesh and heart were failing, she preached solemnly and earnestly, Sunday after Sunday, occupied herself in writing, arranged and sorted Bibles, Testaments, and tracts, which she distributed among the foreign sailors in the harbour.

One Saturday morning in October, she awoke with a violent pain

in her head, and continued enfeebled and suffering throughout the day and night. "Pray for me," she said to her maid on Sunday morning; "it is a strift, but I am safe." About nine o'clock she slowly and distinctly said, "O my dear Lord, help and keep thy servant." These were her last words, and before sunrise the next morning, her spirit passed into eternity. She died in 1845, in the sixty-sixth year of her age.

Mrs. Fry's career was a unique one. The circumstances by which she was surrounded made her way plain through many obstacles. Her position as a Quaker minister gave her a self-reliance, a calm bearing, a habit of speaking in large assemblies, which stood her in good stead when kings and queens were her auditors, and when exposed to the gaze and curiosity of mixed multitudes. Her Quaker costume at once proclaimed her as not belonging to the world's people, or subject to the world's law, and it prepared the way for the utterance of plain truths and peculiar views. Topics which would have seemed to require an introduction "to ears polite," came naturally from the lips of the fair Quakeress; and her garb, which commanded respect amid rude fishermen and sailors, no less became her at the regal board. During the greater part of her life, she had a home open to every claim of hospitality, and ample means for her abundant charities. When these became more extensive, and her own resources more limited, the purses of brothers and cousins were placed at her disposal. Brothers and sisters too co-operated with her in every good work, and though "alone" she entered on her religious life, yet "two" numerous and faithful bands subsequently attended her in her career of conflict and victory. These were her outward helps; but none the less earnestly did she lean on her "Holy Helper;" none the less humbly did she prostrate herself in deep abasement of spirit before Him whose hand she ever acknowledged in every event of her life. That this divine aid, co-operating in a lowlier sphere with singleness of purpose, may accomplish much, we learn from the life and labours of Sarah Martin, the humble dress-maker of Yarmouth, who seemed, on a smaller scale, to emulate the labours of Mrs. Fry, and occupied a not dissimilar though narrower field, and quietly walked her appointed path, which shines like a golden thread in the dark tissue of the doings of our race.

One lesson of special interest may be derived from the history of Elizabeth Fry. With a mind and heart occupied with great enterprises, she did not overlook small daily opportunities of doing good. In travelling, the well-stored tract-bag was ever at hand, that she might scatter seed by the wayside. In the Highland inn

she gathered a congregation of bare-footed chambermaids and blue-bonneted hostlers, to read unto them the words of truth. In the hotel at Abbeville, wrapped up in a cloak, with screens to keep off the air, and a wood fire at her feet, she read to the landlady, her daughters, and the servants of the hotel, among whom she distributed books: a deep impression was made; and on her visit to the same place the next year, she was surrounded by applicants for books, and beguiled into the kitchen, where her words, fitly spoken, were listened to with attention, and all, even to the portly chief cook, sought the privilege of shaking hands with her. She paused in one of these French tours, to visit the bedside of a sick Englishman, at Samur, and in crossing the lake of Brienz, learning from the boy who managed the boat, of the dangerous illness of his mother, she at once resolved to visit the sufferer, and breathe words of consolation to this afflicted Christian, whom she found with the Bible by her side. At North Repps she visited the school, and met the hardy fishermen at the school-rooms. While journeying amid the Pyrenees, she took advantage of the hour of rest to the wearied carriers, as they seated themselves about half-way up the steep ascent, on a level of green sward; in the shadow of a rock, to lead their minds from the beautiful scene before them, to the greater goodness displayed in providing a Saviour for them, accompanying her kindly exhortations with the gift of little French text-books. It is a fact of some significance, that in her last days, her family thought it a most alarming symptom of her failing strength, that in driving out, the demand made by her little grandson for a tract to give to a little shepherd boy, was not promptly responded to. "The right hand" had then forgot "its cunning." But two days before her death, she looked over some sheets of Scripture selections, which she had prepared for a Text-book, on the same plan with one she had previously published. Of these volumes, which contained carefully arranged texts for every day in the year, she gave away thousands, accompanying them with varied and pointed admonitions and counsels. "Traits of travel," like those over which we have glanced, are honourable to our common humanity; such "pencillings by the way" are worthy of an angel's hand, and are recorded in more than a traveller's note-book.

Elizabeth Fry, though brought into so public an arena, was essentially womanly. Her home life bears inspection—her character does not suffer from a near view. Order and system pervaded her arrangements and expenditures; consideration marked her treatment of servants. She had a peculiar love for little children, a great delight in their beautiful faces and forms, the "gentlest touch,"

and the most winning ways with them. She was an unwearied and skilful nurse; maintaining, while she carefully ministered to the bodily wants of the sick, a holy calm of demeanour, that enabled her, in her full-toned, musical voice, to breathe words of lofty hope to the dying, and of triumph even over death and the grave. She was not negligent of the small charities of domestic life. When her brother sailed for America, she accompanied him to Liverpool, where he was to embark, provided a library for the passengers and crew of the vessel in which he was to sail, offered the most fervent supplications in his behalf, and made his cabin comfortable and fragrant with sweet flowers, arranged by her hand, and testifying of her thoughtful affection—her benevolence in trifles. Her love to her family was a strong and abiding feeling. On one occasion, she spoke of her prayers being constant for those she loved; and on being asked how this could be, she said, "It is always in my heart; even in sleep, I think the heart is ever lifted up; it is, if I may venture to say it, living in communion with Christ."

There is a unity in Mrs. Fry's life amid its manifold relations and engagements. We see in it the power of a predominating idea: the centre of her heart was stirred; and the circles of benevolence, at first embracing family and neighbourhood, enlarged till they reached the ends of the earth. We wonder somewhat, that, tremblingly alive as she was to every call of woe, the appeals of Christendom alone should have reached her. Heathendom seems to have been mute to her ears. One would not know, from the perusal of her life, that millions of our fellow-creatures are enslaved by cruel religions, and bound by iron chains of habit to sin. She always heeded the sighing of the prisoner appointed unto death: but the loud cry of those thousands and tens of thousands, whose lives are passed in the valley of the shadow of death—did that fall upon her ear? We have hesitated to indicate any want in a character so moulded to high and lofty purposes—in a career so affluent in good deeds. The clew to her labours and her success may be found in "one thing," which she said most emphatically to her daughter, during her last illness: "Since my heart was touched, at seventeen years old, I believe I never have awakened from sleep, by day or by night, without my first waking thought being, how best I might serve my Lord." A beautiful *pendant* to this is the declaration of our own countrywoman, a lady of fortune, who said that she "never laid her head on the pillow, without thinking in what way she might best bestow her Lord's money." This earth would soon become a paradise, were such matin and vesper thoughts to rise like incense from the hearts of all Christians.

ART. IV.—BISHOP BUTLER.

1. *Memoirs of the Character and Writings of* JOSEPH BUTLER, D. C. L. *Late Lord Bishop of Durham.* By THOMAS BARTLETT, A. M. Rector of Kingston, Kent. London: 1839.
2. *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, &c., &c. With a Life of the Author, Copious Notes, and Index.* By WILLIAM FITZGERALD, A. M. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Dublin: 1849.

MR. BARTLETT, who is connected by marriage with the descendants of Bishop Butler's eldest brother, has collected from family sources a number of interesting facts, illustrative of the life and character of the author of the Analogy. These he has added to the only memoir of Butler previously given to the world,—that of Dr. Kippis, first published in the Biographia Britannica,—and has presented the whole as the most complete account of the subject at present attainable. We may therefore suppose that we have now reached the *ne plus ultra* of our inquiries in this direction. All that affection and tradition had treasured up, has been spread out before us; and we may now sit down, and tell over our scanty store, glad that it is as abundant as it is. Times have greatly altered since Butler's day. Now, no literary notable may fear that the world will know too little of him. Posterity will see to that. Things important, things indifferent; sketches, scraps, careless words, letters, common-place books; in a word, all the indescribable contents of the scholar's desk will be given to that omnivorous eater, the public. Small care for threshing or winnowing either; but straw, chaff, and solid grain will all be thankfully received together. It is to be hoped that the next turn of fashion in writing biography will bring us to the mean between telling nothing and telling everything.

Professor Fitzgerald has prefixed to his edition of the Analogy a condensed memoir, (of 95 pages,) from Bartlett, but relieved of Bartlett's irrelevant matter, and interspersed with thoughtful observations of his own upon Butler's writings. He is indeed an editor everyway worthy of his author. We shall endeavour to spread before our readers the new information derived from these sources, using, for the sake of connexion, the facts already known and familiar.

JOSEPH BUTLER was born in the market town of Wantage, in Berkshire, England, on the 18th of May, 1692. He was the youngest of eight children. His father, Thomas Butler, was a

respectable and prosperous linen-draper in Wantage, but at the time of Joseph's birth had retired from business, and was residing at the extremity of the town, in a house called the Priory. The house, though since much altered, is yet standing, and the room is still shown, in which Butler is said to have been born. His education was begun in the Grammar School of his native place, under the direction of the Rev. Philip Barton, a clergyman of the Church of England. Here he was grounded in the elements of classical knowledge. But his father, soon perceiving his son's talent and inclination for learning, determined to rear him for the ministry in his own denomination, (the Presbyterian,) and for this purpose removed him to a Dissenting academy at Gloucester, then kept by Mr. Samuel Jones. Mr. Jones is mentioned by Butler's biographer with great honour, as having had in the number of his pupils many distinguished men. Among these we find the names of Lardner, author of the Credibility of the Gospels; Lord Bowes, Chancellor of Ireland; Dr. Edward Chandler; and Secker, Butler's intimate and inseparable friend, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Butler was exceedingly happy in his friendships. His intimacy with Secker began in early youth, and lasted without interruption through a long life. Secker outlived Butler, and in his last years gave earnest proof of his affection, by the energy with which he defended the memory of his friend from unjust aspersions. The influence of this, and another intimacy, upon Butler's whole career, will be frequently seen in the course of this sketch.

From a very early period of life, his thoughts were directed to subjects of metaphysical and theological inquiry. At the age of twenty-one, and while yet a pupil in Mr. Jones' academy, he gave astonishing proof of his intellectual vigour, and of his progress in such studies, by his anonymous correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke, the author of the celebrated "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God." The demonstration had just been published, and was attracting universal attention. What Clarke professed to have accomplished, Butler had long been endeavouring to do. In his first letter to the doctor, he writes thus:—

"I have made it my business, ever since I thought myself capable of such sort of reasoning, to prove to myself the being and attributes of God. And being sensible that it is a matter of the last consequence, I have endeavoured after a demonstrative proof; not only more fully to satisfy my own mind, but also in order to defend the great truths of natural religion, and those of the Christian revelation which follow from them, against all opposers: but must own, with concern, that hitherto I have been unsuccessful; and though I have got very probable arguments, yet I can go very little way with demonstration in the proof of these things."

He was not able to satisfy himself of the conclusiveness of the reasoning in the sixth and seventh propositions, (on the omnipresence and the unity of the Deity;) and he states, in the most modest terms, the objections thereto which had arisen in his mind. His diffidence led him to conceal his name; and the correspondence was managed by Secker, who carried the letters to the post-office at Gloucester, and brought back Clarke's replies. His objections show the penetrating metaphysician, and the cautious and solid reasoner, already developed. With Clarke's explanation of the first of the two propositions, he professed himself satisfied: but in removing the objections to the other, the author of the demonstration was not so successful; and the correspondence, after extending to five letters from each, closed. In his last letter, the doctor speaks in the highest terms of the candour of his opponent, and afterwards evinced his opinion of the merit of the correspondence, by appending it to the succeeding editions of the Demonstration. Of these letters of Butler's, Sir James Mackintosh says, "He suggested objections to the celebrated demonstration, which are really insuperable, and which are marked by an acuteness which neither he nor any other ever surpassed."*

It is well to observe, that Butler's efforts to obtain demonstrative evidence for the truths of religion seem here to have ceased. Where Clarke ended, Butler began. The remaining years of the author of the Analogy were spent in bringing to bear upon Christianity that evidence of probability which, though less imposing than demonstration, is yet capable of rising to the highest moral certainty; and in tracing out the close resemblance between the light afforded us by revelation, and that which we enjoy in our common and daily life.

Soon after, there occurred a change in his views, which altered all the outward relations of his life. He became dissatisfied with the grounds of non-conformity, and resolved to unite with the Established Church. This step was taken after much reflection, and doubtless from conscientious impulses; but it was by no means agreeable to the wishes of his father. Several neighbouring Presbyterian ministers were accordingly summoned to assist in removing the young student's scruples, but without success. And Thomas Butler, finding his son's purpose of conforming was not to be shaken,

* We believe that it is now generally conceded, that attempts to prove the existence of God demonstratively, are more than useless. "*No matter of fact* can be mathematically demonstrated, though it may be proved in such a manner as to leave no doubt on the mind."—Whateley's Logic, book iv, chap. 2.

at length yielded, and entered him as a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, on the 17th of March, 1714.

At Oxford he formed an intimacy with Mr. Edward Talbot, second son of Dr. Edward Talbot, afterwards Bishop of Durham. This friendship was the means of securing to Butler the patronage of Mr. Talbot's father. Through the influence of his young friend, and that of his former correspondent, Dr. Clarke, he was, in 1718, appointed preacher at the Rolls' Court, London. He was then in his twenty-sixth year, and had not been long ordained. The mind of Secker underwent, though more slowly, the same change as Butler's, on the subject of conformity; and young Mr. Talbot, about this time dying, so effectually commended them both to the favour of his father, that Dr. Talbot, upon his translation to the see of Durham, in 1721, presented Butler with the living of *Haughton*, and Secker, shortly after, with that of *Haughton-le-Spring*.

The parsonage at Haughton being in a dilapidated state, Butler determined to repair it. A passion for rebuilding and ornamenting seems to have possessed him throughout the whole of his long life. He was jealous of the external glory of the Church. With but one exception, wherever he resided he either altered, or enlarged, or restored. In his last charge, he quotes, with great approbation, the language of Bishop Fleetwood, that "unless the good public spirit of building, repairing, and adorning churches prevails a great deal more among us, a hundred years will bring to the ground a huge number of churches." In the after part of his life, having purchased an elegant mansion at Hampstead, he ornamented some of the windows with beautiful painted glass, representing various Scriptural subjects. But in improving the private chapel in the episcopal palace at Bristol, the erection of a cross—though doubtless innocently meant—occasioned great controversy and trouble. Had he executed his contemplated repairs at Haughton, he would have become seriously involved; for the entire sum due from the parish for dilapidations was only sixty pounds. But his friend Secker rescued him from such a prospect of trouble, by prevailing on Bishop Talbot to transfer him, in 1725, to the richer benefice of Stanhope, where, fortunately, there was no occasion for any repairing to be done.

Soon after his translation to Stanhope, he resigned his appointment at the Rolls; but before resigning, he published his "*Fifteen Sermons*," dedicating them to Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, "as a parting mark of gratitude for the favour received during his connexion with that learned society." We are informed in the preface, that the selection of these sermons "from amongst others

preached in the same place, during a course of eight years," was altogether accidental. Bishop Butler, at his death, ordered all his manuscripts to be destroyed. These sermons are of such inestimable value in settling the true grounds of ethical science, that great regret has been expressed, that the others, *thus accidentally omitted*, were not also preserved. Butler assuredly knew the value of his own writings: it has therefore been conjectured* that the remaining sermons were wrought into the Analogy; and that this was his reason for directing them to be "burnt, without being read by any one." "In these sermons," says Sir James Mackintosh, "he has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established by him, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of *discovery*, than any with which we are acquainted."

His contributions to a correct theory of morals, consist: 1. In his distinction between self-love and the primary appetites; and, 2. In his clear exposition of the existence and supremacy of conscience. The objects of our appetites and passions are outward things, which are sought simply as ends; thus food is the object of hunger, and drink the object of thirst. Some of the primary desires lead directly to our private good, and others to the good of the community. Hunger and thirst, above cited, are instances of the former; the affection for one's child is an instance of the latter. They may be considered as so many simple impulses, which are to be guided and controlled by our higher powers. Pleasure is the *concomitant* of their gratification; but, in their original state, is no separate part of the aim of the agent. All these primary impulses are contemplated by self-love, as the material out of which happiness is to be constructed. Self-love is a regard for our happiness as a whole: such a regard is not a vice, but a commendable quality. Self-love is not selfishness. Selfishness is destructive of human happiness, and, as such, self-love condemns it. The so-called benevolent affections are consequently disinterested; as likewise are (in their incomplex manifestations) our physical appetites and malevolent feelings. But besides these principles of our nature, there is one, which is supreme over all others: this is *conscience*. Shaftsbury had before pointed out the *emotional* character of conscience, under the term moral sense; but its distinguishing attribute of supremacy he had failed to notice. Butler, acknowledging the correctness of his lordship's partial view, combined with it the element neces-

* This conjecture is Prof. Fitzgerald's.

sary to make an entire truth,*—the character of conscience, as the highest tribunal of man's nature, "which surveys, approves, or disapproves the several affections of our minds, and passions of our lives." The practical weakness of conscience does not destroy its authority; and though its mandates are often disregarded, yet the obligations to render it obedience remain unimpaired. In this view of the several principles within us, and their relations to each other, virtue may be said, in the language of the ancients, to consist in following nature; that is, nature correctly interpreted and understood.

It is remarkable, that in the second edition of the Sermons, published in 1729, Butler defends his style from the charge of obscurity. As this complaint is one frequently made still, it is well to hear what he says for himself. "It must be acknowledged," he tells us, "that some of the following discourses are very abstruse and difficult, or, if you please, obscure; but I must take leave to add, that those alone are judges, whether or no, and how far, this is a fault, who are judges, whether or no, and how far, it might have been avoided—those only who will be at the trouble to understand what is here said, and to see how far the things here insisted upon, and not other things, might have been put in a plainer manner; which yet I am very far from asserting that they could not. Thus much, however, will be allowed, that general criticisms concerning obscurity, considered as a distinct thing from confusion and perplexity of thought, as in some cases there may be ground for them, so in others, they may be nothing more at bottom than complaints, that everything is not to be understood with the same ease that some things are. Confusion and perplexity of writing is, indeed, without excuse; because any one may, if he pleases, know whether he understands and sees through what he is about: and it is unpardonable for a man to lay his thoughts before others, when he is conscious that he himself does not know whereabouts he is, and how the matter before him stands. It is coming abroad in disorder, which he ought to be dissatisfied to find himself in at home." We must infer from this passage, that Butler was not conscious (at least at this period of his life) of those defects, which have been universally attributed to his style. All that he has written is so compressed, that he cannot be well understood, without corresponding concentration of mind on the part of his reader. His very caution makes his

* "The not taking into consideration this authority, which is implied in the idea of reflex approbation or disapprobation, seems a material deficiency or omission in Lord Shaftsbury's 'Inquiry concerning Virtue.'"—*Butler's preface to the Sermons.*

progress toward any given point appear slow and laborious. But he is nowhere guilty of what, in this extract, he considers almost a crime—confusion of thought. On the contrary, the more attentively he is studied, the more do new light and truth break forth from his well-compacted sentences. Passages are not wanting which are happily expressed; and the whole of chap. v., of part II. of the Analogy, reads smoothly enough to satisfy the most fastidious critic.

After leaving London in 1726, he lived in retirement at Stanhope for a period of seven years. Here he planned and wrote the Analogy. Of the details of his private life during this period we know little or nothing. We learn that he was exceedingly faithful in the discharge of his clerical duties; that he was much beloved by his parishioners; and that he was exceedingly kind to the poor. But Secker, fearing that Butler's spirits were suffering from so much close study and seclusion, prevailed upon Lord Chancellor Talbot (the brother of the deceased Edward Talbot) to nominate him his chaplain, in 1733, and a prebendary of Rochester in 1736. Through the indefatigable exertions of the same friend, his name was brought to the notice of Queen Caroline. This was soon followed by his appointment to be clerk of the closet to the queen. Indeed, Butler found, ever after, in her a firm and fast friend. She was exceedingly fond of philosophers and philosophic conversation; and her chaplain's attendance was therefore commanded every evening from seven till nine.

In 1736 the Analogy was published, with a dedication to Lord Chancellor Talbot. It attracted so much attention upon its first appearance, that a second edition was published the same year. It has been pronounced, by the universal consent of thinking men, to be a work, which, in the originality of its plan, and the skill of its execution, is exceeded by no other upon the evidences of religion ever written. It was a book for the times, but the author so constructed it as to give it a value for all time. "It is come," he says in his advertisement, "to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." A scoffing way of treating religion prevailed among the educated and polite of the age. It was considered a mark of spirit to make an open profession of free-thinking. Plausible objections were urged against particular doctrines; difficulties were exaggerated; and Christianity was made a matter of ridicule, "as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." This habit of confining the attention to what could be said against the various doc-

trines of religion destroyed the effect of its evidences. These objections had therefore to be met directly. The doctrines had to be extricated from the entanglement of sophistry, in which they were involved. Besides this, by a summary process the evidence of Christianity was rejected: for it was argued that there could be no doubtfulness in the evidence of a genuine revelation, and as it was claimed that Christianity was deficient in this particular, the testimonies for its truth were dismissed without a hearing. Into such a controversy as this, Butler could not fail to enter with all his soul, and yet, as has been well remarked, his book has nothing of a controversial tone. He vindicates the truths both of natural religion and of Christianity, by showing that they are paralleled by the facts of our experience; and that nature, considered as a revelation of God, teaches (though to a more limited extent, and in a more imperfect way) the same lessons as the Scriptures. He proves that the evidence is the same as that upon which we act in our temporal concerns; and that perhaps it is left as it is, that our behaviour with regard to it may be part of our probation for a future life.

Nor does the aim of the Analogy stop here. The opinion has very extensively prevailed, that the utility of the work consists solely in answering such objections as those above described. Dr. Reid, the Scotch philosopher, has so expressed himself. Of a like purport is the happily conceived language of Dr. Campbell: "Analogical evidence is generally more successful in silencing objections, than in evincing truth. Though it rarely refutes, it frequently repels refutation; like those weapons, which, though they cannot kill the enemy, will ward his blows." The outward *form* of the Analogy, to be sure, gives some countenance to this view; for the objector is followed through all the mazes of his error. But, besides the effect of particular analogies, there is the effect of the Analogy as a whole; of the likeness so beautifully developed between the system of nature, and the system of grace. Every one who has received the *total* impression of the argument, is conscious that he has derived therefrom new convictions of the truth of religion, and that these convictions rest on a basis peculiarly their own. On this point, Butler's own language is quite definite: "This treatise will be, to such as are convinced of religion, upon the proof arising out of the two last-mentioned principles, [liberty and moral fitness,] an additional proof, and a confirmation of it; to such as do not admit those principles, an original proof of it, and a confirmation of that proof. Those who believe, will here find the scheme of Christianity cleared of objections, and the evidence of it in a peculiar manner strengthened; those who do not believe, will at least be shown the absurdity

of all attempts to prove Christianity false, the plain, undoubted credibility of it, and, I hope, a good deal more."—Part II., chap. viii.

It is not contended that all the analogies are alike striking: some are of a negative kind, designed to silence objections; others again are adduced with a view to raising a positive presumption for the points on which they bear. But we humbly submit, that *the whole result* is positive, and not merely the bringing of the evidence from minus up to zero. Neither does it make against the Analogy, that the resemblance between the course of nature and Christianity is not shown in more numerous particulars; for Butler well says, we have no reason to believe "that the *whole* course of things naturally unknown to us, and *everything* in it, is like to any thing in that which is known."—Part II., chap. ii. This would be to seek an identity of *fact*, where we should only look for an identity of *principle*.

This work was the favourite study of Queen Caroline. Her partiality for it was the occasion of the following sneer of Lord Bolingbroke's: "She studies," says he, "with much application, the 'Analogy of Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature.' She understands the whole argument perfectly, and concludes, with the right reverend author, that it is not 'so clear a case, that there is nothing in revealed religion.' Such royal, such lucrative encouragement must needs keep both metaphysics and the sublimest theology in credit." But the very year after the publication of the Analogy the Queen died. Before her death, however, she earnestly commended Butler to the patronage of her husband, George II.; so that, in 1738, upon the translation of Dr. Gooch from the See of Bristol to that of Norwich, the Bishopric of Bristol was given to Butler. Bristol was the poorest of the English sees, the revenues being but £400 per annum, and Gooch's claims are said to have been far inferior to those of the author of the Analogy. Butler, though a modest man, was by no means destitute of spirit; and in the letter to Walpole, in which he acknowledged and accepted his appointment, he resented, in strong terms, the slight which it implied. The effect of his remonstrance was soon perceived; for in 1740, the king nominated him to the Deanery of St. Paul's, London. Immediately upon obtaining this promotion, he resigned his living at Stanhope, which he had till then retained, and his prebendary stall at Rochester.

The large revenues of the Deanery of St. Paul's enabled him to gratify his taste for building and ornament. He is said to have expended, in improving the episcopal palace at Bristol, between four and five thousand pounds, a greater sum than he received from the

Bishopric during the whole period of his incumbency. To assist in what was to him a labour of love, the merchants of that city presented him with a large quantity of cedar. In altering the private chapel, he placed (as already stated) a white marble cross over the communion table. This unfortunate step not only occasioned scandal at the time, but gave plausibility to the charge of a leaning towards Popery, which was made in the latter part of his life, and after his death. The cross remained in its place until the destruction of the palace by a mob, in 1831.

In 1746 he was made clerk of the closet to George II. In 1747, upon the decease of Archbishop Potter, he was offered the Primacy, but refused it, declaring, "that it was too late for him to try to support a falling Church." He took a gloomy view of the prospects of the Establishment. His relations at Wantage wished very much to see him elevated to that high dignity; and one of his nephews, supposing that his uncle's refusal grew out of a fear of the heavy expenses to be incurred at his entrance upon the office, offered to advance £20,000, or any other sum which might be thought necessary. He was exceedingly dissatisfied when he found the Bishop's purpose was not to be altered.

The See of Durham becoming vacant in 1750, by the decease of Dr. Edward Chandler, the king was desirous of advancing Butler to it. When, however, Butler understood that the lieutenancy of the county, which had usually gone with the Bishopric, was about to be separated from it, he at first declined the honour. He appears to have been unwilling that the see should lose a single one of its established dignities. Out of regard to his feelings in this particular, the proposed change was deferred until the next vacancy. Another instance of his delicacy of feeling in this connexion is given by the present Bishop of Exeter. "On his translation, the Deanery of St. Paul's was to be vacated. The minister wished to give it to Butler's oldest and best friend, Secker, who held a stall at Durham, which, in that case, it was proposed that the crown should give to Dr. Chapman. Unfortunately, the arrangement was mentioned to Butler *before* he was translated; and highly gratifying as it would have been to him for Secker's sake, his conscience took the alarm, lest it should bear *even the semblance of a condition of his own promotion.* He for some time hesitated, in consequence, to accept the splendid station, which solicited him; nor did he yield till his scruple respecting all possible notion of condition was removed."

What his feelings were upon this occasion of honour and fortune, is shown in the following extract from a letter to a friend:—

"Increase of fortune is insignificant to one who thought he had enough before; and I foresee many difficulties in the station I am coming into, and no advantage worth thinking of, except some greater power of being serviceable to others; and whether this be an advantage, entirely depends on the use one shall make of it: I pray God it may be a good one. It would be a melancholy thing, in the close of life, to have no reflections to entertain one's self with, but that one had spent the revenues of the Bishopric of Durham, in a sumptuous course of living, and enriched one's friends with the promotions of it, instead of having really set one's self to do good, and promote worthy men; yet this right use of fortune and power is more difficult than the generality of even good people think, and requires both a guard upon one's self, and a strength of mind to withstand solicitations, greater, I wish I may not find it, than I am master of."

In the year 1750, Bishop Butler drew up a plan for introducing Episcopacy into America. Up to this time, and afterwards, the Established Church, in the English Colonies, was under the charge of the Bishop of London, through whose commissaries its affairs were managed. As this plan of Butler's is highly illustrative of the wisdom and moderation of his character, we subjoin it entire:—

"1. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case, but only a power to regulate the behaviour of the clergy, who are in episcopal orders; and to correct and punish them according to the laws of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty, with such power as the commissioners abroad have exercised.

"2. That nothing is desired for such Bishops, that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the Governor or any other officer of state. Probates of will, license for marriages, &c., to be kept in the hands where they are; and no share in the temporal government is desired for Bishops.

"3. The maintenance of such Bishops not to be at the charge of the colonies.

"4. No Bishops are intended to be settled, where the government is left in the hands of Dissenters, as in New-England, &c. But authority to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are among them, and to inspect into the manners and behaviour of such clergy, and to confirm the members thereof."

This plan awakened so much opposition among those for whom it was intended, and particularly in New-England, that, though revived again as late as 1763, it was finally abandoned.

Shortly after his arrival in his diocese, Butler addressed to his clergy a charge upon the "Use and Importance of External Religion." Alas! it was the only one he was permitted to deliver as Bishop of Durham. This charge, though full of excellent advices to the clergy, yet contains some statements which are liable to be misunderstood. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether its fundamental idea is not a mistaken one. After stating, that the distinction of the age was "a scorn of religion in some persons, and a disregard of it in the generality," he proceeds to give some directions upon

the best means of reviving piety among the common people. These he conceives to be: "the keeping up the form and face of religion," and "then endeavouring to make this form subservient to promote its reality and power." The repairing of churches, the regular attendance upon Divine service, uniformity in public and private prayer, the offering of thanks at meals, the catechism and instruction of children, etc., are the several steps of this process proposed. He fortifies his assertion of the power of forms, by instancing the influence of the forms of Mohammedanism, of Catholicism, and of the old ritual of the Jews. We humbly conceive that when practical piety is dying away in a nation, the effort to resuscitate it by a renewed devotion to external religion, is simply beginning at the end. The form is the symbol of an inward feeling and life; and when the internal correspondent is gone, a more rigid observance of the form may produce superstition, but it can effect no good,—it cannot awaken the dead. That Mohammedanism, whose power Butler cites, gained its triumphs over Christianity, and seized the time-honoured seats of our faith, because the Fathers, by unwisely teaching a ritual religion *first*, and a spiritual one *afterwards*, had made the Church superstitious in doctrine, corrupt in practice, and feeble to resist the inroads of error. John Wesley, a presbyter of the Church of England, was a contemporary of Butler: he saw the lamentable irreligion of the common people, and deplored it as deeply as the Bishop himself; and, with his peculiar sagacity, he discerned that the evil was only to be remedied by an earnest, spiritual preaching, addressed to them in a style suited to their capacities and wants. In the year 1750, the period of Butler's accession to the See of Durham, he had already been engaged eleven years in his career of mingled obloquy and triumph. His success is a matter of history. The parish churches were filled with hearers, and their altars were crowded with communicants, who, having been aroused to a sense of their duty by his appeals, hastened to render their obedience to the outward service and ritual of the Church. And all this was the least of the fruit of his labours.

From the time of the publication of this discourse, until some years after his death, Butler was violently assailed in pamphlets and newspapers, as addicted to superstition, as inclined to Popery; and finally, as dying in the communion of the Church of Rome. The acrimony of these assaults is undoubtedly to be attributed to the violence of party spirit. Butler's detestation of Popery is strongly enough expressed in his works;* and the charge itself was the off-

* See the Sermon before the House of Lords and the remarks on positive institutions.—*Analogy*, part II., chap. i.

spring of a pure desire to promote a revival of the vital spirit of religion in England. It can only be objected against, as proposing means the most unsuitable of all for accomplishing this end.

His life at Durham exhibits the same tastes and habits which have been described in the preceding pages. Having now a magnificent income, he made extensive repairs in Durham Castle, and greatly improved the episcopal residence at Auckland. At the same time, he gave still wider scope to his almost unbounded benevolence. He is said to have subscribed £400 per annum to the county hospital. Considering it his duty to support the dignity of his station with liberality, he set apart three days of every week for the entertainment of the neighbouring gentry. He was likewise exceedingly attentive to his clerical brethren. The following incident shows his benevolence in a very pleasing light:—

"A gentleman once waited upon him with the details of some projected benevolent institution. The bishop highly approved of the object in view, and calling his house-steward, inquired how much money he then had in his possession. The answer was: 'Five hundred pounds, my lord.' 'Five hundred pounds!' exclaimed his master; 'What a shame for a bishop to have so much money! Give it away; give it all to this gentleman, for his charitable plan.'"—*Bartlett*, p. 196.

He once declared to his under-secretary, Mr. Emm:—"I should feel ashamed of myself, if I could leave ten thousand pounds behind me." And in this he kept his word; he died worth but little over nine thousand. We believe this sum was not quite half his annual income. But, though liberal in dispensing the hospitalities of his station, he was exceedingly simple in his private habits. It is related, that a young gentleman of fortune once dined by appointment with him, and the table was set out with nothing more than a joint of meat, and a pudding. The bishop apologized for his fare, by saying, "That it was his way of living; that he had been long disgusted with the fashionable expense of time and money at entertainments, and was determined that it should receive no countenance from his example."

He was rigidly honest in distributing his patronage. It was his desire to prefer worthy and capable men to the benefices in his gift; but the sudden termination of his life prevented him from carrying out his purposes, in this respect, to any great extent. He did not suffer the claims of relationship to warp his impartiality. His eccentric nephew, John Butler, in expressing his disappointment, that the bishop had done so little for his family, is reported to have said, very bluntly,—"Methinks, my lord, it is a misfortune to be related to you!"

But, as if to give another proof of the vanity of all earthly things, two years had scarcely elapsed after the settlement of the bishop in the See of Durham, when his health began to fail. Upon the advice of the most eminent physicians, he at first tried the waters of Clifton: but these affording no relief, he was conveyed, in a sinking condition, to Bath. Here he was constantly attended by his chaplain, Dr. Forster, and was visited by his friend, Bishop Benson. Secker was himself just recovering from illness, and could not safely travel. From Dr. Forster's frequent letters to Secker, we have a full account of Butler's last hours. In one of these, he writes: "All his physicians seem to be clear, that his disorder is owing to some obstructions in the organs of digestion, without being able to tell where the fault principally lies. They say, however, that he is so weak at present, that any attempt to remove these obstructions as yet, would be death to him." Benson, the day after Butler's death, writes to Secker on this point more definitely:—"The liver, by the account which the physicians gave, was so much decayed, that no art was capable of restoring it; and nothing but the formation of a new organ could restore him." His weakness was so great, that during these closing scenes he spoke but little. In parting with Benson, he remarked, says the bishop, "It must be a farewell forever; and said kind and affecting things more than I could bear." After lingering thus twelve days, he died, June 16th, 1752, in the 60th year of his age. Tradition reports several expressions, as being among the dying words of Butler, all going to show that he expired with an humble trust in the Saviour; but as these, though perhaps founded upon truth, are not substantiated by any direct evidence, they are here omitted.

On Saturday, June 20th, he was interred in the cathedral at Bristol. Over his remains, there was placed a marble stone, with an inscription by Dr. Forster. In the year 1834, an elegant monument was erected, by subscription, in Bristol cathedral, to his memory. Part of the funds for this purpose was contributed by Oriel College, as a testimonial of their reverence for the memory of the eminent scholar, and divine, who had gone forth from their midst. A beautiful inscription was furnished for this monument by Dr. Southey. Three portraits of Butler were taken while he lived: the first during his residence at Stanhope, in the fortieth year of his age; the second shortly after he was made Bishop of Bristol; and the last, not long before his death, when his body was already beginning to sink under the attacks of disease. The engravings from the first likeness show a calm and benignant countenance, regular and delicate features, with a sweetness of expression shining throughout,

which hardly could have failed to win attachment and love. The following descriptions will assist us in conceiving his personal appearance in the latter part of his life. The first is from Hutchinson's History of Durham, and the second from Surtees' account of the same place :—

"He was of a most reverend aspect: his face thin and pale; but there was a Divine placidness in his countenance, which inspired veneration, and expressed the most benevolent mind. His white hair hung gracefully on his shoulders, and his whole figure was patriarchal."

"During the short time that Butler held the See of Durham, he conciliated all hearts. In advanced years, and on the episcopal throne, he retained the same genuine modesty, and native sweetness of disposition, which had distinguished him in youth and in retirement. During the ministerial performance of the sacred office, a Divine animation seemed to pervade his whole manner, and lighted up his pale, wan countenance, already marked with the progress of disease, like a torch glimmering in its socket, yet bright and useful to the last!"

He was regular in his attendance upon Parliament, but never spoke in the House of Lords. This fact led Horace Walpole to say, that "the Bishop of Durham had been wafted to that see in a cloud of metaphysics, and remained absorbed in it!"

Such was Butler. His pure, transparent character needs no elaborate summary. His was not one of those close, hidden natures, which elude and perplex us after the most searching study. The marks of truth and goodness here are so plain, that he who runs can read them. He was no illustration of Bacon's aphorism, that "The way to great place is by a winding stair." No crooked courses, nor time-serving, nor dancing attendance upon the great, brought him to eminence. His dignities were thrust upon him. It does not in our land (saving as a proof of the esteem of his contemporaries) heighten our regard, to know that he was invested with the lordly honours of an English See. All that was the transitory, the outward decking, which in itself has no lustre. But his scrupulous conscientiousness, his sincerity of purpose, his honesty of action, his life-long endeavours to do good,—these are the abiding, the immortal, and stamp him infallibly as a true man.

His position in Theology has been compared with that of Bacon in Philosophy. Both were close and patient observers; both strenuous opposers of hasty theorizing; both rested their systems upon the solid ground of fact. Indeed, analogy and induction involve similar mental operations. In these departments of inquiry, to which his attention was chiefly directed, Butler enjoys the good fortune to have written nothing which is yet cast aside as error; with the lapse of time, men's confidence in his views has increased. His influence upon the thinking world has been deep and wide; for he has

spoken through others, as well as in his own person. His friend Secker, in his own day, popularized him; Paley has translated him in his incomparably executed Evidences; Chalmers has gloried in being his expounder; and our Wayland has acknowledged him as the principal source of his theory of Ethics. If any judgment can be formed from the variety of editions issued, his works are more read now than ever.

He has reared for himself an enduring monument. John Wesley, long ago, said, "that the Analogy was too deep for the men for whom it was written; for he had found that free-thinkers were not usually close thinkers." It has, however, proved a precious legacy to the Church: for often the very objections which are boastfully urged by the sceptic, afflict and distress the believer's heart. To him, these unanswerable reasonings are then a help and relief, to clear his vision, to quiet his doubts, to animate and strengthen his fondest hopes.

Art. V.—SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH IV.

There are two extremes in respect to the spiritual interpretation of the Bible: that which spiritualizes everything, and that which makes it a virtue to get rid of a spiritual sense wherever it is practicable. In the former, we see Origen, resolving the plainest narratives into mere allegory; Coccceius, asserting that the Scriptures are to be understood in every sense of which they are capable; and the Rabbinic schools, who assume, to the same effect, that upon every point of the sacred writings hang "mountains of sense." Time was, when the Church was verging too far in this direction. But under the influence of German rationalism, her judgment is now in danger of being warped to the opposite extreme. As that semi-infidel school have excluded miracles from the Gospels, so they would banish prescience from the prophecies. And none can long peruse their vain lucubrations, without feeling as did Mary, when looking into the empty sepulchre: "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." It now behoves the Church to hold up prominently the truth, that in the Scriptures, as well as in the hopes of believers, "Christ is all and in all." And he who strives to rescue a single passage from the hands of the corrupter, is engaged in a good cause.

Principles in the light of which the Chapter is interpreted.

I. The great design of all Scripture is, to present Christ as the Saviour of the world. This is the grand central idea, which explains the whole Bible, and gives it significance, unity, and importance. The Old Testament predicts his coming, and prepares the way for it. The New gives a history of that event, and of the doctrines and events which grow immediately out of it.

From the moment of the fall of man, the subject of prime interest with him was restoration. The fall brought upon us depravity, sin, condemnation, and death—a death spiritual, temporal, eternal. It was, from that instant, a question of superlative importance with God and man, How shall the lost race be restored?—how raised again to purity, reconciliation, happiness?—to life in its three-fold sense. To the solution of this question the Bible is devoted. Restoration could only be effected by a Divine Redeemer. Accordingly, the very next event after the original transgression, was the promise of a Saviour. And this hope, with various degrees of development, pervades the entire ante-christian Scriptures. To those who doubt or overlook this obvious fact, Christ would say, as to the two travellers to Emmaus:* "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?" Or, as he said to the assembled eleven: "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me." "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." And observe, in these passages, the words "ought," and "behoved," refer not to what was abstractedly necessary, but to events required to take place, in order to make good the predictions concerning himself "in all the Scriptures;" this last expression being used as exegetical of "the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms." The great topic, then, or train of topics, running like a golden thread through the texture "of all the Scriptures," *judice Christo*, is, that the Messiah was to come, suffer, rise from the dead, enter into glory, and cause repentance and remission of sins to be preached throughout the world in his name. Upon this broad principle Christ is to be looked

* The quotations in the remainder of the paragraph will be found in Luke xxiv, 25–47, to which the reader is referred.

for always in the Bible where the idea is not excluded by the context, or by the rules of exegesis. And we are never to pare down to a dry historical statement, in which only individuals are concerned, a passage, big with meaning for all, and in which the hopes of the world are involved.

II. The remark thus made, in general, of all Scripture, is especially true of the prophets. The first prediction after the fall, as we have already intimated, foretold a Saviour, who should bruise the serpent's head, while the serpent should bruise his heel; or, as Paul expresses the same things more fully, a Saviour who "through death might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them, who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." In most comprehensive terms the angel of the apocalypse declares to John that "the spirit of prophecy"—its glorious, constant burden—"is the testimony of Jesus:" as a system, it all has relation to a Saviour. Peter was especially impressed with this thought. He says, in Acts x, 43, "To Him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." But this apostle's most remarkable declaration is in his first Epistle, i, 10–12: "Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things which are now reported unto you, by them that have preached the gospel unto you, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven." The Spirit, then, by which the prophets were inspired, was "the Spirit of Christ," i. e., of the Messiah. They spoke as they were moved upon by him. It was Messiah speaking through them. But Messiah's relation to this world was entirely evangelical. His whole work on earth was evangelical. "The Lord anointed him," מָשַׁח, *made him Messiah*, "to preach the gospel to the poor." Could we, then, anticipate that the burden of his messages would be anything else than evangelical? We could not, even if nothing more had in this place been spoken. But, instead of silence, there follows here as full a declaration of the plenary evangelism of the prophets as perhaps language can express. First, they speak of "salvation:"—"the salvation of souls"* from sin in the present world, and "salvation ready to be revealed in the last time."†

° Compare verses 10, 9 and 5.

† Explained in verse 4, as "an inheritance—reserved in heaven."

Secondly, the prophets speak "of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow;" when, under the meritorious cause of man's redemption, and the glorious effects produced by that cause, is summed up, with wondrous brevity, the whole gospel scheme. Thirdly, they had not only a general view of the subject, but "ministered" in detail, "the things now reported to you by them that have preached the gospel unto you;" i. e., the apostles. The prophets declared the gospel itself; and the difference between them and the apostles was, that the latter reported what was past, the former, what was future. "They testified *beforehand* the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow." How monstrous, by the side of such a statement, appears the infidel assumption of the Neologists, that the prophets had no prescience of a Messiah, and indeed no distinct apprehension of anything in the distant future!

III. As all the prophets foreshow a Saviour, so Isaiah does this most of all. He is called the evangelical prophet, because his predictions "seem almost to anticipate the gospel history: so clearly do they foretell the Divine character of Christ, his miracles, his peculiar qualities and virtues, his rejection and sufferings for our sins, his death, burial, and victory over death; and lastly, his final glory, and the establishment, increase, and perfection of his kingdom; each specifically pointed out and portrayed with the most striking and discriminating characters." Blessed at one time with the vision of Messiah's glorious person, Isaiah never lost the impression. And though called sometimes to reprove Israel, and other nations, for their sins, yet he always hastens back with evident delight to the all-absorbing topic, the kingdom and coming of Christ.

Translation and Notes.

Verse 1. On the first verse we remark: 1. The sense evidently connects it with the preceding chapter; and as evidently forbids its connexion with this. 2. It contains the closing denunciation of the prophet against the proud and wicked daughters of Zion; intimating clearly that the number of the males (מְתִים, *mariti*, chap. iii, 26) should be so reduced by impending judgments that their ratio to the females would be not more than one to seven. 3. The "reproach," therefore, spoken of in this verse, is the reproach of widowhood, (chapter liv, 4,) or celibacy, and consequent barrenness.

Verse 2. As there is considerable controversy concerning some of the expressions in this verse, we give the original of it entire:—

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִהְיֶה צֶמַח יְהוָה לְצְבִי וּלְכָבוֹד וּפְרִי הָאָרֶץ לְגָאוֹן וּלְתִפְאָרֶת לִפְלֵיטַת יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

In that day shall the Branch of Jehovah be for beauty and honour, and the Fruit of the earth for majesty and comeliness to the escaped of Israel.

"*In that day.*" A prophetic expression for some future and highly important period; often used in reference to Messianic times. Chap. xxix, 18; Zech. xiii, 1, 2. In the New Testament it is employed as referring to the judgment day.

"*Shall the Branch of Jehovah.*" This phrase, as well as "Fruit of the earth," we consider as referring to Christ; the first to his Divine, the last to his human nature: equivalent to the New Testament titles "Son of God," and "Son of man;" and parallel to Paul's description of him, that he "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness." We shall be prepared, after looking at the whole chapter, to make further remarks in favour of this interpretation of verse second. "*To the escaped of Israel.*" To the spiritual Israel; those who shall have availed themselves of the atonement of Christ, and shall have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them. Such will see in him "majesty and comeliness." "To them that believe he is precious."

Verse 3. *And it shall be, as to the left in Zion, and the remnant in Jerusalem, that they shall be called holy, even every one written for life in Jerusalem.*

Now, the prophet proceeds to explain in what sense this promised Friend, this Divine Personage, was to be such a blessing to Israel. He should make them holy. This is the grand benefit he confers upon mankind. Depraved by the fall, made morally impure and guilty, that guilt must have rendered them eternally and infinitely wretched. But this glorious "Offspring of Jehovah" interposes as their substitute in suffering and death. And as the result, they are conditionally restored to holiness and to the favour of God.

"*Every one written in Jerusalem.*" Those who by complying with the conditions of the gospel become recognised as his children: which is spoken of here and often, as being "written in Jerusalem," "written in heaven," "written in the book of life."*

Verse 4. *When the Lord shall have washed away the pollution of the daughters of Zion, and shall have cleansed away the bloodguiltiness of Jerusalem, from the midst thereof by a Spirit of judgment and a Spirit of burning.*

* Compare Dan. xii, 1; Phil. iv, 3; Rev. iii, 6; Heb. xii, 23.

Having shown the great end of the Redeemer's interposition,—holiness,—the prophet now indicates the means by which it is to be accomplished. The sins of the whole people, male and female, shall be cleansed, or purged out by the "Spirit of judgment and the Spirit of burning:" by the Holy Spirit, the third person in the adorable Trinity, by whom salvation is personally imparted to men in that act called the "washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." "The Spirit of Judgment," רוּחַ מִשְׁפָּט, is equivalent to Paul's πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης, "Spirit of holiness," or Holy Spirit. And the striking coincidence in the language of this verse with John's expression, that our Lord "shall baptize," i. e., purify his followers "with the Holy Ghost and with fire," marks, we think, a similar coincidence in the sense.

Verse 5. *And Jehovah shall create over the whole dwelling-place of Mount Zion,* (the Church of God in all its branches, and wherever located,) *and over her assemblies, a cloud by day, and a smoke, and the brightness of a flaming fire by night. For over all the glory there shall be a covering.*

There can be no doubt but that the ancient symbol of God's presence with Israel is here alluded to; and it is promised that his presence shall be manifested throughout all the borders of the Church, and in all her congregations, as distinctly as it then was over its "one indivisible congregation, and its one exclusive place of meeting," by the fiery cloud, or Shekinah. Isaiah does not mean to say that this shall be a visible presence, but that it will be as real, and as perceptible as in the days of Moses or Solomon. It will be a spiritual presence, perceived by the consciousness, though not by the senses. Such a presence as Joel predicted, when God said by him, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh." And such as Jesus promised, when he said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them."

And as the Shekinah was the defence, as well as the glory of the ancient people of God, so, in the Christian dispensation, a pure, devoted Church, honoured by the continual presence of God, has nothing to fear. No weapon formed against her shall prosper. For, "over all the glory there shall be a covering." Her perpetual success and final triumph cannot be prevented. "All things are for her sake." The Church "is Christ's, and Christ is God's."

Verse 6. *And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow by day, and for a covert, and for a hiding-place from storm and from rain.*

Christianity is not a mere matter of glory to the Church, it is a matter of vital interest to mankind. It furnishes a covert for their unsheltered heads. 1. It is a want of their natures. As men are so

constituted physically, that they cannot dispense with a dwelling or shelter, and would soon perish without one; so morally they cannot dispense with the salvation of God. Apostate from his favour, and obnoxious to his vindictive justice, they must be brought under the protection of the cross, or perish forever. 2. This important provision is available to all. It is a tabernacle, סֻכָּה, a booth,—a dwelling of the simplest construction possible; and consequently within the means of all: a covering that can be most expeditiously put up, and therefore specially adapted to the wants of those who are emphatically creatures of a moment. 3. And yet cheap and simple as is this shelter, it is declared sufficient to shield us against every danger, whether from hostile elements, or hostile beings, by night or by day. It defends us not merely from the heats, and chills, and damps of life's current evils, but will be found proof against the mighty, driving "storms" of death and judgment. It is a house that will not fall when the rain descends, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon it, for it is founded upon a rock. So far from falling, it will, in a future day, prove to us "a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Concluding Remarks on Verse 2d.

As it is known that the German Rationalists give a literal and mere secular sense to this passage, we would observe further that the spiritual rendering above is favoured, *first*, by the context.

The second, third, and fourth chapters of Isaiah have long been considered by Biblical scholars as constituting one prophecy; the grand themes of which are the Messiah's kingdom, and the judgments of God that were to be visited upon sinning Israel. The line of demarcation between these two topics is easily discernible. The prosperity and general spread of Christ's kingdom are presented in chapter second, from the first to the fourth verse inclusive, in terms most graphic and glowing. Then follows a view of the sinful character of the Israelites at the time of the prediction and of the fearful consequences of their sins, to chapter fourth, verse first. Here the mind of the prophet reverts to the theme always most grateful to his feelings, the ultimate success of the Church, in the passages now under consideration. And whereas in chapter second he had portrayed the external grandeur and triumphs of Christ's reign, he now dwells with delight upon the safety, purity and glory of its internal condition. The scope, therefore, of this entire prophecy, and the undeniably evangelical character of the body of this chapter, furnish additional proof that the second verse is evangelical.

But, *secondly*, let us look with more scrutiny at the terms in which the passage is expressed. That צֶמַח יְהוָה, Branch, or Offspring of Jehovah, is a personal designation, referring to Christ, we judge from the *usus loquendi*. In Jeremiah xxiii, 5, it is said, I will raise unto David a Righteous Branch, a King shall reign and prosper. Again,—in chapter xxxiii, 15, of the same prophet:—I will cause the Branch of Righteousness to grow up unto David, and He shall execute judgment, etc. By Zechariah the Lord says, I will bring forth my servant the Branch. (Chap. iii, 8.) And again: Behold the man whose name is the Branch: and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord. (Chap. vi, 12.) Now, the conclusion is, that as this word in analogous positions signifies a person, viz., a "man," a "servant," a "King," it signifies a person here. And if the "Righteous Branch," the "Branch unto David," and "my Servant the Branch," signify the Messiah, where only an indirect connexion with God is expressed, much more does "Branch of Jehovah" signify this, where such connexion is expressed in the directest manner of which the language is capable. And if צֶמַח לְדָוִד, the Branch unto David, equivalent to "the Offspring of David," (Rev. xxii, 16,) signifies Christ, for a much stronger reason does צֶמַח יְהוָה, the Offspring of Jehovah, signify the Son of the living God.

But the strongest opposition to the spiritual rendering of this verse is made against the phrase פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ, the Fruit of the earth. Having, however, established the higher sense of the foregoing expression, the one in hand may be soon disposed of. 1. The tropical character of this phrase (as also of the other) is decisively indicated by its adjuncts. With what propriety can "majesty" and "honour" be predicated of literal productions of the earth? None at all. But as applied to Christ these attributes are perfectly appropriate. The context requires them to have this application. To make Isaiah speak of grain and vegetables, in a passage devoted to lofty spiritual promises, is preposterous. This leads us to remark: 2. That we must be permitted to avail ourselves of what we have already proved. "Fruit of the earth" is evidently in parallelism with "Branch of the Lord." As this latter has been shown to refer to Christ, so must the former. To make one member of a parallelism refer to Christ and the corresponding member to vegetation would be absurd. 3. Isaiah was fully aware of the two-fold nature in which Christ would appear. He foretold him both as "the Mighty God" and as "a Son given," "a Child born;" and all too in a single verse. What marvel, then, that when in this place he had exhibited the Divine nature in one member of a distich, he should present the human in

the other? As, therefore, "Branch, or Offspring of Jehovah," well describes the Divinity, so "Fruit of the earth," with equal appropriateness, sets forth the humanity of our adorable Lord.

These views of the text are confirmed by the ancient Chaldee Paraphrase, which applies "the Branch of the Lord" to Messiah; and the same views are authorized by such names as Vitringa, Hengstenberg, and Alexander among the moderns, who also consider that "Fruit of the earth" is predicated of Christ's human nature.

Mr. Barnes admits that both phrases refer to the Messiah, yet both in only the general sense, without allusion to the distinction of natures. But one can very readily conceive how he should overlook such allusion here, when he fails to observe the same distinction in Rev. xxii, 16: "I am the Root and the Offspring of David;" making "root" and "offspring" one and the same thing in a passage where the Divinity and humanity are almost as palpably distinguished as (Matt. xxii, 44, 45,) when with his own breath Christ declares he is both "David's LORD" and "David's son."

ART. VI.—AN EARNEST MINISTRY.

An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. With an Introduction, by Rev. J. B. CONDIT, D.D., of Newark, New-Jersey. Fourth edition. New-York: M. W. Dodd.

THE Christian ministry has ever claimed, and to a large extent received, the deference of mankind. The ancient seers, patriarchs and prophets, who were commissioned to make known the will of the Supreme Being, under the impulse of a direct inspiration, were regarded as supernaturally endowed, and their utterances deemed oracular. The protracted preaching of Noah to the impenitent antediluvians, the legislative instructions of Moses, the sublime devotional melodies of David, and the fervid and glowing predictions and denunciations of the long succession of Jewish prophets, were alike divinely inspired; or, in the words of the Apostle, these "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The primitive age was characterized by the more rigid ministration of the law, sacrifices, and covenants; subsequently the claims of the Divine Government were frequently enforced by direct interpositions of Providence; till at length, in the "fulness of time," came the wondrous advent of the promised Messiah, when the gracious "ministry of reconciliation" was "brought to light by the Gospel."

The necessity for such an institution need not be argued. Fearful as has been the wreck of humanity since the birth of time, its desolations would have been immeasurably worse but for the benign and potent influences of truth imparted from on high. No less conspicuous is the beneficence of God to our mental and moral weakness, in the appointment of *human* agencies as the medium for the communication of the Divine will. An angelic ministry would not only have affrighted us by its supernal splendour, but would also have necessarily been inaccessible to human sympathies; much less could sinful man have dared direct intercourse with the immaculate purity of a holy God. "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be [seen to be] of God." The Divine commission, although to the Jew it became a stumbling-block, and to the Greek foolishness, is yet, to them who believe, made the power and wisdom of God, to the salvation of the soul. Ignorance and bigotry have done much to hinder the progress of the Gospel, and the influence of its ministry; yet the world at large has been greatly indebted to its benign influence for all that it has attained of social and moral advancement, not to refer to the peace and blessedness conferred by the hopes which are full of immortality. In all Christian lands the *preaching of the Gospel* is recognised as one of the greatest agencies employed by Divine wisdom for the advancement of the human race in virtue, religion, and civilization. The pulpit is one of the *powers* of modern society—known and admitted to be such.

Yet Christianity has not the supreme control, even in lands called Christian; nor is the ministry *as* powerful and efficient an agent as we should be led to expect it would be, from its Divine sanctions, its adaptation to human wants, and its practical recognition as a leading power in modern society. It may not be inopportune to inquire, briefly, into the causes which have tended to produce this state of things, and to ask how far the great characteristics of Apostolic preaching may yet be said to obtain in our own times.

It will not be denied that, in a popular sense, even the orthodox Christian ministry has, to a certain extent, received an impress from the predominant moral aspect of society at various epochs. After a lapse of more than eighteen centuries, it might well excite surprise that the primitive purity and integrity of the Gospel ministry should be found still to exist at all, were it not admitted that its dispensation has been sustained by a supernatural agency. When its Divine Author "ascended up on high, He gave some, apostles; some, prophets; some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers." In so far, therefore, as any who have assumed the functions of the sacred

office, may have departed from the simplicity and purity of the primitive Church, the pulpit has been shorn of its spiritual power and efficiency. It has been well observed, that had all who professed to be Paul's successors in the ministry, been anointed for their work as was this great apostle, the world would have been evangelized centuries ago. His eminent devotedness, zeal, and successes have never been surpassed: yet his splendid triumphs were less traceable to his extraordinary commission, or his endowment of supernatural gifts, than to his deep appreciation of the claims of his high vocation. It is true he was invested with immediate and plenary authority by the Saviour himself: but he was commissioned to preach the same Gospel that has descended to us; and, excepting the miraculous powers which sometimes accompanied his ministry, we have the same facilities of giving it a lodgment in the heart. The intense emotion, burning zeal, and devoted piety of the apostle, have, it is to be feared, since yielded to the baneful influence of the world, while the objects of sense have obtained the mastery over those of faith. The invincible energy with which he announced the momentous truths he was appointed to proclaim, quickened and alarmed the dormant consciences, and subjugated the hearts of his hearers. His utterances were those of a man deeply conscious of the *reality* of the solemn truths he enforced, and they irresistibly carried conviction. Were the pulpit of the present day invested with the same moral power, results resembling those which attended his ministry would again return to bless the Church and the world.

A vitiated taste, which, in our time, prefers something else rather than the pure Gospel of the blessed God, has, in too many instances, superinduced a false standard for preaching, in the display of human learning as an intellectual entertainment; the multitude being more attracted by the ornateness of the preacher's rhetoric, the refined melody of the choir, and the elegant decorations of the temple, than by a desire to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness." In fine, it is the absence of that realizing faith and deep spirituality which characterized the worshipping assemblies of apostolic times, that has produced such prevailing moral apathy, sterility, and decay in the Christian Church; nor until she becomes invested with these graces and gifts of the Divine Spirit, may we hope to witness a recurrence of her early triumphs. The claims of true discipleship imperatively demand this, both on the part of clergy and laity: the standard of personal piety—the total consecration of heart and life to the cause of human redemption, are the great pre-requisites for the fulfilment of the sublime and wondrous predictions of Holy Writ. If St. Paul "ceased not day and night, by the space of three

years, to warn every one, with tears," why should it be deemed less incumbent upon his successors to yield like devotion to their sacred and solemn trusts?

The great fundamental principles of the Christian faith formed the constant theme of the primitive ministry; these doctrines were expounded with remarkable simplicity and urged with fervency and zeal: and yet the preaching of the great apostle at Athens presents a spectacle of moral grandeur unequalled by anything of the kind in subsequent times. Invested as he was with the high authority of his Divine Master, he stands before the collective wisdom and learning of the polished Greeks as the avowed and accredited ambassador of Heaven, to declare, with all the force of truth, its messages of grace to a lost world. Here, indeed, was eminently demonstrated the truth, that "the world by wisdom knew not God;" and that the mightiest achievements of reason failed utterly to solve the great problem of human destiny; and that without a special revelation from God, man never could have become acquainted with the sublime mysteries connected with his present and eternal happiness. In his second letter to the Church at Corinth, Paul exhibits to us the essential elements of the Gospel ministry, in the energetic and pungent appeals which he urges upon the attention of his brethren: and the sublime teachings of the Divine "Author and Finisher of our faith," also evince the like attributes. No ministry, therefore, can possibly become really effective and salutary, whatever may be its intellectual accompaniments, which is found to be deficient in deep spirituality, earnestness, and faith.

That the embassy with which the Christian minister is charged is one of difficulty, is undeniable, for it has to contend with the moral forces constantly in operation in the human heart against the progress of truth, and its claims; yet the sublimity and grandeur of his message may well be supposed to expand his heart, and elevate his mental and moral powers, while his utterances would derive inspiration from Him

"Who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire."

The grand elemental topics of Holy Writ can never become trite or common-place; there are no themes so soul-stirring and susceptible of magnificent illustration, for the resources of the universe are as much at the command of the expositor of Divine truth, as of the poet and philosopher. Indeed, the world naturally looks for an elevation of character—religious, moral and intellectual, in those who espouse the duties of the Christian ministry, somewhat commensurate with

its claims; and especially is this true in an age when every department of human lore is constantly receiving new accessions to its stores. None in the present day will have the temerity to avow that "ignorance is the mother of devotion;" yet there are, it is to be feared, those who *practically* endorse the ignoble sentiment. "If God has no need of our learning," says Dr. South, "he can have still less occasion for our ignorance." Admitting that the doctrines of the Divine revelation derive their saving efficiency from the Holy Spirit, it by no means follows as a necessary sequence, that the exponents of that revelation should be men of the meanest capacity, and the lowest in the scale of intellectual endowments. Such an idea shocks our sense of the fitness of things, and at once contravenes the universal rule of the Supreme Being, who governs the universe by a harmonious system of laws. A contrary opinion presupposes that the bestowment of superior mental power has been conferred without a purpose or design, and that its cultivation and use are consequently an infringement of a constituent moral law. While, therefore, we do not deny that occasionally the feeblest human instrumentality has been rendered subservient to the interests of religion, we cannot but regret that the admission of the fact has been made the occasion of abuse, in supposing that the pastoral office could be benefitted or even sustained, by the incompetence and indolence of illiterate and disqualified persons. With such it is not of the want of words that we have to complain, but their redundancy; and were they but fitly chosen, and used simply as the appropriate vehicles of thought, we should not have to record our protest against the inflictions of some garrulous occupants of the pulpit, who

> "Talk much, yet say nothing, for an hour;
> While text and truth they labour to display,
> Till both are quite interpreted away."

Such superficial orators, like rivulets, are often rapid and noisy in proportion to their shallowness,—a great command of words being no safe criterion of a fertility of ideas. We do not pretend to prescribe an exact rule in this particular, since, among persons composing our religious assemblies, a great variety of mental attainment must necessarily prevail; all we plead for is, that the standard of our pulpit addresses should not be placed *below* the average capacity of the audience.

Indolence in the discharge of ministerial duties is utterly inexcusable; since even the posts of human preferment and trust are found to challenge the most devoted efforts: and shall the claims of the sacred office, which has no equal in the universe of human pursuits

as to its importance, sublimity, and solemn responsibilities, be deemed unworthy of our highest activity and our closest study? "God is not the patron of darkness," says a modern writer, "he has none of it in his own nature; and near his altars there should be perpetual light." An intelligent and enlightened ministry is essential to the progress of intelligent piety in a religious society. A minister of Christ is expressed emphatically by the metaphor of a *star;* his character and his teachings, therefore, should be luminous and instructive; he should stimulate to noble aims and high endeavours in the Christian course, while he should also

> "Remove each doubt, reprove each dull delay,
> Allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way."

The genius and habits of our people especially demand, what the Rev. John Angell James designates in the admirable work, (the perusal of which has suggested the foregoing remarks,) An *Earnest* Ministry,—a ministry that is eminently *spiritual* and *practical,*—for the popular ear can only be gained by an earnest speaker. Dr. Condit, in his introduction to this deeply interesting volume, which we commend to the perusal of all our clerical brethren, thus writes:—

"The quality of the ministry to which allusion has been made, would naturally tend to give it a more Scriptural character. And what improvement is more desirable than a richer infusion into the discourses of the pulpit of the pure word of God? Not only make the text penetrate the sermon, but let other parts of the Scriptures be made to gather around it, to shed light upon it, and receive light from it. Occasional American hearers of some ministers in England and Scotland have marked this characteristic with great pleasure. If it should diminish the brilliancy of the pulpit, it would add to its richness. Fewer orations will be delivered, but many better sermons. A prevalent unhealthy taste may not be so well satisfied for a time, but a better taste will soon be formed. It will furnish the best opportunity for awakening emotion and affecting the conscience, as well as imparting instruction. Thus obtaining vivid impressions of truth, the preacher will possess one element of true earnestness in the pulpit; for he will speak not only with all the authority of truth, but with a soul deeply imbued with the spirit of it. Then he will have a holy unction, and will give forth both light and heat. A spiritual, practical, Scriptural, as well as learned ministry will be earnest; and that is the ministry God will bless for the enlightenment and salvation of our country."

In this stirring age, when new developments in all departments of science are constantly arresting attention, the claims of an educated and efficient ministry are still more imperatively demanded, in order to secure and retain over the popular mind a commanding influence. Instead, therefore, of adhering to a set, stereotyped vocabulary, into which many of our pulpit addresses are resolved, the preacher should seek to enlist the sympathies of his audience by imparting to his discourses all the variety of interest and illus-

tration of which the various themes he may have to propound may be susceptible. A fixed mannerism of style attaches to most public speakers, but the tedium which this uniformity sometimes induces upon the minds of an audience, may be mitigated by a little well-directed attention and study. Another defect in preaching is a tendency to indulge in abstract metaphysical disquisition, rather than the earnest, direct, and personal application of Divine truth. A cold, indefinite, and unsocial preacher will induce corresponding attributes of character among the people of his charge,—"The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." Another besetting sin of the pulpit, and one that sadly interferes with genuine earnestness, is prolixity. The condensing process seems to be very imperfectly understood or appreciated by the majority of the clergy, or they forget that condensation gives strength and spirit to their harangues. Some even of gigantic intellectual attainments have erred in this particular,—Edward Irving was an instance, who preached a discourse in London, on Apostolic Missions, which, although a masterly effort of genius, failed of its effect from its inordinate length, it having occupied three hours and a half in the delivery. Because, however, a few eminent orators succeed in thus fascinating the ears of an audience by the witchery of their eloquence, it is not to be presumed that others, less gifted, will be tolerated to such unreasonable limits. Whitefield, a man of extraordinary powers, admitted that a man with the eloquence of an angel ought not to exceed forty minutes in the length of a sermon; and Wesley seldom exceeded thirty. For all purposes of devotional instruction this interval is sufficient; and when a speaker transcends its limits, the effect is weakened rather than improved. Prolixity in the pulpit neutralizes the beneficial influence of even a powerful sermon: those, however, most addicted to indulge the habit, are generally such as smother sense in mere sound; who, instead of leading them by the green pastures of the Gospel, inflict a wilderness of words upon their half-famishing and drowsy flock, scarcely presenting them with a solitary glebe or green leaf to beguile the weary waste. These are they who barter gold for lead, and offer us counterfeit coin. Others there are who deal in nice distinctions and abstruse subtleties,—ever dividing and subdividing, till at length they mince the Gospel so fine that it becomes impalpable to all human perception. During the civil wars, we read of one Stephen Marshall, who, on one occasion, beginning to preach, split his text into twenty-four separate parts: it is said one of his hearers immediately took the warning, and ran home for his night-cap and slippers.

There is yet one other defect we would venture to point out,

as occasionally observable in the ministerial character,—we refer to a seeming austerity and rigid asceticism, alike alien to the true spirit of our holy religion, and to the successful presentation of its salutary, ennobling, and soul-inspiring truths. "It is a great disgrace to religion," says Scott, "to imagine that it is an enemy to mirth and cheerfulness, and a severe exacter of pensive looks and solemn faces." Haydn, when once asked how it happened that his church music was always of an animating, cheerful, and even gay description, replied, "I cannot make it otherwise,—I write according to the thoughts I feel: when I think upon God, my heart is so full of joy, that the notes dance and leap as it were from my pen; and since God has given me a cheerful heart, it will be easily forgiven me that I sing to him with a cheerful spirit." The inestimable boon of the Gospel, which is the "ministry of reconciliation," expressive of the clemency and grace of our Heavenly Father, ought assuredly to inspire, in return, emotions of grateful love and joyous exultation, rather than a feeling of acerbity and gloom: and certainly the exhibition on our part of a cheerful piety would prove much more likely to win the suffrages of mankind, than its opposite. "An ounce of cheerfulness, with grace to leaven it," says a theological writer of the olden time, "is better than a ton of religious austerity." It is this that induces the uncharitable and unchristian spirit of sectarianism and bigotry. "I am sure truth never lost anything by being spoken in love," says Dr. Nevins, "and the principal reason why we are not more of one mind is, that we are not more of one heart. How soon they who feel heart to heart, begin to see eye to eye! The way to think alike is first to feel alike; and if the feeling be love, the thought will be truth.

In this connexion, it may not be out of place to refer to certain defects, which are but too apparent, respecting the mode in which many ministers conduct the public *prayers* of the sanctuary. A recent writer in the *Christian Watchman*, has discussed this subject at some length, pointing out the prevailing errors which characterize the extempore prayers of the present day. He treats of four varieties:—those addressed to the Divine Being; to the audience; such as are aimed *at* men and things; and prayers which are neither *to*, *at*, nor *for*, any person or thing whatsoever! Under these several divisions, he tells some wholesome truths, which one would think, might make all his readers long for a liturgy. The same senseless garrulity is here observable, of which we have already complained respecting public preaching. Some, from the wearisome extent of their supplications, and their incoherent character, often ranging over all imaginable topics on the habitable globe, and even beyond

it, seem to be impressed with the idea that the value of this important branch of public devotion, is not so much to be estimated by its earnestness and appropriateness, as its quantity. Thus the monks of old, and the Pharisees did—vainly supposing that the numerical extent of their invocations to the Deity constituted their principal excellence. It is recorded of a certain empirical divine of the seventeenth century, Dr. Sandy, who pretended to have held communications with the angel Raphael, that he was so superlatively devout, that his knees absolutely grew *horny* by his constant kneeling. Prayers should be *brief*, animated, and *direct*, if they are to enlist the sympathies of an audience, and inspire devotional feelings. If we seek for the true standard, we shall find that all inspired examples are short,—very short, and graphic:—Solomon's at the dedication of the temple (the longest on record) did not exceed, perhaps, five minutes in its delivery. Says old Francis Quarles:—

> "In all our prayers the' Almighty does regard
> The judgment of the *balance*, not the yard;
> He loves not words, but matter; 'tis his pleasure
> To buy his wares by weight, and not by measure."

We do not plead for studied phrases and rhetorical flourishes in these solemn appeals: this abuse of the sacred duty, we would no less deprecate. A true and rightly constituted prayer, consists in the simple and earnest outgushing of the heart: such an oblation can alone be acceptable, and propitiate the Divine benefaction through the mediation of Christ, and link the earth-bound spirit, in its lofty aspirations, with the spirit-world above. Many have much more to supplicate of Heaven, than to offer the tribute of thanks for; a feature that does not argue very favourably for their grateful recognition of the multiform blessings of which they are the constant recipients. A certain minister, being admonished by one of his lay brethren on account of the almost total suspension of requests in his devotional exercises, gave this reply—an admirable one—that he was conscious of so much for which he felt it his duty to return thanks, that he could not find time to ask for more. We have thus very briefly pointed out, what we regard as the more prominent blemishes that mar the moral grandeur and dignity of the sacred office of the Christian ministry, as well as lessen its effectiveness.

Were we to refer to the many illustrious personages who have worthily presented the high claims of the Christian ministry, we might take, for example, those men of the highest style of virtue—whose self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of truth, induced the abandonment of the cherished endearments of home and kindred, for the perils

and sufferings incident to a missionary crusade among the untamed and untutored of their race in the dark lands of heathenism, in the noble effort of seeking their moral and spiritual restoration. Like testimonials might be adduced touching the numerous class of those who have consecrated their lives to the same noble endeavour at home; of which the devoted and indefatigable Whitefield may be cited as a worthy example. He preached eighteen thousand sermons, in addition to which he crossed the Atlantic thirteen times. His public addresses were, moreover, not the mere crudities of an untutored and unfurnished mind, but the well-digested productions of studious reflection and patient investigation. His style was one of fervent and earnest boldness; not ornate or even polished, but eminently spiritual and practical. His idea of the competency of the clergy in his day is thus given. "It has long been my judgment that it would be best for many of the preachers to have a tutor, and retire for a while, and be content with preaching now and then, till they were a little more improved." Nor would this suggestion, perhaps, be misplaced at the time present. Robert Hall was deeply impressed with the necessity of pulpit preparation: "If I had prepared more for the pulpit," he writes, "I should have been a much better preacher:" there are heights and depths, lengths and breadths in eloquence yet to be attained that we know nothing about. It is the absence of this devout preparation that renders the ministry of our day so comparatively inefficient. A due appreciation of the momentous responsibility of the Christian minister, regarded in the light of eternity, will add convincing and irresistible force to its paramount claims, to the end of time; for

> The pulpit (in the sober use
> Of its legitimate, peculiar powers)
> Must stand acknowledged, while the world shall stand,
> The most important and effectual guard,
> Support, and ornament of virtue's cause.

ART. VII.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Browne, collected and edited, with a New Memoir, Notes, and Introduction. By SIMON WILKIN, F. L. S.; 4 vols., 8vo. London.

WITHOUT knowing an author's personal history, we may, indeed, understand his arguments, and feel the beauty and force of his imagery; but it is impossible so fully to understand and to sympathize with his writings, as if we knew well the ways, the habits, and the character of the man.

Now it is precisely at this point that the admirers and students of Sir Thomas Browne feel themselves pressed with embarrassing ignorance, or at least compelled to make the most of scanty and uncertain knowledge. We know, and can know, but little of his history. The English historians, who lived nearest his own times, have scarcely mentioned his name. The intrigues of courts, the contests of court beauties, and the strife of contending armies, fill their pages—they found no room for one who was neither soldier, politician, nor statesman. True, some modern attempts have been made to write the life of our author, but the information essential to such a task had been left behind with the times to which it belonged, and refused to yield itself up, even at the call of antiquarian research. Even the great name of Dr. Johnson gave no interest to his Memoir of Sir Thomas Browne. Indeed, he tells us he only undertook it because he thought that a new edition of the works of Sir Thomas, then about to be published, would appear imperfect without a biography. Brought to the task by such a motive, and having such scanty materials, his work, as might have been expected, was a mere literary job. Beyond a few general facts, that belong to the life of almost every man, it contains nothing of interest, except the extracts from Mr. Whitefoot's discourse, and from the writings of Sir Thomas himself. The supplementary memoir, by the editor of the last edition of his works, gives us little more than a brief account of the manner in which his writings were received, and the esteem in which they were held by his contemporaries throughout Europe; which, as far as it goes, and in its way, is of great value. Both these memoirs put together, and all English history added, only tell us that he was born in London, in 1605; that he was early deprived of both his parents, by death; that he was cheated by his guardian; that he studied, first at Winchester, and afterwards at Oxford, where he graduated; that he travelled through

Ireland, France, Italy, and Holland, and at Leyden received his M. D.; that he married Dorothy Millham, and died in 1682.

If we turn now to our author's correspondence, we shall find the same meagreness of incident, the same absence of information as to his personal history. His letters are addressed mainly to his two sons, Thomas and Edward, a few of them to distinguished scientific men, among whom are Evelyn and Dugdale. The letters of the latter class are purely scientific, while those of the former are written in the manner of a man who, in the midst of pressing engagements, snatches a few moments to give advice and encouragement to his children. There are two things, at least, which these letters go far to establish; namely, his deep piety, and his earnest pursuit of knowledge. In a letter to his son, then in France, he says, "Hold firm to the Protestant religion, and be diligent in going to church..... be constant, not negligent, in your daily private prayers, and habituate your heart, in your tender days, unto the fear and reverence of God." The same spirit is breathed in all his letters to his sons, during their stay on the continent. There is not one of them in which God and his providence are not reverently mentioned. In the same letters, there are frequent allusions to books, which he wishes his sons to read; and sometimes a statement of curious facts, which he has gathered out of old and almost unknown books. His letters to his son Edward, while he was a fellow of the College of Physicians, in London, always contained some valuable piece of information, which the latter might turn to good account in his public lectures.

Allusion has already been made to Mr. Whitefoot, who wrote "Minutes of the Life of Sir Thomas Browne;" and although he gives us none of his personal *history*, yet it is to him that we are to look, more than to any other source, for our author's personal *character*. He considered it among the greatest blessings of his life to have known Sir Thomas long and intimately. He describes his complexion as answerable to his name, his stature moderate, and garb plain. "The horizon of his understanding exceeded the hemisphere of the world; he knew the number of the visible stars, and the names of those that had any; his geographical knowledge was as exact as if Divine Providence had appointed him surveyor of the whole terrestrial orb." His memory retained everything remarkable in the books he read; and he was especially familiar with history, ancient and modern, and with the Latin poets. He tells us that his control of his passions was such, that he was rarely known to be overcome by any of them: that he was never seen to be transported with mirth, or dejected with sadness, but was always cheerful. If

he broke a jest, which he seldom did, he was apt to blush at his own folly. His natural modesty was visible in a habitual blush, and this same intense modesty made him difficult to engage in conversation. His religion was that of the Church of England, and though he held it firmly, he was averse to disputation. In his death sickness, though he suffered great pain, he bore himself with the utmost patience: and he who had triumphed over the king of terrors in others, when his own turn came, submitted with rational and religious courage. His last words were expressions of happiness and free submission to the will of God. In strict accordance with this high-wrought description of our author's religious character, is the following extract, from his own common-place book:—

"To be sure that no day pass without calling upon God in a solemn-formed prayer, seven times within the compass thereof: that is, in the morning, and at night, and five times between . . . . . To pray and magnify God in the night; and on my dark bed, when I cannot sleep, to have short ejaculations whenever I awake; and when the four o'clock bell awakes me, or upon my first discovery of the daylight, to say the collect of our liturgy. To pray in all places where privacy inviteth—in any house, highway, or street; and to know no street or passage in this city which may not witness that I have not forgot God or my Saviour in it. . . . . To take occasion of praying upon the sight of any church which I see or pass by, as I ride about. Since the necessities of the sick, and unavoidable diversions of my profession, keep me often from church, yet to take all possible care that I might never miss the sacraments on their accustomed days. To pray daily, and particularly for sick patients, and in general for others, wheresoever, howsoever, under whose care soever; and at the entrance into the house of the sick, to say, 'The peace and mercy of God be in this place.' After sermon to make a thanksgiving and desire a blessing, and to pray for the minister. . . . . Upon sight of beautiful persons, to bless God in his creatures; to pray for the beauty of their souls, and to enrich them with inward graces to be answerable unto the outward. Upon sight of deformed persons, to send them inward graces and enrich their souls, and give them the beauty of the resurrection."

What a noble gratification it would afford us to follow such a mind through the various paths of life, to observe its development in professional, social, and domestic intercourse, and to compare his outward life with what he has written. But this privilege is denied us. Beyond what has now been given, we know but little of his life; and with the imperfect conception of him afforded by such scanty information, we must introduce our readers to his works at once.

His first and most famous work, to which we shall mainly confine ourselves, was *Religio Medici*, which, the author tells us, was written for his own satisfaction, and not for publication. By some means, however, a copy was obtained, and the book was published without his knowledge or consent. When he saw the manner in

which it was received, he immediately determined to put forth a corrected edition of it, in his own name. In a few months he found himself famous. *Religio Medici* carried the name of its author through Europe, with almost unparalleled rapidity, and soon was translated into Latin, French, German, Dutch, and Italian; and in all these languages found commentators, opposers, and apologists. The book contains an account of the author's opinions and feelings on moral and religious subjects, and has been called an autobiography. But, valuable as it is in itself, and in relation to the personal character of its author, it is not an autobiography. To be what the name imports, an autobiography must not be a mere account of opinions, speculations, and feelings on the one hand, nor a bare tissue of dates and outward actions on the other. Its subject must be treated neither exclusively as an invisible spirit, nor as a visible agent. In the first case, we shall have no actions to prove and illustrate his principles, and in the second no principles to account for and explain his actions—in one a mere shell of the personal history, which will not repay the opening; and, in the other, an individual psychology, a moral and metaphysical experience. An autobiography, to be worthy of the name, must give us the character as it results from thought and action, principle and practice. It must spread before us the fields of outward life, traversed by the streams of feeling, bubbling and gushing from the fountains of thought. We want no intellectual phlebotomy, which shall present us the vital fluid of thought and passion out of that living connexion in which alone it can retain its heat and activity. Let it flow on in its proper channels; and while you lay your hand on the pulse of the inward life, and fix your eye upon the outward developments,—while you trace sources to their results, and results to their sources, write the life and draw the character. If *Religio Medici* is an autobiography, it is a purely subjective one; there is nothing in the outward world with which to associate the thoughts expressed in it; we have no actions given by which to judge how far these thoughts influenced the writer in his life. He stands before us as a spirit, now looking out upon the world, and now in upon himself, telling us how he regards both; but never stepping out before us into the arena of actual life, so as to give us an opportunity of judging him for ourselves.

The work is divided into two parts: the first gives an account of the author's faith; the second of his charity, *i. e.*, his deep interest in the happiness of all mankind. His religion, he tells us, is expressed by the honourable style of Christian, for which he is indebted not merely to the font, to education and the clime in which he was born,

but, having in his riper years and confirmed judgment seen and examined all, he finds himself obliged by the principles of grace and the law of his own reason to embrace no other name. But because the name Christian is too general to express his faith, there being a geography of religions as well as of lands, he declares himself to be of that reformed faith,—the same which the Saviour preached, the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorized, and the martyrs confirmed; but which, by the sinister ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of the times, had become so changed from its native beauty, that it required to be restored again to its primitive integrity. As to the Romanists, whose desperate resolutions had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new trimmed in the dock, he wishes to remember that we have reformed from them, not against them, and that terms of scurrility can only difference our affections not our cause. Where there was no Protestant church, he could enter theirs and worship in them; where, if their superstitious worship should offend the Creator, his might please him; if their prayers should profane his service, his might hallow it. He could never hear the Ave Maria bell without a prayer, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one point, for him to err in all, *i. e.*, in silence and dumb contempt. But while they directed their prayers to the Virgin, he offered his to God, and rectified the errors of their devotions by rightly ordering his.

Now, although some may condemn these sentiments as over tolerant to Romanism, yet every one must be struck with the simple uprightness of mind which, in the presence of what it believes to be idolatrous error practically carried out, instead of growing angry and indulging in abuse, can be earnestly absorbed in the performance of its own duty. Every one must admire the spirit of noble charity and tender forbearance, which among angry enemies prefers to fix upon the points of agreement rather than upon those of difference, and to consider his opponents rather as embraced with himself within the circle of humanity, than as shut out from him by the lines of party.

Hear him again in a passage, which, whatever error it may contain, shows how completely he had subjected the pride of intellect to the teachings of faith:—

"As for those wingy mysteries in divinity, and airy subtleties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *pia mater* of mine. Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. The deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated but maintained by syllogism and the rule of reason. I love to

lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles in the Trinity, incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan, and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned from Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est.*"

And again—

"This I think is no vulgar part of faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason and against the arguments of our proper senses."

Now, after reading these and similar passages, it is easy enough to praise the force of the author's imagination, and the liveliness of his fancy; and it is equally easy to sneer contemptuously, as some have done, at his superstition and credulity. But to show how such an intellect as that of Sir Thomas Browne could have found repose in such opinions, would be a much more difficult task. It may, however, throw some light upon these strange passages to remember that in the two foregoing sections Sir Thomas has been speaking of heresies. His idea appears to be, that heresies result from the difficulty of believing the mysterious revelations of the Bible, or the incomprehensible explanations of the Church. He tells us that in his youthful days he himself had fallen into certain errors; but that, since he had been "of an age to know that he knew nothing, his reason had been more and more pliable unto the will of faith, and that he had become content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition in an easy and Platonic description." He had settled it in his mind, and that after a thorough examination of all the evidence, that the Bible was from God; and believing that he had found statements in it contrary to his reason, some of which he mentions in the tenth section and elsewhere in *Religio Medici*, he is determined to regard these contradictions of human reason as resulting entirely from an error in his logic, or a deception of his senses, and instead of looking upon them as grounds of unbelief, to consider them as intended to call for a nobler and higher exercise of faith. And thus, he tells us, he teaches his haggard and unreclaimable reason to stoop to lure of faith. With him the soul was more valuable than the body, eternity than time, religion than nature, faith than reason, and as unfortunately he supposed he had discovered faith and reason to be incongruous, he felt bound to give the preference to the former. If his principles of interpretation were wrong, still, beyond a doubt, his conclusion was more safe than the opposite one would have been.

It must not, however, be inferred from these passages that Sir Thomas was an indifferent spectator of nature. Nothing could be

further from the truth. He was a devout worshipper in her temple; and amidst its lofty and sublime architecture his soul glowed and adored with all the enthusiasm of one newly instructed, and yet seemed as much at home as if he had been made high priest of her mysteries. The *quincunxes* heavenly and earthly, the body of an insect and the frame of the universe, the smallest plant and the brightest star, each had for him a talismanic charm, and possessed the power of leading him by contemplation directly up to its Author. Hear his own beautiful language:—

"'Beware of philosophy' is a precept not to be received in too large a sense; for in the mass of nature there is a set of things that carry in their front, though not in capital letters, yet in stenography and short characters, something of divinity, which to wiser reasons serve as luminaries in the abyss of knowledge, and to judicious beliefs as scales and rundles to mount the pinnacles and highest pieces of divinity."

In the same strain he says again:—

"The world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man; 'tis the debt of our reason we owe to God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts."

But we cannot give all that Sir Thomas believes at length, we must rather, to use his own language, attempt to do it in "stenography and short characters." He believes in two inspired volumes, the Bible and nature, the latter a public manuscript expansed to all, in sounding whose depths we incur no risks, as bold spirits do in doubtful theological speculations. He was sure of the existence of such beings as witches, and held those to be atheists who denied it. The power of these beings he supposed to lie in an acquaintance with the secret laws of nature, which acquaintance came directly or indirectly from the devil. The question concerning anti-Christ he looked upon as the philosopher's stone of divinity. He teaches the presence of God in the hearts of good men, and says, that without this, there is to him no heat under the tropic, nor light though he dwelt in the body of the sun.

He considers Moses as settling the questions of the eternity of matter and the origin of the world by the introduction of a new term "creation." And for a moment laying himself liable to the charge of pantheism, than which nothing could have been further from his thoughts, he tells us "God being *all things* is contrary to *nothing*, out of which all things were made, and so nothing became something, and Omniety informed nullity into an essence." From the creation of the world he proceeds to that of man, and remarks that the other creatures were created at the blast of His mouth out of nothing, but that in the creation of man God played the sensible

operator, and seemed rather to make than to create; that having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a harder creation—of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal soul. With all his intimate knowledge, both as a philosopher and a physician, of the frame of man, he found nothing in him which gave him so much satisfaction as that which he did not find, namely, an organ for the soul. For, as to the brain, he discovered nothing in that which he did not find in the "cranny" of a beast; and thus he learned that there is something in us which can do without us, and will be after us. As our frame is wonderful in its construction, and in its relation to the soul, so he discovers something passing strange in the mode of its support. He finds out that we are what we all abhor—cannibals; devourers not only of men, but of ourselves, not merely in an allegory, but in truth: for this mass of flesh came in at our mouths,—the frame in which we take so much delight has been upon our trenchers. Sir Thomas is a firm believer in spiritual apparitions, but regards them, not as the spirits of departed men, but as devils, whose object is to seduce men to crime, and to make them believe that the blessed spirits of departed saints are not happy. In the frequent appearance of these spectres in grave-yards, he sees the devil as an insolent champion, rejoicing over the spoils of his victory in Adam. As to death, if the devil could work his fancy to believe he should never die, he would not outlive that very thought. But although he does not fear death, he frankly confesses himself not a little ashamed of it. He feels it to be the disgrace of his nature, that death, in a single moment, can so disfigure him that his dearest friends will start at the sight of him. Suicide he condemns not only as sinful, but also as cowardly; because, although it requires courage to meet death while life is desirable, yet, when it becomes more terrible than death, it is then true valour to dare to live. Hence, he considers Job more valiant than Cato or Codrus. In the same strain of metaphysical acuteness and unique eloquence he speaks of the resurrection, of heaven and of hell; and finishes the first part of his book by telling us that he fears God and yet is not afraid of him; that his thoughts are so fixed on heaven that he has almost forgetten the idea of hell; and that he is as well persuaded of his own personal and eternal salvation as of the existence of such a city as Constantinople.

In the second part of *Religio Medici* the author discloses his feelings toward his fellow-men. He considers himself predisposed to charity, because he has no idiosyncracy, either in respect of nations, diet, animals or climate. The frogs and snails of the French are as grateful to him as the common viands of his own country. He was

born in one climate, but framed and constellated unto all,—he is in England everywhere, and under any meridian. The devil is the only substance which he can bring himself heartily to hate. And yet he confesses that if this constitutional predisposition were the only source of his charity, he would be a mere moralist, and divinity would write him a heathen. He drew his purse, not for his sake who demanded it, but for his who enjoined it; neither did he relieve any man upon the rhetoric of his miseries, or in obedience to the earnest calls of sympathy in his own breast. To be moved merely by compassion in helping another he reckoned more selfish than benevolent; because by compassion we make another's miseries our own, and in relieving them we relieve ourselves. But his charity is not restricted to almsgiving, liberality is not its totality. Divinity has wisely divided charity into many branches, so that in so many ways as we may do good, in so many ways may we be charitable. Ignorance requires as merciful a hand as sickness or poverty; he pitied an ignorant man as much as he pitied Lazarus. Therefore he studied not for his own sake alone, but for theirs who studied not for themselves; and thus made his head not a grave, but a treasury of knowledge, and stood forth not the advocate of a monopoly, but of a community in learning. Besides, he considered this the cheapest form of charity, resembling the natural beneficence of the sun which illuminates others without obscuring itself. Of friendship, which he brings in as embraced in the general subject, he speaks in terms of quiet, philosophic rapture, showing that his emotions were not the less intense for being directed by a powerful and steady intellect. He looks upon it as an act within the power of charity to divide a sorrow almost out of itself, at least so far as to make it unfelt. The sorrows of his friend he desired not to share, but to engross. Formerly he thought the noble examples of friendship furnished by history to be rather fictions of what ought to be, than true accounts of what had been. But when he himself came within the charmed circle of friendship, he felt that the noble attachments of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, would be easy of imitation. He tells us he loved his friend before himself, and yet did not think he loved him enough; that when he is separated from him he is dead until he is again with him; and that he is so united to him that union does not content him, but he and his friend wish to become each other. It would be great pleasure to know who was the object of an affection so strangely and strongly expressed. It may have been Mr. Whitefoot, or by possibility the great and good Bishop Hall, the bitterness of whose persecutions would have been greatly mollified by such a friendship.

One more passage and we are done with *Religio Medici.* The reader may see how the passage grows out of this discussion of charity, by examining the connexion in which it is found. He has just been speaking of the other sex and of marriage.

"It is my temper and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is music even in the beauty and in the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is a music wherever there is a harmony, order, or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the music of the spheres; for those well-ordered motions and regular paces, though they give no sound to the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whatever is harmonically composed, delights in harmony, which makes me distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all church music. For myself, not only from my obedience, but my particular genius, I do embrace it; for even that vulgar and tavern music which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and profound contemplation of the first Composer. There is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers: it is a hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world and creatures of God,—such a melody to the ear as the whole world, well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say with Plato, the soul is a harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto music. Thus some, whose temper of body agrees and humours the constitution of their souls, are born poets, though, indeed, all are naturally inclined unto rhythm. This made Tacitus in the very first line of his story fall upon a verse; and Cicero, the worst of poets, but declaiming for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect hexameter."

What a passage! How he rises from female beauty to the general idea of harmony! The note which Cupid strikes raises him to the empyrean, and his soul hears the music of the spheres. Even the music of the tavern leads his devout soul up to Him who arranged the harmonies of the universe; and in the undulations of the atmosphere he discovers the sounding hieroglyphics and invisible shadows which represent the Divine sense of order, proportion and beauty. Jehovah himself stands listening to his own music, the universe the instrument, the orbits of its worlds the complicated strings, and the worlds themselves the visible and ponderous notes that roll along them.

Where, but from this remarkable passage, did Addison get the thoughts contained in the last stanza of his paraphrase of the Nineteenth Psalm, commencing

"What though in solemn silence all?"

And where, if not from this same noble paragraph, did Bushnell catch the inspiration of the most eloquent passage of his eloquent address on "Work and Play," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa, at Cambridge, in 1848? The passage alluded to may be found on

the twenty-eighth page of the address. The resemblance, however, between our countryman and Sir Thomas is one of kindred and not at all of imitation. Though we think the knight assisted the orator, yet it was only as the sun helps the earth to bring forth and mature her natural products. Though the spark came from the flint of the physician, it fell upon appropriate fuel in the genius of the preacher. The fire is doubtless the same, but the flames differ in shape and intensity.

A word upon the critics of Sir Thomas Browne, and we are done. Tuckerman has attempted a portrait of our author; but, as his object was rather eulogy than criticism, he has only thrown a chaplet or two of pretty flowers, not unskilfully woven together, around the philosopher's brow. He has written nothing that we care to recall or correct. Another sketch of Sir Thomas has been given us by Hazlitt in his "Age of Elizabeth," where the good knight appears side by side with Jeremy Taylor, but so wofully disfigured, that if the picture were not labelled, his best friends would never know it. The art of the critic has converted the deep philosopher into a sort of intellectual rope-dancer, or metaphysical clown, whose sole vocation was to amuse the world with his antics. No admirer of Sir Thomas, no fair reader of his works, can look at Hazlitt's account of him without indignation. Almost the first sentence is a gross and palpable slander. "Sir Thomas Browne seemed to be of opinion that the only business of life was to think, and that the proper object of speculation was by darkening knowledge to breed more speculation, and find no end in wandering mazes lost." Sir Thomas "seemed to think" no such thing. Judging from his life and character, he thought it worthy of his powers to be a skilful and experienced physician; he considered the simple exercise of prayer no impeachment of his intellect; he felt it to be a part of his duty to be a virtuous man, a good citizen and an affectionate husband and father. Hear this critic again: "He stands on the edge of the world of sense and reason, and gains a vertigo by looking down on impossibilities and chimeras." True, Sir Thomas was a daring speculator, but no matter where he stood or what he looked upon, his head was always clear. His eagle-eye appears sometimes to see nothing, but this is only because he sees farther than others. Take another passage: "The passion of curiosity (the only passion of childhood) had in him survived old age, and had superannuated his other faculties." What faculties? This is far less true than if we were to say of Hazlitt, that the passion for what was striking had frequently been too strong for his love of truth. Still more palpably in the teeth of the truth, he says: "For a thing ever to have had a name

is sufficient warrant with him to entitle it to belief, and to invest it with all the rights of a subject and its predicates." How false this is, let his work on Vulgar Errors testify, which was written expressly to dissipate, by means of philosophy, hundreds of the superstitions of his own age. Take another passage as erroneous as any of the preceding: "He is superstitious but not bigoted; to him all religions are much the same." As to superstition, he held the theological errors of his times in common with Hale, Bacon, and others; but as to the other charge, there is nothing in all Sir Thomas has written to give it the slightest countenance. He was a Christian by the conviction of his intellect and the piety of his heart; and the very same investigations which had convinced him that the religion of the Bible was true, had led him to the conclusion that every other religion was false. One reference more, and we shall lay Hazlitt aside. Sir Thomas in one place, strangely enough it must be confessed, says he should be "content if our species were continued like trees." Hazlitt, in alluding to this odd passage, says: "The reason which Sir Thomas gives for the orthodoxy of his taste in this respect is, that he was an admirer of the music of the spheres." This gloss makes our author incoherent, whereas the passage, as it is given in *Religio Medici*, along with what follows, is one of the most beautiful and lofty to be found in the language. It is the commencement of the sublime passage on music already quoted, where, from the idea of the sex, he advances to female beauty; then to beauty in general; then to harmony; and finally, to the harmony of the worlds; which is the music of the spheres. Hazlitt takes hold of this passage, not as a skilful dissector, but rather as a butcher; as he cannot find the joints, the dissecting knife is thrown aside, and the cleaver resorted to,—what cannot be overcome by the critic-art must yield to critic-force; he had other books to read and criticise, Sir Thomas refused to be understood at a glance, and the result is, that a want of leisure with the critic becomes a want of genius in the author.

We had intended offering some remarks on Coleridge's estimate of Sir Thomas Browne, but as we have already gone beyond the limits we had proposed for this article, we will content ourselves by merely remarking, that our author was one of his "first favourites." "By his particular genius he did embrace him."

ART. VIII.—DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

Of the various theories of Divine Providence at present propounded, the more important, perhaps, may be reduced to three:—

1. The theory which represents that God not only *acts* in all things, but that he is the *sole* Actor. With this theory there are no second causes. God is the immediate cause of all events, and of all acts. The creature is an occasion, but not a cause. The "creature is a passive instrument by which God absolutely and irresistibly accomplishes his designs."*

2. The second theory represents the creature as *independent* of the Creator in all acts. God, in this case, is represented as impressing *laws* upon all things, both matter and mind, and then as leaving the whole, like a wound-up clock, to finish its history. This has been called the "system of mechanism."† It received great support in the fourteenth century. Baxter adopted this system. Dr. Combe, of Edinburgh, professes, in his Constitution of Man, to have discovered that these laws act *independently* of each other; that is, that the great departments of organized and unorganized matter and mind have each a specific law, and that they act independently of each other, and are, in an absolute sense, changeless.‡ He maintains that the interposition or agency of the Almighty is excluded from every manifestation of mind or matter. In this theory God is not known in the earth, excepting by his *creative* acts.

3. The third theory is that which admits *natural law*, but claims that concurrent aid from God is essential for the continued existence of matter, and for the exercise of all active powers with which the creature is endowed.§ In this theory two agents are admitted in some form, in the usual developments of matter and mind. Natural law is an agent of God, but is always superintended by him. The rational creature is always upheld by the Almighty, but He does not participate in their sin.

With an additional element we adopt the last theory. We admit that there is a physical law impressed upon all matter: we admit a law also upon the mind—and one law is its *freedom*. We claim a Divine superintendence, which never abandons either matter or mind. We claim also *interposition*, which sometimes directly guides natural law, or, as an agent in the natural world, sometimes

* Knapp's Theology, p. 237. † Ibid.
‡ Combe's Constitution of Man, p. 21–29. § Ibid.

rises against it, or renders it powerless:—or God may give to it a *supernatural force.* Our theory admits God to be a free Being—as free at least as a monarch on earth—save that he cannot err, nor in any way do wrong. And while we admit the mind to be free, we hold that it is taught, helped, checked, and governed of *God.* Natural law in its outward developments is usually changeless; but has been, is, and will be interrupted, while the present state of things continues, in order to meet the moral condition of life, which is now imperfect. Where a nation is virtuous or vicious, God sends blasting and drought, rain and harvest, in accordance with the moral state, at His pleasure.

There hold against the first of the theories named, the following objections:—

1. All those Scriptures which make man the responsible agent for *all his acts,* and judge him for them, even "every idle word." These Scriptures constitute quite a portion of the whole Bible.

2. Man's *consciousness* is against it. He knows that he has acted against the mind of God. These convictions that *he* has sinned are sometimes terrible.

3. All ideas of *pardon,* and the whole sacrificial system of Christ to procure pardon, are against it. We need not repent for God, nor seek pardon for Him, nor for His acts. But, if He is the sole Actor, then every penitent tear is for God, not man. So did Christ die for Him, not for us.

Against the second theory the following objections hold:—

1. It strikes at the whole system of the patriarchal and Jewish religion, a dominant idea of which was to *ask* of God for daily interpositions for fruitful fields, as though he guided the clouds; for protection, as though he guarded life; and which recognised God as the director of the laws that give us "basket and store," "pestilence," "mildew," "fowls of the air," "rain," "drought," "fruit of the ground," "fruit of the body," "coming in," "going out,"—in a word, as the everywhere present Governor of the universe. Deut. xxviii.

2. It offends equally against the whole religious system of Christ, which teaches us to *pray* for "daily bread;" thus representing God to be everywhere a prayer-answering God, and that in every event, the "falling sparrow" not excepted. It strikes especially against all those passages in the New and Old Testament, which represent the Divine Agency as active in man: *e. g.,* "I in you," "you in Me," "Christ in us," "being filled with the Holy Ghost," &c.

3. It is against the experience of every true and mature Christian, who knows that "God dwelleth in him," "working in

him, both to will and to do, of His good pleasure," and knowing also that "without Christ he can do nothing."

The third theory, with the additional element and explanations, we adopt; and the principal object of our present article will be to illustrate and sustain it. If the theory harmonize with the moral history of the world in the recorded facts of the Bible for two thousand years, and with what is known of natural laws, and with the general experience of mankind, we claim that it is true. The fact that gravity explains the movements of the solar system, is an evidence of its truth. Thus of the doctrine of Providence: if it harmonize with His recorded movements, we set it down as truth.

1. Natural law is the usual agent by which the Divine Being controls matter. The whole *material* world is under this law, so far as to give stability to its movements, and inspire hope in man. The sun rises and sets, the tide flows and ebbs, in accordance with the same law. Thus also grass springs forth from the earth, the lily blossoms, the fields wave with wheat, generations of men succeed each other, and all the phenomena of life pass onward to its consummation. But while this is admitted, we maintain that natural law is but an *agent* of an *intelligent mind*, that is always answering the purposes of His will, and is to be changed at His pleasure—and *is* changed, whenever circumstances or His glory may call for it. The very stability of what seems to us natural law, arises not from any attribute of matter out of God, but from the infinite wisdom of God in the arrangement of the universe, and from the fact that but few changes in natural law should be witnessed. But we cannot admit that matter has an attribute not to be overcome by the Deity; nor that he has abandoned his intelligent creation entirely to its power. He still holds natural law as an agent to promote the best interests of the universe, but at all times subject to suspension. In this way, He will "rain on one spot of earth, and not on another." He will suspend its laws, "that there be neither dew nor rain by the space of three years and six months;" and again change the direction of some wheel of the Providential arrangement, and so order its movements that there shall be an abundance of rain: and thus show to man that HE is the author, governor, and true GOD of nature. He will in this manner send famine in the one case, or withhold it. In a word, natural law is so ordered that it shall be subservient to moral government—the great object of all law and of all matter. Natural law is designed to exhibit GOD.

2. Divine moral government or providence is seen conspicuously in an event where God touches a spring, not in the natural, but in

the spiritual world, but all in accordance with natural law, and with the freedom of the mind. A beautiful illustration of this sentiment may be found in 2 Kings, chap. 7. Samaria, the capital of Israel, had been sorely besieged by Ben-hadad, King of Syria. The consequence was, by natural law, a terrible famine. And such was the scarcity of provision, that women ate their own offspring. Four lepers at this time stood at the "entering in of the gate," in a state of starvation; and they reasoned very conclusively:—"If we enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now, therefore, come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die." The resolution was made, and they repaired to the Syrian camp as a desperate alternative. Now "the LORD had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said, one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us . . . . . and they fled for their life." Here is a beautiful narration—too beautiful for anything but truth. But that host of chariots was in the spiritual world. They had been *seen* a few days before by the servant of Elisha. Here they were *heard*—heard, probably, by natural law, at least in accordance with it. No natural law was here violated; but the spring touched, to accomplish the great moral purpose in view—to show that the God of Israel was the governor of all men and nature too; that nothing was too hard for him—was in the spirit world. The air is in motion, apparently in accordance with natural law—the deep rumbling of chariots is heard—the tramping of horses and of a mighty host at hand—the army flies as though driven by a "viewless" but powerful wind. Their equipage, and food, and garments, and silver, are left behind. The gates of Samaria are cautiously thrown open, and plenty restored to the famished Israelites: and all this in a few hours.

Now, here is a field of action for Divine Providence: in modes of operation like the above—as wide, as comprehensive, as minute as is moral government and the world's history, but all *invisible* to man; and yet it may touch any event in life, affecting nations or individuals, turning and upturning at the pleasure of God, down to the fall of a sparrow or the flight of a bird; and all accomplishing the great purpose of the Almighty, to make himself known to man, as the great Author and Governor of the world. And all this without infringing human liberty or natural law; and yet in such a way as to encourage the fear of God, true penitence and virtue, and

discourage crime. It is not probable that, after employing spiritual agents occasionally in this manner, for four or five thousand years, to accomplish what seems to us the effect of natural law, God should withdraw them entirely. According to St. Paul, they are now "*all* ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation," Heb. i, 14. And if all are employed, they certainly *do something*—one strengthened even Christ in his agonies in the garden. They have strengthened many a child of God—they still do it; and sometimes turn a host from him, and save his life.

3. But the great wheel of Divine Providence is seen developing itself *anterior* to natural law. The case of St. Paul, in connexion with his voyage upon the Mediterranean, is in point. God saw that the ship in which Paul was to sail, would, in the usual course of events, pass where the Euroclydon would sweep, and that she would be destroyed by it. He therefore providentially interposed; and, either by his Spirit or an angel, communicated to Paul the danger, and bid him forewarn the captain, and charge him not to sail, but winter where he was. But the south wind blowing, they set sail, supposing they had gained their purpose. The result showed that the admonition was the voice of Providence, and should have been obeyed. The admonition or Providential interference was not irresistible—this would have destroyed man's agency; but it was in harmony with moral government. Now there are ten thousand cases containing all the elements of this transaction, (though less conspicuous,) in national and individual life, covering the whole length and breadth of the world's history till now. A rail-way train is seen moving with the velocity of the wind. An evil-minded man has placed an obstruction somewhere upon the route, or it may have been done even by carelessness. On approaching, the engineer's mind is suddenly impressed with a thought of watchfulness, and he perceives the obstruction in time to prevent collision. Again: God may withhold the warning, and permit a terrible destruction, to impress the world with caution and prudence; and to show to men how near the edge of the great precipice from which he steps into eternity, he daily walks. The following case is in point; we had it from the gentleman to whom it occurred, some thirty years since—a man of probity, and of accurate observation. He was in his field getting hay; a violent storm came up, and when the rain began to fall, he ran to a fir-tree for shelter, and sat down under it, leaning against it. After being there a few minutes, he felt a strong and sudden impulse to run, though he knew not why nor where—but as suddenly he sprang from his seat and ran. He had gone but a few paces, when a thunderbolt struck the tree and rived

it to splinters. There is Providence anterior to natural law. The earth is full of such histories. He knows but little of life, who does not know them. We do not say that they occur in every event of life: they are occasional, they are frequent, they are, doubtless, daily. They answer to the great element in Providence of interposition to save or to destroy—Divine interposition.

Providential interferences of this character, anterior to natural law, are seen frequently in the rise and fall of nations, as well as in individual history. In the one case, a nation springs from the seemingly slightest circumstance in the world—the neighing of a horse, no matter how made to neigh, the flight of a bird, or the powerful contest of the sword; and nations fall in the same way. The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.

4. Besides the three modes stated above, there is another mode of interposition in Divine Providence. God endows men, at times, with supernatural energy, from agencies entirely hid from the senses. They are, of course, spiritual agencies. When Providence interposes in such a manner, the mind of man may work as quick as lightning. The man seems above himself—and is so; and because he is above himself, the destiny of a nation is changed as well as his own. The History of Samson must not be forgotten. He, too, was a "pattern" of the ways in which God works with man, and carries on the government of the world. It is said, even of Jesus, that an angel strengthened Him. How did he do this but by invigorating his fainting frame? On another occasion he said he could pray his Father to send "twelve legions of angels," and it would be done; but why this, if they could afford no help? But to afford help to a human being, the angel must come in contact with him; he must have "power over the human senses;"* over the spirit too, to some degree, but limited. But all of this may be invisible. Every Christian in the world "has wrestled with" and overcome "wicked spirits;" every Christian has been helped by an angelic ministry and by the Spirit of God. It was the Spirit of God that came upon Samson. Every Christian has felt, and does feel, that same Spirit invigorating his mind at times, and giving him eyes to see, and a heart to understand. He has not the muscular strength apparently of Samson—yet he has power, and some times he may have even *muscular power* above himself.

But why these interpreters of Providence—why this prayer of Christ—this energy of Samson, if all things are under the influence of changeless natural laws? God has promised to give his angels "charge over" *all* his children. They are ministering or

* Bishop Horsley.

serving spirits for this very end. But *how*, we ask again, can they do this, but by assisting us with their energy, or communicating to us some thought that should make us of more than mortal power? Whole states were sunk by those ministrations in the ancient world; others were made by them. God changeth not. It is in this wonderful array of means, in their application to moral government, that God enlightens one by his Spirit, or converts the soul, and gives a new destiny to a man and to empires. God is *always* at work, then. He works in the mind both to will and to do, while the agency of man works out his own present and future salvation. We live, and move, and have our being in God.

5. In the elements of Providence we advance one step further, and assume the ground, that God, at times, *interrupts* the course of natural laws. He did this at his pleasure for two thousand years steadily, or the Bible is a fable. He did this when he fed Elijah in the wilderness by ravens, as well as when lightning fell at his prayer; not in a corner, but in the presence of thousands, whose interest it was to deny the truth, if they could: but they denied not. God interrupts natural laws when and where he will. He is doing it constantly, in some form or other, to answer the purposes of his moral government. A changeless machine might do to grind wheat, but it is not adapted to a moral government. We need stability, and we have it: but we need also an adaptation to the changes in society—its moral changes. To-day a nation is good; in mercy it may expect a bountiful harvest; to-morrow it is rebellious, and it should expect a famine, and it has it: but both of these circumstances could not spring from the same clouds, under the same laws. It seems to us, therefore, that we must either give up the moral government of God on earth, or we must admit his direct interposition, either in the using of natural law, or interrupting it; in changing the seasons, giving health or sickness, wealth or poverty, so as to adapt these natural changes to national, and if so, of course, to individual character, and so far at least, as to give lessons of his will with regard to virtue and crime. The doctrine we maintain is, not that he interrupts universally, but for purposes of moral government. Moral government is, of course, the higher intent of the Almighty,—all agents are made to bend to this. He, of course, *can* do as he will: we have proofs positive that he *does* interrupt. It is fair to infer that it is a principle in his government. What you see a nation do for two thousand years, you may infer is characteristic of it. Man has not changed in his leading features since God thus governed, and the earth has not. God has not. Government must be the same, then, in its general features. Natural law,

like its author, we admit, has a moral tendency in its general arrangement. If a man will be industrious, on general principles, he will have food, though not always, (Job;) but idleness will clothe a man with rags. The drunkard, through the force of natural law, may not live out half his days: by Providence he may be cut off much sooner even than that—or by Providence his life may be lengthened out. Thus with the licentious. The profane man may become hardened, and thereby run into danger that he would have shunned had the fear of God been before his eyes. But this answers not for judgment on the nations for all crime; it answers not to the description of national judgments in the Bible; and nothing can, without admitting direct interruption of natural law. God surely interrupted natural law when he raised Lazarus; when he fed five thousand with a few loaves and fishes; when he walked upon the sea; when he led Israel with a cloud, divided the waters, and passed his judgments upon Pharaoh. He did this for moral purposes. He does the same now. He supported a nation for forty years by daily interruptions of natural law. Is God further off in Christianity than in Judaism? Has he ceased to be the governor of the natural world? Who stood at the helm of nature while God was doing these marvellous things in ancient times? Does he stand there now? What change has taken place in God's mode of government? The "law" has no glory by reason of the glory that excelleth in the gospel. There is an onward progress in Divine government: but that progress is the bringing God nearer—not setting him further off. Christianity does not put God further off in any of his departments of government. It certainly does not in spiritual matters—nor can it in natural law, as that, of necessity, must be subservient to the higher end of moral improvement.

In a word: in stating the doctrine of Divine Providence, we must allow him to be *Governor*, administering a rational, intelligent government—one somewhat analogous to what human government should be in its purity, only infinitely above, more perfect, better adapted to every interest of life, present or future. One in *every place*, in every department, natural and moral, applicable to nations and individuals. God is bound or limited only by his integrity, his wisdom, and love. He can do what he will with his own. He does this that He may be known among men. That knowledge is eternal life. He judgeth among the nations; and to allow him to do this, we must take no agency from his hands. His lightnings, his sun, and the storm-cloud, are his still, and He with them.

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If we allow natural law to be an agent of the Almighty, and that some of the more important ones never change—such as the

movement of the heavenly bodies, the tides, etc.; yet it may be admitted that other laws—those that pertain to the fruitfulness of the seasons, the changes of weather, the health of the human frame; such, indeed, as pertain to most diseases—admit of constant changes. God may cause a single movement in this department of his government, and great changes are the result—famine or disease, or both, at his pleasure. Here, indeed, is another vast field for the action of Divine Providence—one that takes hold upon the most secret springs of life, entering into the influence of the atmosphere upon all the organic functions, extending to every dew-drop of the sky. The wind surely bloweth where it listeth: but who can tell whence it cometh? Were the changes last referred to under laws as changeless as the sun, why are they not as regular as the rising of the sun? The experiments of the world have never been able to reduce these changes to law.

6. But there is another department of an active Providence, the notice of which we must not omit, though we have already alluded to it. We refer to those mighty changes that are in constant progress in the kingdom of grace. Here God is constantly active by direct operation, perhaps upon every human soul, more or less through life, presenting motives to the mind, and bringing to bear upon these operations of his Spirit all other movements of his Providence. By this Holy Spirit God is ever present with man, "convincing the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment,"—his own judgment on earth—his condemnation of sin, and of the sinner here and hereafter, at the day of judgment final upon all. This active agency can scarcely have assigned to it any limit. It covers all ages—all time; for it abideth with us forever, and extends doubtless to every human soul. It is the Author of all the great spiritual changes in the moral nature of man; of all true peace; of all true love to God or man; of all true hope; in a word, "of all the fruits of the Spirit." By this agent God may give peace to a man or to a nation. He can thus give hope to a despairing Washington, and thus change the destiny of a great people; or He can send a thrill of horror to the assassin's heart, and thus save his chosen one. Here God answers ten thousand prayers *every day* of the world's history—every day He interposes for his chosen ones. In this vast field of Divine interposition and agency, which is sure in what may be truly termed the moral world, embracing suggestions to the intellect and impressions upon the moral feelings, and all the aspects of Christian experience, and inward manifestations of God, the work of Providence is incessant. It begins with life, but abides forever. "This is that light that lighteth every man that

cometh into the world." It affects more or less all his movements. In the domain of the intellect and of the moral feelings, ten thousand suggestions may be daily made, by which revolution may be wrought to meet revolution, without invading at all human liberty, and yet carrying forward individual destiny, just in proportion as that individual yields to those suggestions in good faith. Nor do these suggestions interfere at all with natural law; but they are given frequently that we may *shun* its force. But God is all in all. Here, too, in a high degree, is the field for the ministration of angels. They may have charge of the winds—they may not. But God holdeth all, guideth all, and saves or destroys at his pleasure; but all in perfect rectitude, and in accordance with a just government for rational and moral beings.

Allowing the above elements to be embraced in Providential agency towards man, the question now occurs, Do they answer the conditions of natural law?—of human experience?—of the Scriptures? If they conform to these, the inference is, the truth of the theory. Let us recapitulate.

1. Natural law is an agent of Divine government; but one which God never leaves, and one which he can use at his pleasure.

2. Divine Providence is seen, in governing the world, by touching a spring in the *spiritual world*, but in accordance with natural law.

3. God governs and providentially interposes, by suggestions to the mind, anterior to natural law; and thus saves or destroys, builds up or plucks down an empire.

4. God providentially interposes by endowing his creatures, at times, with supernatural vigour.

5. God directly interrupts natural law.

6. Providence and direct interposition of God is seen in all his movements in the kingdom of grace. The principles may be stated in another form:—

1. God is the Creator.

2. God is the Upholder.

3. By Him all things consist.

4. God is the sole Governor—not natural law; not man; not angels; not fate; not decree; not form of matter; not mind, save His ever eternal intelligence, which is always present—always active; for "in God we live, and move, and have our being." Now, we ask, Do these views of Providence explain the connexion of that Providence with life?—with natural law?—with the Bible?

1. Do they accord with natural law? They answer precisely to this. We see universal stability, as though the changeless God held the reins of all the orbs in the universe; as though He drove them

in their courses, as the careful driver does his steeds, with not the variation of an azimuth, save when moral purposes—the highest interest in his kingdom—demand it. Just as a king would bend every feature of his kingdom for justice or mercy.

2. Do they answer to the views of Providential agency held out in the Bible? We could express our views in its *very language*. We could not form words that would express these views so perfectly. We could do this by quoting whole chapters—the whole of the Psalms, of the Book of Job, and of the Prophets generally.

3. Do these views accord with the government of nations, and of the world, so as to explain the recorded facts of past history? They give a clear and consistent account of that government for six thousand years.

4. Do they harmonize with human experience? They not only do this, but human experience *cannot* be explained without admitting all the Providential agencies we have named. The experience of Abraham, of Lot, of Moses, of Samuel, of the whole kingdom of David, of Enoch, of Elijah, and of every other man, demands such an exposition. The history of life, of the whole world, demands these admissions. We take it, therefore, that they are *true*. They have upon them the seal of God—of history, of experience, of the Divine word.

5. But will these views of Divine Providence allow us to explain, or will they accord with some of the more difficult portions of Scripture? We have not had our eye upon this peculiar feature of Providence in this article; yet the view accords with the darkest features of the Divine government, and, in some respects, will help to explain them. If we allow as the great basis of mental operation and Divine action, the perceptive faculties of the Divine mind, and allow the Godhead to see or perceive all that is or can be—all that could have been, but never will be; and to perceive or see all things as they are—a contingent event as a contingent event, a fixed event as fixed, an event that might be, but will not, as such; in a word, if we allow that God sees things as they are, in himself and out of himself,—and at the same time allow him to be a FREE BEING, to do as he will, order as he will, difficulties lessen in our conceptions of the Divine government in a very high degree: and although mystery may remain, yet it is just such a mystery as is in harmony with the structure of the human mind.

There is another admission which throws light upon the whole subject, namely: That God not only had a right, but that it was consistent with, and even the dictate of, infinite goodness, to make intelligences free, with every necessary means to remain thus, and

be happy. Another cloud still is taken away, if we admit, that to make an intelligent and moral being happy, he *must* make him free. For ourselves we have come to this conclusion. It appears to us that no intelligent and moral being can be happy without a consciousness that he loves God. And the consciousness that he does not love loveliness itself, and that he cannot do this, would carry a pang to his heart, and be a source of endless disappointment to him. If his consciousness witnesses to him that he cannot love God, but that he must move as the mote is moved, he would deem himself degraded, and, of consequence, unhappy. Take away his consciousness of moral feeling, and you may make him a sheep or a mote, and he is at rest; but with that consciousness, he can only be happy in freedom.

Once more: If you allow the Divine Being the foresight named; and, at the same time, allow of special interposition from the spiritual world, and from natural law; and allow, what the Scriptures plainly declare, that God leads his people by his Spirit, all else that is necessary to clear some of the Scriptures of the clouds upon them, is, for the Divine Being to select his time and place for any given action of himself. Thus: "God sent Joseph into Egypt, to preserve life;" but wicked hands were in the affair. Now, if God foresaw all things as they are, it was only *necessary* in this case, (although we believe his hand was in it in a more extensive sense, and which we will presently explain,) for the Divine Being to select the time and place of Divine action, and at that moment, to lead Joseph out to his brethren. All else could be done without his agency, save perhaps in restraining the brethren of Joseph from greater cruelties. This would carry him to Egypt. The same principles would occur in his subsequent history. On the same general views God could send his son to die for the world's sacrifice. But instead of allowing him to expire in the garden—where doubtless he would have expired, unless he had been strengthened by the providential interposition of an angel,—the Divine Being allowed his Son, nay, sent him on a route where he knew he would be mocked, spit upon, crucified, and pierced. He sent him upon such a route, at such a time, at such a place, rather than in any other route, considering all the circumstances of the case. The sinner was here: the sinner was to be blessed; the Divine glory was to be seen in its fulness of love—its long-suffering. Here it was displayed, as it could be nowhere else; as it need be nowhere else—as it need not have been in this case, but for sin. The appointment and foreknowledge of God delivered Christ; then he was taken, and by wicked hands crucified. And all this, to show

to man his own wickedness, and exhibit the Divine benignity in contrast. But all was free in this transaction—all unconstrained. God saw the route aforehand; predicted it; drew a map of every part of the scene. He told of all the actors—what part He would act—what part should man. "One item of the perspective was," that two agencies were in the event—God and man.

But it may be said by an objector, that thus far we have only explained how God, in his providence, governs the *good man.* We reply that he doubtless governs the wicked on the same general principles; that is, he may *restrain* them in their wildness—hold them back, or turn their fancy into another channel. If we allow God to be a free Being, he can always act according to circumstances. He may use the wicked "as his sword," and by his infinite wisdom and justice mete out to each individual his just desert, and at the same time accomplish his purpose on those against whom he is using the wicked as his sword. Let us illustrate. We set out with the proposition, that in all events we see the agency of God direct or by permission. A sparrow does not fall "without God." The text does not say, without his notice; but *without God.* We take it in this sense. God may unchain the lion from his lair, or he may lead a wicked man to him to be devoured for his wickedness. He may, when he has restrained them till hope is gone, unchain the Roman Senate, or Papal power, to discover to the world their terrible wickedness, and suffer them to pounce upon his dearest children, (whom he rewards in heaven for that suffering,) and allow them to tear them in pieces, as does the lion the kid. And in all this, exact justice may be meted out to all, and all made responsible as free, intelligent, and moral creatures.

We think we see also the following feature in the Divine government:—It is crime for one man to kill another. But the hangman is innocent, because the act is not his, except as executioner. If he did not obey the voice of the state, he would sin, by neglecting his duty. The state would be innocent, because justice required it. The state would have sinned, if it had neglected thus to demand "blood for blood." The general of an army may have a different motive in leading his men into the field of battle, than is that which inspires his men: and two accounts are to be settled with justice—the account of the general, and the account of the men whom he led to slaughter. These two accounts are to be settled by their motives of action—and the law. When the iniquities of the inhabitants of Palestine had reached up to heaven, by their abominable idolatries, so that the land was ready to "spew them out," God led the Israelites to destroy them by the sword. We see no real diffi-

culty here. We allow the direct agency of Providence. God held the men accountable for the fidelity with which they executed *his* justice. God was the state—the people, in this case, his executioners. We see no difficulty in the admission—nor in allowing His direct agency in moving Cyrus towards Babylon. But the length of our article obliges us to stop, rather abruptly.

Art. IX.—REV. JOSEPH ENTWISLE.

Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, fifty-four years a Wesleyan Minister; with copious extracts from his Journals and Correspondence. By his Son. 12mo., pp. 576. London: John Mason.

Joseph Entwisle was one of the generation of ministers contemporary with Mr. Wesley, and called into the work by him. That race of noble men has nearly passed away. Every memorial of their holy lives, their simple Christianity, and their earnest devotion to the work of God, is precious to the Church. Among them all, few names are held in more fragrant remembrance among our brethren in England than that of the subject of the Memoir before us; who, for more than half a century, discharged the duties of a Wesleyan minister without a stain upon his character as a preacher or as a man.

The biography before us is simple and unpretending in its character. It aims to make Mr. Entwisle as far as possible his own biographer, by presenting copious extracts from his diary and letters, with sufficient narrative to give connexion and coherency to the whole. Interspersed throughout the volume, however, will be found a number of useful and interesting notices of contemporary events connected with the history of English Methodism. The history of so long a public life could not be treated with any degree of fulness in a small compass; yet, we think a little more compression would have made the biography a better one. A man must be a great man, indeed, to make it worth one's while to read everything that can be said about him. Nevertheless, even the minutest details here given generally illustrate some Christian principle, and may thus not be without their use in promoting practical and experimental religion—the main purpose for which the book has been written.

Joseph Entwisle was born in Manchester, on the 15th of April, 1767. His parents attended a Presbyterian chapel, but had no

knowledge of experimental religion; indeed, one of the ministers to whose preaching they listened was reputed to be an Arian—the other, a Socinian; and their sermons were generally nothing but "elegantly written moral essays." His childhood was marked by several narrow escapes from death, of which he afterwards wrote accounts in a memorandum book, significantly entitled "Providential Memorials." We quote one or two of these:—

"When about ten years of age, I narrowly escaped drowning on two occasions:—once in the river Irwell, and once in the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal. One of these times I was in imminent danger. I had one day bathed in the Irwell, which runs through Manchester, when the river was quite low. A few days after, I went again when the river was much higher; and without considering its increased depth, leaped in at the same place. It was too deep for me; and as I could not then swim, I must certainly have been drowned, had not some young men who were by the river-side, come in and brought me out. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits!' How great was the care which God at this time exercised over me! Had I been drowned, I should certainly have perished forever; for I was then sinning against much light, young as I was."—Pp. 4, 5.

The record of the following case was made not long before his death:—

"At the bottom of Byrom-street, near the Old Quay, Manchester, was a gentleman's house, having in front two flights of steps: at the bottom of one of these flights was an iron gate with sharp spikes at the top. One of my favourite amusements was to run up the steps on one side, and down the other, not considering the annoyance to the inmates of the house. On one of these occasions, being pursued by the master of the house, who was justly displeased with the intrusion, and finding the iron gate at the bottom locked, I attempted to leap over it; but the gate being high, my toes caught the sharp-pointed irons, and I fell head foremost. I was stunned with the fall, and a deep wound was made in my forehead, the marks of which remain to this day, though it must have been sixty-four years ago. I might have been killed on the spot. The same gate remained in August last, (1841.) Whenever, on my visits to Manchester, I pass that gate, I lift up my heart in gratitude to my gracious Preserver."—P. 5.

In 1781 he went into a large manufactory, the owner of which was a Methodist. His subsequent course of life was settled by this apparent accident. Out of respect to his master, he attended the Methodist preaching; and he was soon, in the fourteenth year of his age, converted. At sixteen he commenced preaching. His modesty and timidity were such that he scarcely ever opened his eyes during the sermon; and, indeed, for some time after, he usually preached with his eyes shut. His gifts and graces were clearly manifest to the Church; and, young as he was, his name was soon placed on the circuit plan. The "boy-preacher," was quite

a phenomenon, and many, led by curiosity to hear him, carried away deep and abiding impressions.

"One instance of this may interest the reader, and may afford relief to some who are subject to discouragement because they do not see that immediate fruit of their labours which they desire. During one of Mr. Entwisle's late visits to his native town, an elderly man whom he did not remember to have seen before, grasped his hand with much warmth of affection, and accosted him as his spiritual father. He found, upon inquiry, that the old man had been a member of society above fifty years: that when living in utter ignorance of God and of the plan of salvation, he heard that a *boy* was to preach in the Methodist preaching-house at Booth-Bank. Curiosity induced him to go and hear him, and under the 'boy preacher,' as my father was then frequently called, it pleased the Lord to awaken him to a sense of his guilt and danger. He turned to God from that very hour. But the knowledge of the pleasing fact was—doubtless for sufficient reasons—withheld from my father for above fifty years. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days."—P. 16.

For three years he continued to serve as a local preacher; and his diary affords abundant evidence that, during this period, his piety was daily becoming more and more mature. His name and character soon became known to Mr. Wesley, who called him into the itinerant work in 1784. The process of introduction into the itinerancy at that time was a very simple one. The "assistant" saw, perhaps, that a young man in his circuit had special qualifications; he recommended him to Mr. Wesley, and Mr. Wesley appointed him to a circuit, if he thought it best. So young Entwisle found himself appointed to Northampton circuit, before he knew that his name was before the conference. But his engagements to his employers (Messrs. Wood & Co.) held him a few years longer; and it was not until 1787 that he finally went out. The facts were characteristic of the times and the men:—

"The conference was at that very time holding its annual sittings in Manchester; and some of the preachers being entertained at Mr. Wood's house, informed Mr. Wesley of his willingness to release Mr. Entwisle at once from all further obligations. Mr. Wesley immediately appointed him to the Oxfordshire circuit. The first announcement of this important event was made to him in the street. Happening to meet Mr. Wesley and Mr. W. Thompson not far from Oldham-street chapel, the latter informed him that he was appointed to the Oxfordshire circuit. Still shrinking from a work, of the importance of which he had more affecting views than ever, he hesitated a little, when Mr. Wesley, laying his hand upon my father's shoulder, and fixing upon him his piercing eye, said, with his characteristic brevity, and in a tone of authority, "Joseph, you *must go*." He went in the name of the Lord, deeply sensible of his own insufficiency, and humbly depending upon Divine aid. He often reflected with satisfaction on the energetic manner and piercing look with which "*you must go*" was uttered by the venerable founder of the Methodist Society; and a recollection of the high human authority by which he was called to the ministry, combined with a persuasion of a *Divine call*, often afforded him comfort in after life in seasons of trial and discouragement."—Pp. 27, 28.

His first appointment was the Oxfordshire circuit, which at that time included the greater part of four counties. As a specimen of the "comforts" provided for the preachers at that time, we are told that even in Oxford itself, the head of the circuit, the two single preachers lodged in the house of a journeyman shoemaker, in a garret, for which the society paid sixpence a week! The furniture consisted of a bed, chair, and table; and the bed was so short, that it had to be lengthened out by a box placed at the foot. But privations were trifles to the ardent zeal of Mr. Wesley's early preachers: Mr. Entwisle, especially, never suffered his personal happiness to lie at the mercy of circumstances. He soon formed habits of study, living, &c., suited to his position, and adhered to them pertinaciously. One of his rules, and its happy fruit, is stated in a letter to his son in 1835:—"I would advise you to act on your father's principle; namely, 'Make as few things as possible necessary to your comfort.' In forty-six years I have been governed by this maxim, and it has been better to me than £10,000 per annum." He was in the habit also of redeeming all the time possible for study, choosing his books, and his course of study in general, with strict regard to the great end of his ministry. At an early period he was urged by a friend to take up the study of the dead languages, but he replied that he could not, without a teacher, find time for the study without trenching on more important pursuits. At a somewhat later date, however, he commenced the study of the Latin. The feeling with which he entered upon the pursuit appears from a letter to Mr. Reece, dated April 4, 1789:—

"I have begun to learn the Latin tongue. Providence seemed to point out my way to it. A friend advised me to study it, made me a present of some books, and offered me all the help I need. Several others who understand the language have since made the same kind offer. I have gone through the declensions of nouns, and trust, through God's blessing, I shall in a few months be able to construe the Latin Testament. Yet I enter upon this work with fear and trembling. Many, when they have got a smattering of the languages, have immediately thought themselves wise and learned, and have despised their brethren. O may I ever be little in my own eyes!"—Pp. 53, 54.

He afterwards took up Greek, and, in less than a twelvemonth, was able to translate any part of the Greek Testament. For many years he kept up a laborious course of study in spite of all the hindrances and difficulties of the itinerant life. His deep sense of the need of personal religion to the success of the minister, may be inferred from such paragraphs as the following, which abound in his diary and letters, even in the earliest years of his ministry:—

"I have been deeply convinced for some time that I shall be of little use as a preacher, *unless the people see the doctrines which they hear.* Unless in my tempers and behaviour they see that humility, zeal, &c., which I recommend in the pulpit. I want to be distinguished from others, not merely by a black coat, but by superior wisdom and prudence, humility, meekness, &c. I want to enjoy constant fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ. I would have my conversation with the people to be holy, spiritual, heavenly, and Divine, meet to minister grace unto the hearers. When this is the case with a preacher, 'he bears his great commission in his look.' Into whatsoever family he comes, he brings a blessing with him; and when he goes away, he leaves a blessing behind him. I want so to act and speak to the people, that when I leave them, I may be able to say, 'Ye yourselves are witnesses and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably we have behaved ourselves among you that believe.'"—P. 64.

So again, under date of 1790 :—

"I am very defective as a minister. 1. I have not sufficiently felt the weight and importance of my great work. O! how often has my heart been cold and dead in speaking of the most serious and important things! 2. I have not been so diligent as I should have been in improving my time in reading, study, and prayer. Much precious time has been spent to very little purpose. 3. Instead of studying, making observations on, and improving by, the various tempers, defects, virtues, &c., of men, I have suffered my thoughts to rove I know not where. How many precious hours have I lost by this folly! 4. But that which lies heaviest upon my conscience, is a conviction that I have not been so spiritual and profitable in my conversation in the families where I have been cast, as I ought to be. One thing I must write,—O may it be written as with a pen of diamond upon my heart!—While I was preaching this evening, I cast my eyes upon a person who has received the preachers into his house at his own expense for many years. I have gone frequently for nearly two years, and have received many tokens of his kindness. While I looked at him, I felt an uncommon love to him. It struck my mind, 'What have I done to promote his spiritual welfare? Why does he receive the ministers of Christ into his house? Is it not because he expects to receive some spiritual profit by their ministry and conversation? O how unkind, how ungrateful have I been to him! what little pains have I taken to profit him and his family in spiritual things!' I see I have great cause to lament and bewail my unfaithfulness and unfruitfulness both as a Christian and as a preacher. I desire to feel all my vileness, to abhor myself and repent before the Lord as in dust and ashes; and for the future, to be entirely consecrated to his service and the good of souls."—Pp. 65, 66.

In the year 1792, Mr. Entwisle married Miss Mary Pawson, who was, for many long years, as he himself expressed it, "a true yokefellow" for him. His first appointment thereafter was to the Leeds circuit, and during the period of his stay there, not less than *twelve hundred* members were added to the society. Though still a young man, both his intellect and his heart had reached a rare maturity. An illustration of the broad and comprehensive views which he took of the work in which he was engaged, is furnished in the following extract of a letter dated Jan. 2, 1794, to a young candidate for the ministry in the Established Church, who had written to him for advice :—

"I view the office of a minister of Christ, as the most honourable that either man or angel can sustain. To be employed as an ambassador for God; to be instrumental in the salvation of immortal spirits; to bring sinners to glory: in comparison of this, the glory of the greatest monarchs on their thrones, is less than nothing. These are the views we shall have a thousand ages hence.

"You are now a candidate for this high and important office; important to yourself, and important, perhaps, to thousands. It appears to me, that your acceptableness before God, who searcheth the heart, and your usefulness among men, are nearly connected with the following particulars:—namely, proper motives, right ends, and suitable qualifications. It is possible for men to undertake the best works from the basest motives. But this, I most sincerely believe, is far from being your case. Our reformers were deeply sensible of the necessity of good motives in candidates for the ministry, when they inserted the following awful query in the office of ordination:—'Do you trust you are inwardly moved of the Holy Ghost?' &c. The Holy Spirit is a Spirit of *love;* and, I think, a man may truly say, he is moved of the Holy Ghost, when the love of Christ and of souls powerfuly yet sweetly constrains him to call sinners to repentance. No motive inferior to this will be sufficiently strong. A man who desires and endeavours faithfully to discharge all the duties of his sacred office, will meet with much opposition from the men of the world, who will endeavour, sometimes by violent measures to drive, and at other times by carnal friendship to draw him from his duty. He may also expect Satan to use all his serpentine cunning, and all his power, to withstand him. Satan stood at the right hand of Joshua, the high-priest, to resist him. And the remaining corruptions of the heart, yea, and even the senses and appetites of the body, will frequently impede him in his course, without great watchfulness and much prayer. Let Divine love govern and actuate the soul, and it will answer the end of a thousand rules, and a thousand arguments; it will show a man his duty, and compel him to perform it. See 2 Cor. v, 14, 15. O how often have I lost opportunities of usefulness for want of a greater degree of Divine love!

"The qualifications necessary for the ministry should be attended to. Languages, mathematics, &c., are by many judged sufficient. A critical knowledge of languages is, indeed, sufficient to qualify a man to teach the languages; an accurate knowledge of mathematics may qualify one to teach that department of science; and these, with other arts and sciences, may be ornamental and useful to a preacher, if kept in their proper place. But it appears to me, that the most essential qualifications are as follows:—1. A deep acquaintance with one's own heart, and the various workings of corrupt nature, &c. 2. A clear, distinct and *experimental* knowledge of the plan of salvation, through faith in Christ. 3. Extensive views of the glories of the Redeemer, in his person and offices, and of his suitableness to the state and wants of lost sinners. 4. Just and Scriptural ideas of the progress of gracious souls in the Divine life, from little children to young men and fathers; by which means we know how to give every man his portion. 5. An acquaintance with the devices of Satan. 6. A general knowledge of the world and human nature. You and I may expand our thoughts on these subjects, at our leisure. I assure you, while I am writing, I have such a sense of the awfulness of the work I have undertaken, as would sink my spirits, were it not for the promise of Divine help.

"Supposing a sound conversion has taken place in the heart, which I trust is the case with you and me, we may, under the Divine blessing, acquire the necessary qualifications for the great work, by using such means as these:—1. Close application to the study of the Holy Scriptures. 2. Reading good commentaries, and treatises on divinity, with great attention and strict exami-

nation by the unerring standard of truth. 3. Reading the experiences of eminently pious men. 4. By studying 'in the original mankind.' Free conversation with the people of God, and a daily observation of the tempers, conversation, and deportment of both saints and sinners, will be of almost infinite use. 5. A careful and studious reading of the histories of nations and Churches, will increase our knowledge of human nature. 6. We should not forget to give ourselves unto prayer, a life of mortification, entire deadness to the world, and deep devotion to God."—Pp. 127–130.

A man who carried out such views in his life and work, (as Mr. Entwisle did,) could not fail, with the Divine blessing, to be a successful minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, we find his diary filled with accounts of awakening and revival. Everywhere his congregations were large; everywhere the people "heard the word gladly." His "soul was like a flame of fire;" he was willing, he says, "to impart, not the Gospel of God only, but also his own soul, for the sake of sinners." Sometimes his pulpit was "the summit of a high hill," looking down upon meadows, pastures, corn-fields, and woods, in full verdure, with a "serpentine river at the bottom—its waters deep and still, inspiring a kind of religious stillness into his mind;" sometimes his "chapel was an old barn:" but whether in field, or barn, or chapel, his heart in preaching always overflowed with love and joy, and his congregations caught the sacred flame. For many years he was "'in labours more abundant:' preaching regularly from nine to fourteen times a week, besides holding lovefeasts, prayer-meetings—sometimes of several hours' continuance—and weekly meetings of the children of the members on Saturday afternoon, according to the almost universal usage of the day; and *meeting the societies*, not only on the Lord's day, but also frequently on the week nights—services for which he was accustomed to prepare addresses with little less care than he bestowed on his more public discourses from the pulpit: in addition to all which, he was exemplary in his attention to the important duty of *pastoral visitation*, which he regarded as not merely desirable and useful, but essential to ministerial success."

The years from 1791 to 1798 were trying years for Methodism in England. The public mind was wild with political excitement; the rapid succession of changes on the continent of Europe causing a continual ferment among the English people. The Methodist societies, moreover, were agitated and torn by disputes about the sacraments, which went so far as to destroy some of the Churches almost root and branch, while others were shorn of all spiritual strength by discord and strife. No man, perhaps, in the Methodist itinerancy, succeeded better than Mr. Entwisle in preserving the spirit of Christian charity and kindness in the midst of this fratricidal war.

Wherever he went, he sought to pour oil upon the troubled waters: not that he was a trimmer, but that he knew how trifling were the subjects in dispute, in comparison with the souls of men, which were wrecked and lost upon this sea of contention. The following letter, showing that *forms* of Church government alone, no matter how excellent, will not insure peace, is as worthy of study now, as it was appropriate then:—

"This I am sure of—we may expect too much from theories. Too much *is* expected. A change in government cannot produce a change in human nature. Surely no man 'who has studied from the life, and in the original perused mankind,' will upon cool reflection affirm, if a certain form of government be adopted and established, 'contention will cease, and all will be peace, and harmony, and prosperity.' Words to this effect are found in several late publications. Such assertions appear to me to suppose three things:—1. That men will be all of one judgment: or, 2. That they will be so wise and candid as to differ in judgment without any undue heat or emotion. 3. That all the people everywhere, will implicitly submit to the decisions of the new legislative body. Happy indeed would it be for the Church and for the world, if such a revolution should take place as would make men think alike, and think justly too, or blend their souls into one by Divine love. May God hasten it!

"I profess to you, my dear friend, I expect little from any form of Church government. The peace and prosperity of a religious community depend principally upon the piety of its members. Discord and contention are the effects of a decay of that piety; and happen alike in all communities from the same cause. I have been led to these views by reflecting upon what I have observed in my intercourse with the religious world, and what I have read in histories of ancient as well as modern Churches. The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents in the last two centuries, were as zealous for their respective forms of government, as if each had the broad seal of heaven. While they were exerting all their power and displaying their learning on these subjects, the vitals of religion—love to God and man—received a dreadful stab. Matters of fact convince me that nothing but piety can preserve peace. Episcopalians, I find, have quarrelled. But some may suppose, the hierarchy of an Episcopal Church is contrary to primitive Christianity. Perhaps it is. But the Church of Scotland is upon a different plan: they have their Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies; in all of which there are *Lay* Elders and Delegates. Surely everything must be done by mutual consent; all must be peace, and love, and harmony. Read the history of that church, and the account of all the opposition-chapels commonly called Kirks of Relief; the high disputes in their presbyteries and synods, and the clamours of the Assembly; and then judge what you may expect from a similar constitution. Human nature is human nature in England as well as in Scotland. The Independent mode of government may be thought by some the most simple and easy; being confined to one society or congregation, they can do everything by mutual counsel and consent. And yet when religion is low among them, they have disputes, warm contentions, and divisions.

"I do not mean to insinuate by these observations, that rules are indifferent or unnecessary; or that every mode of government is equally exceptionable: but that all human establishments are imperfect, and liable to abuse; that LOVE alone is the perfect bond of union; and that there is danger of our being more zealous about certain outward things than about FAITH and LOVE.

"Whatever may happen, every Christian should endeavour to keep his own heart in a pious frame. Men's hearts were never more in danger than now. Such is human nature, that it is difficult for us to differ in our opinions, and love as brethren. Most likely a division of our body will take place ere long. Then will follow, very probably, inflammatory publications, mutual animosities, and rancour. If we cannot agree upon the same outward rules, O that we might agree to love each other, and to let contentions cease! The Canaanite is in the land. Deists laugh at us and at Christianity, and the cause of infidelity is strengthened by our contentions. I do not mean to reflect on either party. My heart bleeds for the suffering cause of religion. I lament the excessive zeal of some on both sides. And now my chief care shall be to keep my own heart free from the impure influence of party spirit; and O may God make me a lover of peace, and a lover of good men!"—Pp. 177–179.

In 1798 Mr. Entwisle was appointed to the York Circuit, and, for the first time, was made superintendent. We should be glad to follow him through this and subsequent appointments, drawing from his steadfast and persevering labours, his strong and prevailing faith, and his ever-growing love, lessons of practical wisdom for ourselves and for all others engaged in the ministry of the Gospel. But our limits will not allow us to go through this pleasant task. We must therefore confine ourselves to an occasional extract on points of special interest.

A minister of so wide and long-continued experience in religious revivals, coupled with the acute and sagacious powers of observation that characterized Mr. Entwisle, could not but form sound views on the nature and character of these signal manifestations of the mercy of God. The following letter, dated March 19, 1800, in reply to inquiries on the subject of noise, etc., in such meetings, contains some very just and valuable remarks:—

"I have considered the subject of your letter, concerning which I have often thought and prayed; and now my mind is quite satisfied. To form a proper judgment of it, the subject must be fairly stated. 1. It is allowed on all hands that conversions may be, and often are, very sudden, and yet real and lasting. 2. That whenever a sinner appears to be truly awakened, he should be pointed to a present Saviour, as in Acts xvi, 31, and be exhorted to believe *now*, to venture upon Christ for salvation *now*. 3. That there may be a great degree of outward agitation of the body, with violent outcries, etc., when sinners are suddenly awakened, and also when they find peace; yea, and much apparent confusion, when the work is of God. This indeed seems to be unavoidable, when a great number are suddenly awakened at one time and place, or enabled to rejoice in God our Saviour. There was much of this when Mr. Percival was in York—great noise and confusion, yet many stand to this day, and are ornaments to their profession.

"But it appears to me, that many now have missed their way in several respects:—1. While they pray that God may work in *his own way*, they are not satisfied with any way but one. If their phraseology, tone of voice, etc., are not used, 'there is no life,'—no good done. But if any one, let him be who he may, use a favourite expression in a certain way, then the meeting begins to be lively. In this we may perceive two evils: first, superstition, making that essential to acceptable devotion which God has not made essential. He

is a Spirit. He is affected with neither one form, mode, gesture, expression, nor another; but looks into the heart of the worshipper: if that be right, all is right. Secondly. They limit the Holy One of Israel. He delights in variety, both in the works of nature and grace. I shall never forget a saying of Mr. Bramwell,—'When I hear two persons pray, etc., alike, I always suspect mimicry.'

"2 Many are too hasty in urging persons to say they believe, and are happy. Many who never were awakened have been hurried into something which has been called justification and sanctification. For a while, they have run about to meetings, and their minds have been in a strange ferment; and by-and-by, when the paroxysm has subsided, they have concluded there is nothing in religion; they have cast off the profession of it, and the wicked have been hardened thereby. I have had abundant proof of this again and again. These things greatly injure the cause of God. Many who are exceedingly active in this way are truly pious: if their zeal and fervour were under the direction of wisdom and prudence, they might be very useful. They would be careful not to urge those to believe who are not truly awakened, and such as are prepared to receive Gospel blessings would be helped."—Pp. 211, 212.

His sound good sense was also shown in the following remarks on *female preaching*, which seems to have been practised a good deal among the Wesleyans in England in the early part of the present century:

"We have *no female preachers* in this part of the country. I think women might with propriety exercise their gifts in a private way, or amongst their own sex; but I never could see the propriety of their being public teachers. Under the Patriarchal dispensation, the oldest male was the priest of the family. Under the Law, all the priests were men. The seventy preachers sent out by our Lord were all men. So were the twelve Apostles. Nor do we ever read of a woman preaching, in the Acts of the Apostles. Hence I conclude, women are not designed for public teachers."—P. 231.

Our readers will find in the following letter from Dr. Adam Clarke, a specimen of the characteristic energy with which that great and good man expressed himself on any subject on which he had made up his mind. Mr. Entwisle had written to him with regard to the introduction of the *Liturgy* into a new church at Liverpool:—

"With respect to the introduction of the *Liturgy* of the Church of England:—this book I reverence next to the book of God. Next to the Bible it has been the depository of the pure religion of Christ; and had it not been laid up there, and established by Acts of Parliament, I fear that religion would, long ere this, have been driven to the wilderness. Most devoutly do I wish that, wherever we have service on the forenoon of the Lord's day, we may have the Prayers read. This service contains that form of sound words, to which in succeeding ages an appeal may be successfully made for the establishment of the truth professed by preceding generations. Had it not been, under God, for this blessed book, the Liturgy of the British Church, I verily believe Methodism had never existed.

"I see plainly, that where we read these prayers our congregations become better settled, better edified, and put further out of the reach of false doctrine. What is become of the numerous Churches which have no such form of sound

words? They are become, or are becoming Socinian and Deistical. Introduce the Church Service in God's name; not in any *abridgment*, but in the genuine original. Give my love to the blessed people of Liverpool, and tell them that this is the conscientious advice of their old servant and most hearty well-wisher."—P. 288.

One of the pleasantest duties ever performed by Mr. Entwisle in the course of his ministry, was the recommendation that RICHARD WATSON should be readmitted into the Wesleyan Connexion, from which he had been separated for a number of years. Mr. Watson resided at Manchester, where Mr. Entwisle was stationed in 1812, and they soon became companions and friends. The subject of this Memoir perceived in Mr. Watson extraordinary powers of mind, and eminent qualifications for usefulness in the Methodist ministry; and being persuaded that his weight of talent and deep piety would render him an acquisition to the Connexion and a blessing to the world, he proposed that he should allow himself to be recommended to the ensuing Conference, a measure in which his respected colleagues fully concurred with him in judgment. After mature consideration and prayer, Mr. Watson gave his consent. He was accordingly proposed at this District Meeting, and cordially recommended to the Conference; by whom he was as cordially accepted, and, without further probation, placed precisely in the position in which he stood eleven years before, and appointed, with Mr. Buckley, to the Wakefield Circuit. Mr. Entwisle ever after reflected on this event with the liveliest pleasure: he felt it an honour, and a cause of gratitude to God, that he had been in any degree instrumental in restoring to the Connexion one who proved so bright an ornament to it, and so eminently useful. And Mr. Watson ever after cherished towards him a most respectful and affectionate regard.

In 1812 Mr. Entwisle was chosen President of the Conference, and discharged the duties of that office with great acceptance. He was subsequently stationed for a series of years in London, and was very useful in the early movements of the Methodists in favour of Christian Missions. While in London he was called to "pass through a deep sea of affliction"—caused by family distresses, especially the misconduct of a favourite son. But in adversity, even more signally than in prosperity, he glorified God, and "showed forth the praises of Him who had called him out of darkness into marvellous light." In time, however, the clouds passed away, and his life returned to its equable and happy tenor.

It was Mr. Entwisle's habit to keep records, more or less minute, of the several annual Conferences as they occurred. His journal of

the Conference for 1820 contains the following notice of Dr. Emory, which will interest our readers :—

"Thursday, 27.—This afternoon, the American Representative spoke, (Rev. J. Emory ;) a thin, spare man, about thirty-five years of age; modest, grave, and pious, in his appearance and spirit; very intelligent, and interesting as a speaker, without the least parade or display. He began by speaking of the love of the American Methodists to *us*. We, the parents. They, the children. Fifty-one years ago it was inquired in the British Conference, 'Who will go to America, which is crying, Come over, and help us?' *Now* there are in the United States 900 Travelling Preachers, 3,000 Local Preachers, a vast number of Exhorters and Leaders, and 250,000 members. He gave interesting details of the piety, zeal, and labours of Asbury, M'Kendree, and others. Spoke of the vast Missionary field opening among the Indian nations; and closed his speech in a delightful style, by representing the British Methodists as carrying on their operations with success through Europe, Africa, Asia, the West Indies, touching on the Southern continent of America; and their children, the American Methodists, stretching out their line to meet them, through the Indian nations and the States of America, in such a direction that ere long, having encircled the globe, he hoped they would meet and shake hands in the other hemisphere. It is impossible to describe the interest excited. Finally, the Conference agreed to the proposition of the Americans, viz.,—not only an annual exchange of friendly addresses, but also, once in four years, an interchange of personal representatives."—P. 357.

It is not an uncommon thing for the sons of Wesleyan ministers in England to join the Established Church; indeed, the subserviency of the leading men of the Connexion to the Establishment, their use of the liturgy, and their Toryism, are constantly giving young minds a bias in favour of the Church of England. It is said, indeed, that the sons of two of the most eminent men in the Connexion are not only Episcopalians, but high-toned Puseyites. The writer of the memoir before us, Mr. Entwisle's youngest son, was urged by "highly respected friends" who thought him unable to undergo the toils of the Itinerancy, to go into the Established Church. He wrote to his father on the subject, and received the following reply :—

"Now with regard to the Church. If you be fully satisfied in your own mind, and it be your choice, I should not like to oppose you in it. But two things are objections in my mind. 1. Some clergymen with whom I am intimate, are very friendly to me personally, and are glad to enjoy my society, and yet really dare not come to hear me. They are in this respect *in bondage*. 2. A *few* preachers' sons who have got into orders, appear to be complete clerical coxcombs. There is one at ———, (son of ———,) who even travelled one year, that holds in perfect contempt, as illiterate and ignorant, the Methodist Preachers. He lately expressed his astonishment to a gentleman, that he should connect himself with the Methodists, and said much about the preachers as illiterate. 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'you know, Mr. J., that many of the preachers have not had *your advantages*;—they *never were at Kingswood School*.' If I thought my Joseph were capable of ever drinking into such a spirit, I had rather he *swept the streets for a living*, than that he should be a clergyman. I do not, however, suppose, that will ever be the case with you."—P. 366.

The following mention of an interview with Dr. Tholuck, under date May 9, 1825, is worth citing:—

"Dr. Tholuck appears to be a *holy* man; his heart is given to God. He gave us an account of a great work of God in Berlin, Pomerania, and Weimar, which originated in the reading of Mr. Wesley's Sermons, copies of which were presented to two Prussian clergymen at our Conference in London, in 1816. These sermons have been read with avidity, and many have been brought to God in consequence. The work appears to be carried on much in the same way as among the Methodists. The Professor has a commission to procure *all* our standard works. I hope these will be presented to him by the Book Committee."—P. 401.

The "Wesleyan Theological Institution," for the training of young ministers, was founded in 1834. Mr. Entwisle had long made the subject of the better education of candidates for the Wesleyan ministry a subject of careful thought; and was not fully prepared, at first, to approve of the proposed Institution, thinking that some more simple and economical means of accomplishing the object might be devised. But the Committee appointed by the Conference expressed an earnest wish that he should undertake the pastoral care and superintendence of the Institution; and, after mature deliberation, he accepted the post. His appointment was universally regarded, even by the opponents of the Institution, as furnishing every guarantee that human arrangements could supply, that no loss of *spiritual religion* would be sustained by the candidates during their stay at the Seminary. The results of his labours there, in modifying his own views, may be seen from the following extracts, which, long as they are, will be of special interest here, where the subject of the education of the ministry is daily attracting more and more attention:—

"Having formerly entertained the opinion that the plan of placing the junior ministers in circuits under the care of experienced and judicious superintendents, competent to direct their studies and to form their ministerial character, might be preferable to that of collecting a number of young men into a collegiate institution, he was naturally led by the circumstances in which he was placed, and by the violent agitation which prevailed, to reconsider the whole subject, while the position he occupied gave him an opportunity of comparing the new plan with the old, the operation of which he had witnessed for near fifty years. A few extracts from his journal and correspondence will put the reader in possession of his views:—

"'January 3, 1835.—I never entered on a new year in similar circumstances: not employed in the work of a circuit, but placed in this Institution for spiritual purposes. I do most firmly believe the arrangement is providential. My soul prospers. There is much of God in our domestic worship. The family is well ordered: all is regular. The young men are evidently improving in knowledge and in piety; and I trust they will go from hence better fitted for usefulness than they would have been without such a training. I feel deeply my responsibility: much is expected: I am conscious that I am

not sufficient of myself. Yet I am not discouraged; my sufficiency is of God. He employs me, and He will help me.'

"In a letter to his son, written a few days after, having described his general plan of procedure, he says, 'Our family is a *family of love:* all seem to be comfortable; and our domestic worship is delightful. *God is with us.* Mr. Hannah's lectures, which I attend as often as I can, are most instructive and interesting: they are so, beyond anything I ever heard. They are simple and plain, yet display profound Biblical knowledge, and are attended with *much Divine unction.* If those who are afraid lest the institution should hurt the young men, could see and hear all that passes, they would have different views.'

"'There are some bad spirits at work. "The floods lift up their voice," but the Lord sitteth above the water-floods, and remains King forever. My mind is quite tranquil. I believe I am here by Divine appointment. I am endeavoring incessantly to do good. The young men are deeply pious and very tractable. My own soul prospers. I think I never enjoyed so much of God. I live now. I feel dead to the world. I cease from man. I find in my God and Saviour perfect satisfaction. To Him be glory.'

"He dwelt among the students as a father among his children, cherishing the most affectionate paternal solicitude for their well-being, and receiving from them the most gratifying proof of filial confidence, respect, and love. He regularly met them in class: at first, all together; then, as their number increased, in *two*, and finally in *three* separate classes. In these weekly meetings he was close, searching, and affectionate in his inquiries and counsels: and, ever advancing before them in Christian holiness, he furnished a demonstration of its attainableness; and by an exhibition of its loveliness, supplied a powerful motive to its pursuit. And not in these meetings *only*,—specially instituted for purposes of Christian fellowship,—but also at all other favourable opportunities, from the fulness of his heart, he spoke to them on the subject of personal religion; at the breakfast, dinner, and tea-table,—in the garden, and by the way-side, he watched for opportunities to speak a word in season, with a view to promote among them deep experience of the things of God."—Pp. 489–495.

Mr. Entwisle held the office of Governor of the Theological Institution for four years, and then, finding repose necessary, from the weight of years and infirmities, he retired into comparative obscurity, fixing his abode in the quiet village of Tadcaster. He continued to do good in every way, as strength would allow, until 1841, when, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he fell asleep in Jesus.

We give our cordial thanks to Mr. Entwisle, Jun., for this acceptable memoir of his venerable father, and hope that the work will find many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Art. X.—MECHANICS.

1. *An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, prepared for the undergraduate course in the Wesleyan University.* By Augustus W. Smith, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy. Harper & Brothers.
2. *Elements of Natural Philosophy.* By. W. H. C. Bartlett, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the United States Military Academy, West Point. Lecture I.—Mechanics. New-York: Barnes & Co.

Mechanics, the science of force and motion, has its application wherever *these* elements are involved in either art or nature: in the delicate machinery of the watch, and in the immense engines applied to the navigation of the ocean by steam; in the fluttering of an insect's wings, and in the mighty movements of the planetary worlds. A science which connects itself with so many objects of value and interest to mankind, is justly entitled to the high rank which it holds in public estimation, and whoever gives new developments to its principles, or better systematizes them, or simplifies their application, or renders the knowledge of them more easily accessible or more accurate, is to be regarded as a public benefactor.

The French have for years had very excellent elementary treatises on mechanics, and we have had a translation of one of them, that of Boucharlat, by Professor Courtenay, of the University of Virginia. The defect of these treatises, if so it may be called, is a want of instances of the application of the theory of the science so beautifully evolved, to the cases which actually present themselves for its application.

The works whose titles are placed at the head of this article, unite the elegant theoretic methods of the French with well-selected specimens of the practical utility of mechanics as a science; some of them handled in an original manner, and some taken from late English works. In the treatise of Professor Smith there is nothing new till we come to the chapter on "Couples," for which the author professes himself to be indebted to Poinsot. The elegance of the analytic method, aided by the calculus, begins to show itself very conspicuously, at p. 36, in the "Conditions of Equilibrium." Under the head of virtual velocities, we observe a radical difference of definition in the two treatises. What is termed the virtual velocity by Smith, is the projection of the virtual velocity according to Bartlett. At p. 60 of the former is seen the great advantage of the calculus, in determining the centre of gravity of bodies having geometric forms; and this subject is very happily managed. In the seventh chapter we have the application of the principle of virtual velocities to the mechanical powers, a beautiful and simple mode of deducing the principal theories which relate to these powers. At p. 145, the loss of living force incident to the impact of inelastic bodies is well shown, and an important practical consequence stated; namely, the inexpediency of all abrupt changes of motion in machinery. The method of determining what is termed the "modules of elasticity" in various substances, explained at p. 151, is a happy instance of the combination of experiment with mathematical for-

mulæ. The chapter on the "Rotation of Rigid Bodies," at p. 190, is exceedingly well done, and presents a beautiful application of the calculus. We are particularly pleased with that part of this chapter which relates to the centre of oscillation. From p. 200 the residue of the dynamics of solids presents us with the admirable formulas of force and motion in general, and of central forces in particular, with which the readers of La Place, Pontecoulant, Poisson, &c., are familiar,—formulas which, by the aid of co-ordinate axes or lines of reference, and the considerations of the forces and movements in nature in their ultimate elements, possess a comprehensiveness that is astounding. We have never contemplated anything which caused so profound an impression of the power of the human intellect, to take in and grasp the works of the Almighty presented to its apprehension, as is to be seen in the brief analytical expressions which the calculus furnishes for the relations of all the powers of nature and their effects. The uninitiated will be incredulous when we state that the three little equations,

$$\frac{d^2x}{dt^2}=X, \qquad \frac{d^2y}{dt^2}=Y, \qquad \frac{d^2z}{dt^2}=Z,$$

involve all the movements, grand and minute, in the universe.

Professor Smith, in his preface, lays "no claim to originality," but it is no small merit to have made so admirable a compilation. The work is certainly one of the best text-books on the subject extant in our language. The work of Professor Bartlett, to which in its turn we propose now to give more particular attention, has different aims, and treats the subject in a very original way; making the novel attempt to manage the most abstruse problems of mechanics without the aid of the calculus:—an attempt, the expediency or necessity of which will be questioned by some, inasmuch as the calculus is now very generally taught in our colleges, and pursued by the majority of private learners who acquire the other branches of mathematics, a knowledge of which is implied in the work before us. If it be asked how the author accomplishes the object in question, we answer that he does often in effect use the methods of the calculus or of infinitesimals, the use of which he indeed traces as he goes along. Once admitting the propriety of this grand innovation, the reader will have little other complaint to make of the work. Such clearness and brevity of statement, such skilful evasion of the dry, difficult, and tedious modes of arriving at results ordinarily thought necessary, by some ingenious short cut, through which the student clearly sees his way to the object, though he might know more about its relations if he went round about, we never recollect to have seen.

Another novelty is the starting principle of the book, which is employed all through it for the purpose of estimating and comparing results; viz., the "*quantity of work*." The work which "consists" in overcoming a resistance of one pound through one foot, is taken as the unit of work. This at once suggests the meaning of the term employed without further explanation, for which we must refer to p. 49 of the book. Smeaton calls it *mechanical power;* Carnot, *moment of activity;* Monge and Hachette, *dynamic effect*; Coulomb and Napier, *quantity of action*,—which is the term most commonly employed. At

p. 169 we have a most beautiful exhibition of the application of the principle of virtual velocities to machines. The mode of treating the subject of projectiles, commencing at p. 173 and again resumed at p. 220, taking into account the resistance of the air, is really quite superb. It was no more than fair, however, to expect something particularly good here in a work emanating from the Military Academy. The brevity and simplicity of this portion is not its least merit. A very elaborate chapter is that on the funicular machine, and the catenary curve. One of the very best chapters in the book is the sixteenth, on friction. This chapter contains some most valuable tables. In chapter seventeen is one of the most complete discussions of the wedge anywhere to be found, friction being taken into account, and the mode of including the effects of it in mechanical investigations most happily exemplified. Much space is given to investigation of the laws of rolling friction, in wheels, trunnions, balls, &c., with numerous tables and exemplifications. Of a similar nature, equally important and equally apt to be neglected, is the subject of stiffness of cordage, treated in the eighteenth chapter. Many pages are given on the application of all these secondary elements in calculating the action of machinery.

In the second part, which treats of the "Mechanics of Fluids," we regret to see the chapter upon the equilibruim of floating bodies so brief. Here was a fine opportunity for considering some of the important problems which arise in shipbuilding, and to which we fear science, in our country at least, has not yet been sufficiently applied. Of what is given under the head of specific gravity, including the description of instruments for determining it, and tables, we must speak in high praise. Of the barometer, we have never seen a better exposition; we allude especially to the demonstrations of the rules for measuring heights with this instrument.

A book so easy to read and understand, so complete, and containing such a large amount of valuable matter, much of it not easily accessible elsewhere, cannot fail to find many students. Its "getting up" is beautiful. No pains or expense seem to have been spared. The letter-press is clear, open, and large, and the diagrams, which are exceedingly well drawn, are repeated whenever the turning over of a leaf would conceal them.

Both the above works will meet an earnest welcome in our institutions of learning.

Art. XI.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) We welcome the appearance of "*The Class-Leader's Manual*, by Rev. Charles C. Keys." (New-York: Lane & Scott. 18mo. pp. 223.) The class-leader is one of the most important office-bearers in our Church: the religious life of the members, as well as the financial operations of our system, depend, to a great extent, upon the leaders; who, as a body of *sub-pastors*, go far to make up for the inaptness of our itinerant system to regular pastoral care. Yet, important as the office is, we have not, until now, had anything

approaching to a full exposition of its scope and functions. The want is admirably supplied in the work before us. In an introductory chapter, we have a clear statement of the history and Scriptural basis of class-meetings; which is followed by four chapters, treating of the nature of the leader's office, its difficulties, its requisites, and its encouragements. We trust that this little work will find its way into the hands of every leader in our Church.

(2.) LEXICOGRAPHY has made vast strides of late years. The scope and limits of the science have been defined with considerable accuracy; and, as a consequence, its methods have been brought nearer to perfection. The new form of the science is chiefly due to the labours of GESENIUS, in Hebrew, and of PASSOW, in Greek Lexicography; the latter, especially, bringing into new prominence the historical treatment of words as the best guide to their exegesis. What Gesenius and Passow have done for Hebrew and Greek is now accomplished for the Latin, in "*A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the Larger Latin-German Lexicon of* Dr. WILLIAM FREUND, by E. A. Andrews, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. pp. 1663.) The basis of the work is Dr. Freund's larger *Wörterbuch*, in four volumes; and in this respect it differs from Riddle's Freund, recently published in England, which is founded on the smaller School-Lexicon of the same author. It is not our purpose now to enter into a minute examination of this noble work, the crowning glory of Messrs. HARPERS' great enterprises in the way of Lexicography, as an extended article on the subject is now in preparation for our pages. It is enough for us to say at present, therefore, that no school-lexicon of the Latin language has ever appeared which can compare, in point of accuracy, extent, and completeness, with the work before us. It will make its own way, and displace all other Latin Lexicons, just as surely as Liddell has displaced the Greek.

We have the highest respect for the labours of Professor Andrews in the preparation of this great work. But it would have been better taste, we think, to have called the book "Andrews' Freund" than "Andrews'" Lexicon.

(3.) OUR favourable judgment of the Rev. Charles Adams' "Minister of Christ for the Times," has been confirmed by the public favour which that excellent work has received. A valuable counterpart to it is now furnished in the "*Portraiture of the New-Testament Church-Members*, by CHARLES ADAMS." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1851. 18mo. pp. 368.) The work is divided into twenty chapters, and contemplates the member of the New-Testament Church in as many different aspects. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of distinctions which such a plan requires, the work is done with such nice and careful discrimination, that far less repetition occurs than might be expected; nor are the different classes of character blended or confounded. For this reason, the work will serve an excellent purpose as a manual for self-examination. Did our space allow, we should gladly give extracts; but we trust that our readers will procure and read the work for themselves. Let but our min-

isters carefully examine it, and we are sure they will be unwilling that the *members* of the Church should fail to study this "Portraiture" of the high ideal to which they should all aim.

(4.) "*Memoirs of Mrs. Hawkes, including extracts from Sermons and Conversations of the Rev. Richard Cecil*, by CATHARINE CECIL." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers: 12mo., pp. 371.) A record of a long life of affliction and pain, alleviated, however, nay, even gladdened, by the presence of ONE who can give peace, even amid tossings, disappointments, and bereavements. The extracts from Mr. Cecil's conversations and sermons (taken down by Mrs. Hawkes) are, like everything that fell from that blessed man of God, full of evangelical truth and wisdom. Such books are indeed a "consolation for the afflicted."

(5.) *A Primary Astronomy for Schools and Families*, by HIRAM MATTISON." (New-York: Huntington & Savage. 12mo. pp. 168.) We have before spoken of the excellence of Mr. Mattison's elementary works in Astronomy, and we find this primary book, designed for younger pupils, to be worthy of the same praise. It is in the form of question and answer;—well-arranged, well-expressed, and illustrated by nearly two hundred engravings.

(6.) A BOOK for the times will be found in "*The Principles of Geology Explained, and viewed in their Relations to Natural and Revealed Religion*, by Rev. DAVID KING, LL. D." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 18mo., pp. 220.) Instead of ignoring, or attempting to explain away, the ascertained facts of Geology, Dr. King gives, in the first part of his work, a brief but lucid explanation of the principles of the science, allowing *everything* which the geologists may justly claim to have established. He then proceeds, in the second part, to show that these principles are not inconsistent with the Scriptural narrative, but do, in fact, corroborate it. He has done the work well; though it may be thought, perhaps, by some, that he has gone too far in allowing that the deluge prevailed over *part* of the earth only. In the third part, the very principles of the geologists themselves are made to illustrate, powerfully and beautifully, the being and perfections of God. The work is enriched with notes and an appendix by Dr. Scruller, of Dublin.

(7.) LORD HOLLAND was one of the few Englishmen of his time who could get rid of insular prejudice so far as to recognise the greatness of Napoleon. And his reputation as a man of candour and sincerity, with great opportunities for observation, has long been widely diffused in this country as well as in Europe. We picked up, therefore, with much expectation, his "*Foreign Reminiscences.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 230.) But the book does not equal our expectations. It is pleasant enough—few will begin without finishing it; but it adds little to our stock of knowledge beyond a few

additional proofs, if any could be wanting, of the atrocious profligacy of the Spanish Court, and, indeed, of almost all the European courts. Some new light is thrown on the character of Talleyrand; and one or two felicitous *bons-mots*, which we do not remember to have seen before, are here given as his. We regret to come to the conclusion—but this book forces us to it—that Lord Holland's own moral sense was not so pure and lofty as we had supposed.

(8.) Few books have done more good in the world than Wilberforce's "*Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society, contrasted with Real Christianity.*" Messrs. Carter & Brothers have just brought out a new and beautiful edition of it, printed in large type on fine paper.

(9.) No better text-book in Psychology, for the use of College classes, is at present accessible than "*Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, by Thomas Reid, D. D., abridged by James Walker, D. D., Professor in Harvard College." (Cambridge: John Bartlett, 1850. 12mo. pp. 462.) Dr. Walker has enriched this edition by numerous notes and illustrations from Sir William Hamilton and others, and has condensed the work, without omitting anything important, into a shape in which it will be manageable by college classes. The study of original works like this is a much better discipline for young minds than that of such compendiums and compilations as are generally found in use.

(10.) We can hardly speak so strongly in favour of "*The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, by Dugald Stewart." (Cambridge: J. Bartlett. 12mo. pp. 428.) But in the dearth of suitable text-books on the subject, we are really in doubt, after all, whether this work, edited as it is by Professor Walker, is not, on the whole, the best to be had.

(11.) We have seen no single mathematical text-book more complete and thorough than "*A Treatise on Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical, with its applications to Navigation and Surveying, &c.* By Rev. C. W. Hackley, S. T. D., Professor of Mathematics in Columbia College." (New-York: G. P. Putnam. 8vo., pp. 371, 238.) The work is divided into six parts—treating severally of Plane Trigonometry, Spherical Trigonometry and Practical Astronomy, Navigation, Surveying, Nautical Astronomy, and Geodesy; a most ample survey of the whole field of Trigonometry and its applications. To each part an appendix is added, containing a vast variety of general formulas, succinct methods of solution, &c., adapted to each topic.

The elementary part of the work is remarkably easy for learners, while, at the same time, there is furnished in the appendices, and in the exercises scat-

tered from the beginning, (in small type,) a very comprehensive view of trigonometry, containing every formula that can be required for the higher analysis; more, indeed, than are requisite for the study of La Place and La Grange. At the close of the *Spherical Trigonometry* is a full exposition of the theory of the Transit Instrument and its use. In fact, there can be found, in different parts of the volume, descriptions of every species of astronomical instrument, whether used in fixed observatories or in the field, by land or at sea. These accounts are chiefly given in the astronomical part of the Geodesy, and in appendices V. and VI. Part III., on *Navigation*, besides presenting a very complete treatise on the subject in a small space, explains also the theory of *great-circle sailing*, now much in use on ocean steamers, but not usually given in works on the subject. Sumner's method is also exhibited. The subject of *Surveying* is reduced to its elements, and treated in a very small compass, but thoroughly. In the *Nautical Astronomy*, nearly all the resources of the new Greenwich Nautical Almanac are brought out; and the appendix to this part states the various methods of determining latitudes by circum-meridian altitudes, by the method of Littrow, and by the altitude of the pole-star out of the meridian. The *Geodesy* is that of the Coast Survey of the United States, digested from materials obtained from the bureau at Washington. The subject is very carefully treated, and, for the first time, made easily intelligible to mere students of trigonometry. The *tables* are the fullest ever given in an elementary work, covering 230 pages.

We have thus indicated a few of the peculiar features of this comprehensive text-book. All teachers of the science should examine it for themselves.

(12.) Some time since we noticed (very briefly) Bonar's "Examination of the work of Rev. D. Brown on the Second Coming of our Lord." A second edition of Mr. Brown's work has recently appeared, under the title "*Christ's Second Coming: will it be pre-millennial?* By Rev. DAVID BROWN, A. M.," which, we are glad to see, has been republished by Messrs. Carter & Brothers. (New-York, 1851, 12mo., pp. 499.) The doctrine of Pre-millennialism is concisely, and we think very justly, summed up by Mr. Brown in the proposition, "that the fleshly and sublunary state is not to terminate with the second coming of Christ, but to be then set up in a new form; when the Redeemer, with his glorified saints, will reign, in person, on the throne of David at Jerusalem for a thousand years, over a world of men yet in the flesh, eating and drinking, planting and building, marrying and giving in marriage, under this mysterious sway." It is this position, which, with various modifications, has appeared at different times in the Christian Church, from its earliest history, under the various names of Chiliasm, Millenarianism, Pre-millennialism, &c., that the work is intended to confute. The work is divided into three parts: the Second Advent, the Millennium, and Objections to the Ordinary Church theory of these great subjects. Each of these topics is taken up carefully and thoroughly: in fact, the reader will nowhere find a more complete exposition of the arguments for and against the Pre-millennial system than the book affords. Believing, with Mr. Brown, that the system is both unscriptural

and pernicious, we commend the treatise to our clerical readers as a repository of facts and arguments on the whole subject.

(13.) "*A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of things Familiar*, by Rev. Dr. Brewer," (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co. 18mo., pp. 426,) is a catechism of useful questions and answers on the phenomena of every-day life, adapted to the instruction of children. An inquisitive child often "vexes" those around it, who ought to know better, by asking *why* leaves are green, why an old kettle boils water quicker than a new one, &c. Two thousand such questions are here asked and answered. A more useful and entertaining book for a child ten years old—or for children of a larger growth who have learned nothing of natural science—can hardly be found.

(14.) "*Responses from the Sacred Oracles*, by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D.," (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851. 12mo., pp. 430,) is a series of Lectures or Essays on Scriptural Characters, with applications to the needs and duties of our common life, at once mirroring the present in the past, and gathering, from the past, lessons for the present.

(15.) A work, the need of which has long been felt in classical schools, has just been furnished in "*A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography*, by William Smith, LL. D.: *revised, with numerous corrections and additions*, by Charles Anthon, LL. D." (New-York: Harper and Brothers. 8vo., pp. 1039.) Dr. Anthon's larger Dictionary, which is so eminently adapted to the wants of more advanced students, was too costly and too copious to be put into the hands of boys; while Lempriere's had no merit whatever to recommend it but cheapness. The present work is, to a great extent, an abridgment of those noble works, the "Dictionaries of Mythology and Biography," edited by Dr. Smith, of London, to which we have several times called the attention of our readers. While the work is designed chiefly to elucidate the Greek and Roman writers usually read in schools, it includes nearly all the proper names connected with classical antiquity which a liberally-educated man ought to know. We regret, however, that the department of *Antiquities* finds no place in it. The very *idea* of the book is incomplete without it.

The labour of the American editor has made the present edition far more valuable than the English abridgment. Much additional matter has been given precisely where the school-boy most wants it; e. g., with regard to the writers most read in schools—such as Herodotus, Xenophon, Cæsar, Cicero, &c. Indeed, the American editor's additions amount to more than 1400 independent articles; "while the additions to articles already in the work—but either too briefly or incorrectly stated, or omitting some important matter, are not a few." A list of *errors corrected*, given in the preface, is as amusing as it is astonishing. The work will find its way into the hands of every school-boy who has

money to purchase it and a teacher with sense enough to tell his pupils *what* books are indispensable to them.

(16.) The name of John Angell James is praised in all the Churches, and his practical writings have found their way far beyond the limits of his own denomination. His "*Christian Professor Addressed in a Series of Counsels and Cautions*," (New-York: R. Carter and Brothers. 12mo., pp. 400,) contains the substance of a course of sermons preached to his people on Sundays when the Lord's Supper was administered. It contemplates the believer rather as a "professor of religion than as a Christian—or, at least, rather as a Christian in his relation to the Church and the world, than in his individual capacity or in his retirements." The danger of self-deception, the folly of low aims in religion, and the duties of the several relations that grow out of a profession of religion, are set forth with Mr. James's usual clearness, earnestness, and force.

(17.) An excellent sign of the times is the demand for works of practical religion. Among the most valuable works of this class recently published, whether in England or America, is "*The Soldier of the Cross: a Practical Exposition of Ephesians* vi, 10–18. By Rev. John Leyburn, D. D." The Christian's Foes, the Conflict, and the Armour, are the topics of the passage: and often as they have been treated, we know of no better and more practical treatise on the topics than the one before us, unless we except Gurnall's golden treatise, which, at the same time, is less adapted to present wants. The theological basis of Dr. Leyburn's work is not precisely that which we should lay; but this difference need not prevent us from commending his book as a pungent and faithful appeal in favour of practical holiness which deserves good heed from the Churches.

(18.) Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," are well known as prolix, yet attractive sketches—tinged throughout with a kindly feeling towards popery. She has now commenced a new series: "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.*" (Vol. I.: New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 374.) This volume contains biographies of the weak and fickle Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV., of Magdalene of France, and of Mary of Lorraine. It is, like most royal biographies, a narrative of vice, treachery, crime, and suffering; and, as a lesson on the woes that monarchy brings in its train, it may not be without its value to republican readers.

(19.) Text-books in Mathematics have been multiplied greatly of late years. Yet we think, if the testimony of all the college professors in the land could be taken, it would be found that they have never been satisfied with their text-books in Analytical Geometry and the Calculus,—especially the latter. Too much matter is generally crowded into these books; more, certainly, than

can be gone over in the limited time commonly allotted to the subject in a college course, and so the teacher is compelled to select propositions, here and there,—a process as annoying to the pupil as it is unsatisfactory to the instructor. As to the Calculus, especially, a still more striking fault is a want of clearness in the explanation of the *fundamental* proposition; in fact, many students have to work the Calculus by rule, without ever obtaining a glimmer of understanding as to its basis.

The wants of teachers, in these important respects, will, we think, be fully met by "*Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus*, by ELIAS LOOMIS, A. M. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo.) The Analytical Geometry is treated, amply enough for elementary instruction, in the short compass of 112 pages—so that *nothing* need be omitted, and the student can master his text-book as a whole. The Calculus is treated, in like manner, in 167 pages:—and the opening chapter makes the nature of the art as clear as it possibly can be made. We recommend this work, without reserve or limitation, as the best text-book on the subject we have yet seen.

(20.) WE have repeatedly made mention of the excellence and cheapness of the several "Libraries" published by Mr. Bohn, of London, and kept on sale by Messrs. Bangs, Brother, and Co., New-York. Among the volumes recently laid before us are Wade's Junius, Vol. II.; Vasari's Lives of the Painters, Vol. I.; Aristotle's Ethics, translated by Browne; and the third volume of Plato's works, translated by Burges. There is no better—certainly no cheaper—way of securing a good *miscellaneous* library, than by purchasing the series published by Mr. Bohn.

(21.) DR. KITTO's name is well known to all Biblical students, from his long-continued labours in the illustration of the Scriptures. It will probably become as familiar to the general Christian public from his "*Daily Bible Illustrations, designed especially for the Family Circle*," of which three volumes have been issued by Messrs. Carter & Brothers, New-York. Another volume will complete the work, which will then contain *original readings for a whole year*, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. The first volume embraces subjects from the Antediluvian and Patriarchal history; the second, from the history of Moses and the Judges; and the third, from the Kings. The subjects of the fourth volume will be taken from the Gospels and Acts. The chief peculiarity that distinguishes this from other collections for daily reading is, that it brings a large amount of interesting and curious matter, from the domain of Biblical literature, before the minds of ordinary readers, in an easy and agreeable shape, free from all learned discussions. No man is better prepared to do justice to such a plan than Dr. Kitto

(22.) "*The Island World of the Pacific*, by Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 406.) We thank Mr. Cheever

for this valuable contribution to our knowledge of Polynesia—a region full of interest in the fields of romance, religion, and commerce. The book contains the results of Mr. Cheever's personal observation in travels chiefly among the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands; but it contains, also, a good deal of valuable information with regard to other islands. The writer succeeds well in narration and description; but if he writes another book, we beg him to forget that he ever read any poetry—his mania for quotation is wonderful. This is a minor blemish, however: the book is a good book, full of useful matter, and written in a thoroughly religious spirit.

(23.) "*An Appeal in Behalf of Family Worship, with Prayers and Hymns, for Family Use*, by CHARLES F. DEEMS." (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1851. 12mo. pp. 281.) It was the remark of Tillotson, that "no family neglecting family worship can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or, indeed, to have any religion at all." Yet nothing can be more certain than that, in many nominally Christian households, there is no altar of prayer. The neglect is commonly excused by the plea of incapacity—a plea which is fully met and set aside by Mr. Deems' very beautiful and timely book. The *Appeal* is an earnest and affectionate reproof and warning to all who neglect family worship; and the forms of prayer make the duty possible to those who cannot conduct the devotions of the household by extemporaneous prayer. Every excuse, in fact, that can be trumped up, is here anticipated and parried. The prayers are simple, scriptural, and fervent. There is a form for every Sunday of the month, and for every day of the week. We wish the work a wide circulation.

(24.) "*Two Years in Upper India.* By JOHN C. LOWRIE, one of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 276.) Mr. Lowrie sailed for India as a missionary in 1833, and, after a short term of laborious service, his health failed, and he returned in 1836. This volume gives a brief account of his work, with the results of his observations during a journey extending to Lahore, the capital of the late kingdom of the Sikhs Besides these personal matters, the book contains a large amount of valuable information on the condition of India, and on the history of missions there. Its profits (we hope they will be large) are devoted to the support of these missions.

(25.) "*The Fathers of the Desert*, by HENRY RUFFNER, late President of Washington College, Virginia," (New-York: Baker & Scribner. 2 vols., 12mo.,) gives an account of the origin and practice of Monkery among heathen nations, and its passage into the Church; together with the most wonderful stories of the Fathers concerning the primitive monks, hermits, &c. The analogy between the asceticism of the Hindoos, Budhists, Mohammedans, &c., and that of the early Christian Church, is very curiously traced. The narratives sufficiently illustrate the aptitude of human nature to pervert religion, and show

that this aptitude is not confined to one sect, country, or religion. Dr. Ruffner might have omitted a few of his details with advantage to the sensibilities of his readers: but perhaps his aim is to *disgust* them, once for all, with monachism and all its abettors. The book can hardly fail to do that.

(26.) "Letters and Papers of the late *Theodosia Viscountess Powerscourt*, edited by the Bishop of Cashel." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851. 12mo., pp. 273.) This work, which has passed through five editions in England, is remarkable, chiefly, because the true religious spirit which animated Lady Powerscourt is so uncommon among people of her rank of life in Great Britain.

(27.) THE "*Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*," is now complete, and published in a single handsome volume, by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, New-York. (8vo., pp. 579.) No one can read this book without admitting the truth of Peel's compliment to Southey, that his name was not only "eminent in literature, but had claims to respect and honour which literature alone can never confer." The abundant correspondence furnished in this volume makes us familiar with Southey in every relation of life and in every mood of feeling: he reveals himself—his thoughts, his whims, and crotchets even, with a frankness and simplicity that charms us, while it wins our respect and confidence. One can pardon his excessive egotism, for the childlike simplicity with which it is uttered. But we cannot allow ourselves to run into a long notice: an extended review is in preparation for a future number.

(28.) MESSRS. CARTER & BROTHERS have reprinted from the fourth English edition, the "*Memoirs of the Rev. Alexander Waugh, D. D., with Selections from his Correspondence.* By Rev. J. HAY, D. D., and H. BELFRAGE, D. D." (12mo., pp. 430.) Dr. Waugh's eminent services to the cause of missions in the early days of that great enterprise in Great Britain, together with his laborious activity in every department of his Master's service, are fully set forth in this volume. From his ordination, in 1780, to his death, in 1827, he preached seven thousand seven hundred and six sermons, averaging three discourses on every Sabbath during that long period. The work is full of interest; but it might have been advantageously condensed for use in this country.

(29.) WE regret to pass such a work as "*The Foot-Prints of the Creator*, by HUGH MILLER," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo., pp. 337,) with a brief notice; but we can afford no more at present. The characteristic excellences of this writer are well-known—his admirable command of language, his power of graphic and distinct description, his even poetic imagination, and the substantial basis of scientific knowledge on which all his qualities rest, as on a sure foundation; and all these qualities are abundantly illustrated in the work

before us. As a contribution, on the side of truth, to the accomplishment of the great task of the age—the harmonizing of science with religion—the book is one of priceless value. The theory of development as maintained by Lamarck and by the author of the Vestiges of Creation, is rigorously examined, and shown to be as destitute of science as it is of religion. The book abounds in original glimpses of the true idea of the universe—of the relations between the world and man, and between both and God. But we cannot dwell upon it. A memoir of the author, by Professor Agassiz, accompanies this edition, and adds to its value.

(30.) Mr. Jacob Abbott, who seems never to weary in doing good things for the children and youth of this generation, has commenced a new series, called the "*Franconia Stories*," of which the first has appeared, entitled "*Malleville*." (18mo., pp. 219: Harper & Brothers, New-York.) It is a very simple but attractive book for *young* children, giving an account of the winter amusements and employments of children in the far Northern States.

(31.) The admirers of Gilfillan's Sketches will be glad to obtain his "*Bards of the Bible*," (12mo., pp. 378. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851;) which is an attempt at a Scripture "Gallery," very much in the style of his "Galleries" of Modern Notabilities. We found ourselves so dazzled with the earthly pictures, that we have not dared to look steadfastly upon these higher ones. In plain words, we think Gilfillan a literary quack of the first water.

(32.) "*The Broken Bud*," (New-York: Robert Carter & Brother. 18mo., pp. 325,) is a tribute to the memory of a beloved child, by a bereaved mother. It will be a sad pleasure for others, whose skies are darkened by a similar cloud, to read this unpretending memorial.

(33.) A new edition of "*Theopneusty; or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, by S. N. Gaussen," has been issued by J. J. Taylor, New-York. (12mo., pp. 410.) The work is so well known that further notice is needless.

(34.) We have received the first number of the "*Chain of Sacred Wonders; or a connected View of Scripture Scenes and Incidents from the Creation to the end of the Last Epoch.* By Rev. S. A. Latta, A. M., M. D." (Cincinnati: Morgan and Overend, 1851.) The object of the work is well stated in the title-page, and it is certainly a well-conceived subject for the purpose aimed at by the author; viz., to "attract the attention of the young to the Bible, the only infallible standard of truth." The sketches contained in the first number are: The Creation, Man in Eden, the Tree of Knowledge, the First Trial, the Sentence, the First Pair Banished, Cherubim guarding the Tree of Life, Mes-

siah Promised, and the First Murderer arrested. The style is ornate—rather too much so for our taste—but graphic and free. The work is to be published in quarterly numbers, at the very low price of one dollar a year.

(35.) AMONG the multitude of books specially adapted to young men, we know none which combines more good qualities than "*The Young Man's Counsellor*, by Rev. DANIEL WISE." (Boston: C. H. Peirce, 1851. 12mo. pp. 255.) Mr. Wise's style is graphic and agreeable; and his varied reading and observation furnish him with abundant illustrations. The present work shows the *absolute* necessity, in order to real success in life, not merely of the minor virtues of prudence, energy, industry, &c., but also of early piety, as the only sure basis of character. We hope a wide circulation for the book.

(36.) THE "*Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, by B. J. LOSSING," (New-York: Harper & Brothers,) has reached its eleventh number. The interest of the work, and the beauty of its illustrations, increase instead of diminishing.

(37.) WE have received an additional volume of Schmitz & Zumpt's classical series; viz., "*T. Livii Patavini Historiarum Libri I., II., XXI., XXII.*" (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1851. 18mo., pp. 343.) It is marked by the same features of neatness, cheapness, &c., that characterize the other works of this valuable school series.

(38.) "*The Oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon, with Notes*, by J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College." (Cambridge: J. Bartlett, 1850. 12mo. pp. 182.) Professor Champlin's edition of Demosthenes *De Corona* is well known; and the present edition of Æschines is prepared on the same principles, and with the same judgment and discrimination.

(39.) WE have received a copy of "*Sermons by Wesleyan Methodist Ministers*," for the year 1850. (London: John Mason. 12mo. pp. 382.) The volume embraces eighteen discourses, by eminent living ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. It will be followed by other (annual) volumes, including contributions from the foreign mission fields, and from the United States of America.

(40.) A NEW edition of "*The Listener*, by CAROLINE FRY," has been issued by Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers. (New-York: 2 vols., 18mo., bound in one.) A book so well known and so widely read, can need no critical notice from us: but if there be any of our readers who have never *listened* to "The

Listener's" wise observation on manners, morals, and religion, we recommend them to buy the book at once and begin.

(41.) ANOTHER book of Daily Readings is given under the quaint title of "*Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock*, by the Rev. JAMES SMITH." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851. 12mo., pp. 380.) The book (which has passed through thirty-eight editions in England) has a passage of Scripture for every day in the year, with a brief exposition and application—the whole reading for each day occupying but a single page. As a specimen, we quote the reading for February 9:—

"*Be Watchful.* Rev. iii, 2.

"Satan is watching to ensnare us, the world is watching to exult over us, and God is watching to protect us. Jesus, our best friend, says to us, 'BE WATCHFUL.' Watch against the spirit of the world, against thy easily besetting sins, against seasons of temptation, and against Satan, the sworn enemy of thy soul. Watch for opportunities to do good, for answers to prayer, for the appearance of God as a God of providence. Unite prayer to God, dependence on His holy word, and watchfulness, together; pray to be kept *from* sin, *in* temptation, unspotted from the world; trust in God to answer, but do not leave the throne; and then watch as though all depended upon thy diligence and efforts. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments. 'Watch ye, therefore, and pray always.' But trust not thy watchfulness, but while watching trust in God. He that keepeth thee will not slumber: He is with thee when on guard, as well as when thou art feasting on His word and rejoicing at His table. He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous. 'The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and His ears are open to their cry.' 'Watch ye, therefore, and pray always.'

'O! watch, and fight, and pray;
The battle ne'er give o'er,—
Renew it boldly every day,
And help Divine implore.'"

(42.) "*The Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art*, edited by D. A. WELLS & G. BLISS, Jr." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851.) We renew our cordial welcome given to this "Annual," a year ago. As a record of the most important discoveries and inventions in the whole range of the arts and sciences, it is indispensable as well to the desk of the merchant and mechanic as to the library-table of the literary man.

(43.) DR. BANGS' "*Letters on the Necessity, Nature, and Fruits of Sanctification*" have been collected and published for the author, in a neat 18mo. volume. We have only room to say that they are calculated to be eminently useful and deserve a wide circulation in their present form.

(44.) MESSRS. GOULD & LINCOLN, Boston, have published a new edition of "*The Old Red Sandstone*, by HUGH MILLER," a work which, when first issued, placed its author at once among the ablest writers of the age. It treats a scientific subject with so much frankness and spirit as to make it abundantly attractive even for general readers.

(45.) Of the following pamphlets, sermons, &c., we regret that we can give nothing more than the titles:—

An Address delivered before the Amphictyon Association, at Lima, N. Y., July 25th, 1850, by the Rev. W. H. Goodwin, A. M.

Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, for the year 1850, by Thomas S. Kirkbride, M. D.

Catalogue of the Printers' Library, under the Direction of the New-York Typographical Society. Rooms, 300 Broadway.

Public Libraries. From the Princeton Review, January, 1851.

Religious Progress; or, Going on to Perfection. A Sermon by E. Miller, Presiding Elder of Reading District, Philadelphia Conference.

A Funeral Discourse on the Death of Rev. James Reid, by Rev. Bernard H. Nadal, A. M.

The Decline of Popery and its Causes. An Address delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Wednesday evening, January 15, 1851, by Rev. N. Murray, D. D.

Education and the Church. An Address delivered at the Request of the Trustees and Faculty of Falley Seminary, of the Black River Conference, Fulton, N. Y., at the Opening of their new Seminary Edifice, Dec. 5, 1850, by Rev. D. W. Clark, D. D.

A Letter to the President of Harvard College, by a Member of the Corporation.

A Lecture, delivered in the Musical Fund Hall, on Monday Evening, Dec. 23d, 1850, on the Jesuits, by Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D. D., Pastor of the First Reformed Church, Race-street.

Methodist Monthly: Devoted to Religion, Education, and Literature. T. N. Ralston, A. M., Editor. W. H. Anderson, A. M., and G. W. Brush, Associate Editors.

Inspiration of the Scriptures: Morell's Theory Reviewed. A Lecture on the Evidences of Christianity, Delivered at the University of Virginia, November 24, 1850, by the Rev. T. V. Moore, Richmond, Va.

Report to the Smithsonian Institution, on the History of the Discovery of Neptune, by Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Jr.

Free-Schools in Virginia: A Plea of Education, Virtue and Thrift, *vs.* Ignorance, Vice, and Poverty. "Let there be light." By Moncure Daniel Conway.

Annual Report of the Normal, Model, and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the year 1849. With an Appendix, by the Chief Superintendent of Schools. Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly.

Third Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Girard College for Orphans, for the year 1850.

*** A number of notices are omitted for want of room.

Art. XII.—MISCELLANIES.

On the relation of the theory of "inherent properties in matter, working by general laws," to the doctrine of a special Providence, and free agency in prayer and other actions.

To the Editor:—The writer of Article I. in Quarterly Review of January, 1851, in arguing against the theory of "inherent powers and tendencies in matter," &c., and in favour of the doctrine of immediate Divine agency in all natural events, uses the following language: "The system that excludes the immediate Divine agency from nature, denies, of course, the doctrine of special Providence, and makes prayer, at least so far as relates to temporal blessings, absurd." "With reference to the objection founded on prayer, it may be said, that God, foreseeing all things, had reference to prayer in the original direction given to the properties of matter, and ordered events accordingly. From this it follows, that prayer is a part of the universal scheme of things, and is as directly governed by the law of necessity as matter. When the Almighty created matter, and gave it those laws which make its phenomena fixed and sure, he made provision for a certain number of effectual prayers, neither more nor less, and these prayers must be offered; the stability of the universe depends upon it." I object to this argument, that it is a sophism, sacrificing an elementary principle of Arminian theology, as it is based on a confusion of the ideas of certainty and necessity—of knowledge and causality.

The fundamental questions at issue between Calvinists and Arminians, are: "The power of God to create a free agent," and "The power of God to foreknow the volitions of such free agent." These being decided in the affirmative, the conclusion is easy that God can foresee the volition of a free agent, *under given circumstances*, either in one case or in a succession of cases through life; and though the foresight be infallible, it is not causative, leaving the volition free, as if not foreknown. If, therefore, God choose to bring about the *given circumstances*, the volition is certain though free. Any given circumstances, then, may be thus foreseen as the occasion (not the cause) of a volition to pray; the circumstances being ordained, the volition is sure to arise, and other events may be provided as answers to this prayer, by operation of general laws impressed upon matter. The material changes are *forecaused*, and necessitated; the volitions are *foreseen* and free, and woven into the "universal scheme of things."

We say, then, that God can, by constitution of nature, or otherwise, run out a line of necessitated events, which shall be parallel to another line of sure, though free, volitions; that so his special Providence may regulate the machinery of events, with reference to every prayer, and every change of human purpose and spiritual condition.

2. Moreover, the writer's theory of immediate agency does not relieve his difficulties, if his argument against the other scheme be sound. For, admitting God's immediate and particular agency, yet it will be acknowledged that it is excited in accordance with regular laws; that most answers to prayer are wrought by

this regular operation; and the more we know of natural philosophy, the fewer are even the apparent exceptions. But as these laws have always been the same, it follows, that from the beginning the Creator determined to work under these general rules. Yet their working brings special answers to prayers and events coincident with human volitions, and this coincidence cannot be accidental. It was in view, then, of these prayers and spiritual conditions, that these general laws of operation must have been selected, involving a necessary course of natural events to run parallel with the course of foreseen actions. But a rule of operation once adopted in God's purpose is as inevitable as if impressed upon matter. It matters not whether the Creator, so to speak, lays down the invariable lines of his purpose, as a track upon which he will gradually impel the car of events, or whether he so construct that car that, when started, it must take that and no other course. All actual human volitions are equally presupposed in either case, and are equally essential to the completeness of the plan. If, therefore, certainty implies necessity, all human actions are as much necessitated under the writer's theory as under the other; if certainty does not imply necessity, then the whole objection to the other scheme falls to the ground.

I hold to the immediate agency of Him who upholdeth all things by the word of his power. But the writer's argument is useless to his cause, if it were true, and as in reality involving the sacrifice of a distinction essential to Methodist theology. °M°

Art. XIII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South.—We extract, from a letter of Bishop Capers to the Southern Christian Advocate, the following statistics of six of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for 1850–51:—

1. The *Holston* Conference stations eighty preachers, of whom fifty-four are elders; and is constituted of sixty-nine circuits, stations, and missions, in eight districts. To occupy this field in its present subdivisions, twenty preachers might be added to the eighty without crowding. Eight or ten more are much wanted. At the late conference there were seven admitted on trial, and five located. The numbers in society are, of whites 35,882, coloured 3,542, and 140 Indians; giving an increase of 825 whites and 17 coloured, with a decrease of 10 Indians. Measures were taken to commence a school among the Indians, and to furnish them, old and young, with catechetical instruction. They have heretofore been served with preaching only; and this in the usual way through an interpreter, once in two or three weeks. More must be done for them.

2. The *Tennessee* Conference stations one hundred and thirty-one preachers; of whom, however, the rare number of *seventeen* are supernumeraries. There are ninety circuits and stations (or charges) in this conference, besides the editorships in Nashville, the agency, and the college and schools. There are ten presiding elders' districts. Nine preachers were admitted on trial, and six located, at our last session. The returns of numbers in society were, of whites 35,980, coloured 7,343; exhibiting an increase of 668 whites, with a decrease of 581 coloured members.

3. The *Memphis* Conference stations one hundred and seven preachers, exclusive of the schools; and has seventy-five circuits, stations, and missions. We admitted fifteen preachers on trial, and located five. Numbers in society, 29,518 whites, 7,055 coloured. Increase, 796 whites, 101 coloured.

4. The *Mississippi* Conference stations sixty-eight preachers, and has sixty-five

circuits, stations, and missions. There were eight preachers admitted on trial in this conference, and six located. Numbers in society, 13,269 whites, and 7,801 coloured. An increase of 127 whites, with a decrease of 854 coloured.

5. The *Louisiana* Conference stations forty-six preachers, and has forty-two circuits, stations, and missions. Six preachers were admitted on trial, and five located. The numbers in society were, 4,845 whites, and 4,405 coloured. Increase, 505 whites, and 30 coloured.

6. The *Alabama* Conference stations one hundred and eighteen preachers, and has a hundred and six circuits, stations, and missions, in ten presiding elders' districts. Thirteen preachers were admitted on trial, and five located. Numbers in society, 33,163 whites, and 15,484 coloured. Showing a decrease of 27 whites, and an increase of 138 coloured.

The whole number of preachers in the regular work in these six conferences is five hundred and fifty. The membership, 152,657 whites, and 45,630 coloured. The bishop remarks that he grieves "for the smallness of this last number scarcely less than for want of preachers; and the more, as it is seen, on comparing it with the returns last year, that there is a decrease of 1,149. The increase of whites in the present aggregates is 2,894; no great number." The smallness of the increase, however, is attributed to an unprecedented drain by emigration to the West, especially to Texas and Arkansas.

The *Annual Report of the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, for 1851, is perhaps the most interesting and important report of that valuable institution ever issued. Prefixed to the regular report of the Board of Managers, is a pretty full account of the Anniversary of the Union, and also of a number of Conference Anniversaries. It is to be hoped that next year we shall have such a reported anniversary from *every* Conference. The *Statistics* for the year are very fully given, and are exceedingly satisfactory. The increase in the number of Sunday scholars during the year has been nearly *fifty thousand*. One of the most striking features of the Sunday-school enterprise is the *trifling expense* (compared with the results obtained) at which the work is carried on. "The whole expense of the eight thousand and twenty-one Sunday-schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, embracing 514,429 officers, teachers, and scholars, for the current year was $59,595. This is an average expense of less than eight dollars for every school, of less than six dollars for every conversion, and of less than ten cents for every scholar enrolled."

The report on the Department of Publication shows great activity, and affords another illustration of the industry of the Editor, Rev. D. P. Kidder. Eighty-two new volumes have been issued during the year. The circulation of the Sunday School Advocate amounts to eighty thousand copies. From the Cash Report, we perceive that the New-Jersey Conference has raised more money for the Sunday-School Union than any other, although, in point of numbers and wealth, she is far inferior to several others. The Appendix contains an account of the *Origin of the Sunday-School System*, in which more *facts* are stated on that subject than we have seen brought together before. This document settles two points beyond the possibility of cavil, viz., (1.) That the system of gratuitous instruction in Sunday schools, was first introduced and practised by John Wesley: (2.) That the present Sunday-School system was first introduced and practised *in America* by the Methodist Episcopal Church. In fact, the substance of the system was officially incorporated in the Discipline of that Church as early as 1790, only nine years after the first schools were established by Mr. Raikes in England. We trust that this report will be widely diffused, and carefully read by our ministers and people.

Art. XIV.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

The contents of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, for January 1851, are as follows:—Art. I. On the Authority of *majorities* in the Church, by Dr. Ullman: Art. II. The Ethics of Classical Antiquity, compared with those of Christianity, by Dr. Schaubach. (The point of comparison chosen is the Christian law, *love your enemies*, which is shown to have been entirely foreign to the whole life of classical antiquity): Art. III. John Denk; a contribution to the history of the sects in the time of the Reformation: Art. IV. The Fragments of Pherecydes in the Church-Fathers, by Prof. Jacobi: Art. V. Examination of Rom. viii, 18–23, by Pastor Rupprecht: Art. VI. Survey of works contributing to a knowledge of the Christian life of the Middle Ages, by Prof. Schmidt: Art. VII. Observations on the present State of the Church, by Dr. Kienlen.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature*, for January, contains articles on Nineveh; the Jansenists, and their Remnant in Holland; the Claims of the Septuagint to Biblical and Canonical Authority; The Theory of Human Progression, or the Natural Probability of a reign of Justice; Letter and Spirit in the Old Testament Scriptures; The Life and Times of Calvin, a review of Henry's and Dyer's works; First Lessons in Biblical Criticism, the Canon of Scripture; On the Interpretation of 1 Cor. vii, 25–40; Our Lord's Discourses and Sayings, a Review of Dr. Brown's Exposition; Bloomfield's additional annotations on the New Testament, a pretty caustic review; with Correspondence and Miscellanies. We are glad to see that Dr. Kitto, the veteran editor of the *Journal*, has received a pension of £100 a year from the Civil List.

The eighteenth volume of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, includes Hävernick's Historico-critical Introduction to the Pentateuch, translated by Alexander Thomson, A. M., Professor of Biblical Literature in Glasgow.

The third volume of Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament is announced for speedy publication in London.

"*Tetraglot Pentateuch, in Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Syriac.* This is the title of a work now far advanced in the printing, and about to be published by Mr. Robert Young, an enterprising bookseller in Edinburgh. We know so much of the great difficulty of gaining an adequate circulation for really learned works on Biblical criticism, that we gladly use all our influence to further the efforts of our fellow-labourers in this department of literature. This undertaking is to contain the following texts of the Pentateuch:—the Hebrew, the Chaldæa-Samaritan Version, the Chaldee Version of Onkelos, the Peschito Syriac. These are all arranged on the *interlinear* system, so that a comparison of these valuable critical helps, with the Hebrew text, is obtained at a glance. We need not point out in this brief notice the great use which may be made of such a work as this, but hope to return to the subject when the first volume, to contain *Genesis*, is completed. Our present object is to call the attention of our readers to the fact that such a valuable critical help is now undertaken, and that the names of subscribers are solicited by the publisher. The proof sheets are revised by the Rev. John Duncan, LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages, New College, Edinburgh." —*Kitto's Journal.*

Our readers may remember Dr. Whately's admirable *brochure* entitled "Historic Doubts Respecting Napoleon Bonaparte," in which it was clearly shown, by a strict application of the principles of infidel criticism, that no such person as Napoleon ever existed. Since that pamphlet appeared, Strauss and his followers have put the objections to the sacred word on somewhat different ground. The *mythical* theory is the favourite weapon of the latest form of scepticism, and we hear from them of the Hebrew mythology and the Christian mythology just as much as of the Greek or Roman mythology. An ingenious pamphlet has been issued in London subjecting the history of the French Revolution to the *mythical* process, under the title of "*Historic Certainties respecting the Early History of America developed in a*

Critical Examination of the Book of the Chronicles of the Land of Ecnarf, by the Rev. Aristarchus Newlight." We take the following extracts from the *Athenæum*:—

"The course of the argument is often ingenious. A brief and accurate outline of the history of Europe (though the scenes and events are referred to America, proper names are used with no other disguise than that of spelling backward,—thus, France, Ecnarf,—Britain, Niatirb) is given in the form of a chronicle:—on which the critic goes to work, with his rules in his hand, and soon demolishes the whole fabric, leaving a curious skeleton of falsehood as the sole residuum of Fact. At the first mention of the name Noel-opan, (Napoleon,) we are treated to the following amusing note:—

"'This, I have no doubt, was not his real name, but the *nickname* under which he was known in Niatirb. Noel-opan is neither more nor less than the "Godless Revolution." נוא, as Gesenius justly observes, is radically equivalent to *verneinen vernichten*, to deny or annihilate. As a particle it answers to the Greek negative, *νη* (in *νήπιος*, *νημερτής*, &c.) – the Latin *ne* or *non*—the English *no*—the German *nein*—the Arabic *na*. El, (אל), as every one knows, is the name of God; Noel therefore is the same as *ἄθεος*, *godless*. אופן, Opan, actually occurs as the name of a *wheel* in Ezekiel, in Exod. xiv. 25, and many other places. In its contracted form, אן, it denotes a *period* or *revolution* of time. It is impossible to resist these little obvious, but on that account more striking, evidences of the antiquity of the document. The framers of the story of Napoleon were, I fancy, aware of the true etymology of Noel-opan. Hence they represent a great literary bugbear (Lord Byron) as signing his name "Noel-Byron,"—just as *Shelley* is said to have written *ἄθεος* after his name in the album at Chamouni.'"

The following refutation of the History of Napoleon's return from Elba, and of the Hundred days—is equal to almost anything in Strauss:—

"It is a pure myth from beginning to end: probably the work of some later legendary, who was desirous of giving the Niatirbites the whole glory of finally crushing Noel-opan. *They* had, as we have seen, no share in the great combination of princes which led to his retirement. It was, therefore, requisite that he should be brought upon the arena once more to receive the finishing stroke from the *misericordia* of the king of Niatirb. In other respects, this second subjugation of Noel-opan is a mere repetition of the former:—just as Rebecca's adventure with Abimelech is a counterpart of Sarah's, in the harem of Pharaoh. A great battle, ending in grievous slaughter of the Ecnarfites; the flight of Noel-opan to Sirap; the eagerness of the populace 'to thrust him out,' his banishment to an island, and finally the tranquil re-establishment of Sivol II. on the throne of Ecnarf. *Orum non ovo similius.* Homer's unhappy warriors are most unceremoniously resuscitated, when some hero's glory demands that he should 'fight his battles o'er again,' and 'thrice slay the slain.' But Noel-opan's return from Able and second banishment, will only be received by those who expect the grand Avatar of Prince Arthur, 'rex quondam, rexque futurus,' or those *similar mythic figments* which may be found in most popular creeds.

Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Mævi.

Let the reader observe how many marks of the genuine myth here combine:—1. The miraculous complexion of the events. Noel-opan returns with 600 men! IMMEDIATELY all Ecnarf submits, and Sivol flies without striking a blow. Noel-opan is defeated *in one battle*; and IMMEDIATELY the Ecnarfites thrust him out. Sivol returns as rapidly as he fled; and Noel-opan *chooses* to surrender to his greatest enemy, the king of Niatirb. It is really like the changes of a Christmas pantomime. 2. The expectation that a great person, whose actions have deeply impressed the public mind, should return, is a common phenomenon. And such expectations (as in the case of the Jewish Messiah) often produce a belief in their own fulfilment. 3. The honour of Niatirb *required* this appendix. 4. The story is worked up from the materials of older legends. 5. It is inconsistent with the previous narrative. (*a*). In *that* Noel-opan was thrust out as a murderer and a tyrant: In *this*, he is received with open arms. (*b*). In *that*, Ecnarf had just lost three great armies successively. In *this*, after less than a year's space, Noel-opan is able to raise, in that same country, another army, large enough to fight a desperate battle with the fresh troops of Niatirb, Aissurp, and Muigleb. Unless, indeed, we suppose that Noel-opan encountered the combined host with his '600 men who drew the sword.' (*c*). In *that*, Noel-opan's settlement in Able is made freely by the assembled princes *for the purpose of removing all danger of his further interference.* In *this*,

the place and circumstances seem so badly chosen that he is able to recover his throne in a few months. (*d*). In *that*, the king of Niatirb is his most hated enemy, while other princes seem disposed to deal mildly with him, and are 'merciful kings;' especially the king of Saturia, with whom he is connected by marriage. In *this*, he chooses to surrender to the king of Niatirb, who, instead of keeping him (as he easily might) in Niatirb, sends him to a distant island, *for the sake of being obliged to maintain a fleet of ships to guard him.* (*e*). In *that*, Noel-opan always *flies* when he is left with only a small force. In *this*, he trusts himself to the people who had just driven him away with 600 men! If this story be not a MYTH, where are myths to be found?"

The "Westminster Review" for January speaks of Wesley as follows:—

Some century and a quarter ago, John Wesley was Fellow of Lincoln College, and Greek Lecturer there. With a few companions recoiling like himself from the profligate habits of the place, he took to heart the appeals of Law's "Serious Call," and resolved to live with the invisible realities, which with others served but for a stately dream or a mocking jest. In the cold midnight, beneath the truthful sky, he struggled for a faith worthy of so great a sight. He prayed without ceasing; he fasted in secret; he passed the mystery on from his own heart to the souls of others; and led the saintly life with less offence to creed and prejudice, than almost any devotee in history. The son of a High Church rector, he could not be charged with unsacramental doctrine or nonconformist sympathies; he denied the Christian baptism of dissenters, and drove them from the communion as unregenerate. He duly proved his spirit of self-sacrifice by preferring a mission to the Indians of Georgia to a parochial provision at home, and the fraternity of the poor Hernhuter to the aristocratic priesthood of England. The sequel is well-known: how he took up the labours, while others boasted of the privileges, of Apostleship; civilized whole counties; lifted brutal populations into communities of orderly citizens and consistent Christians; and in grandeur of missionary achievement rivalled the most splendid successes of Christendom. With what eye did the Church as the mother, and the University as the nurse, of so much greatness, look upon his career? Did they avail themselves of his gifts, bless Heaven for the timely mission of such rare graces, and heap on him the work which he was so eager to do, and others so much needed to get done? Did they found an order to bear his name and propagate his activity? He coveted their support; and so clung to their alliance, that seldom has a strong enthusiasm been combined with such moderation. But in their most favourable mood, they did but stare and stand aloof. It was vain to look to the clergy for their help; he was driven to a lay organization and even a lay ministry; the Wesleyan chapel became the rival instead of the auxiliary of the Parish church; and the most loyal of all popular religious bodies was absolutely repulsed from conformity. When the leaders, with a cart for their pulpit, and the field for their church, provoked the vices and passions they denounced, and were stoned and caried off to prison, the rector was less likely to be their intercessor than their judge. And in Wesley's college days, where the premonition of his religious movement was distinctly given, he met no wisdom and affection to protect him from the scorn of the learned and the laughter of the rich. The apostle of popular piety was repudiated and contemned."

So also the Edinburgh Review, for January, 1851, in an article on Devon and Cornwall, which part of England was called "West Barbary," from the wild and almost ferocious character of its population before the coming of Wesley among its people, speaks as follows of the influence of Methodism there:—

"Whether or not we sympathize with the particular religious spirit introduced in these quarters by the teaching of Wesley, and sedulously maintained by his disciples, no one can deny the deep influence it exercises over the lives, as well as the sentiments, of great numbers of the people; the strength it lends to their courage and enthusiasm; the severity it imparts to their moral principles. Their fishermen range the whole coast of the south of England, and have turned the seas of Ireland, neglected by its inhabitants, into preserves of their own; their miners disinter the hidden wealth of Brazil and Australia. And yet the peace of this populous district, swarming with men of so adventurous a race, whose employments are peculiarly liable to those extreme fluctuations which try, above all things, the temper and judgment of the operative, is maintained by a detachment of thirty soldiers at Falmouth. No partiality for old world investi-

gations, no distrust of the self-opinion of modern times, will tempt us to affirm that the history of former ages affords anything comparable to the phenomena of an existing society such as this—the last achievement of political progress."

The thirty-second volume of the Library of the Fathers has been published—being St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms.

Five volumes of the works of Dr. John Owen have been published by Messrs. Johnston & Hunter, Edinburgh, being part of the Standard Library of British Divines, noticed in a former number of this journal. The same publishers announce their intention to issue a "Protestant Library," containing the chief treatises on the Romish controversy which adorn the theological literature of England.

A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, in the form of Lectures, intended to assist the practice of Domestic Instruction and Devotion, by JOHN BIRD SUMNER, D. D., Archbishop of Canterbury:—A New Harmony of the Gospels, in the Form of Lectures, by the Rev. L. VERNON HARCOURT, M. A. 3 vols. 8vo.:—and a Treatise on the Unity and Order of St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches, by the Rev. A. T. PAGET, M. A., Fellow of Caius College, are announced in London.

The Rev. JOHN PYE SMITH, D. D., died at his residence in Guildford, Eng., on the 5th of February.

It is estimated that over *two hundred and fifty* separate books, pamphlets, &c., have been issued in Great Britain on the Popish Question, since the commencement of the recent agitation.

Among the new works announced on the Continent of Europe are the following:—

Pauli Epistola Altera ad Timotheum graece. Cum commentario perpetuo, edidit Gottlob Eduardus Leo, Theologiæ doctor, art. mag., senatus ecclesiastici Schoenburgici senator, Waldenburgensis ecclesiæ pastor primar. et dioecesis superintendens.

Das Wunder des Christenthums im Einklange mit Vernunft und Natur. Ein apologetisches Versuch in Briefen, von Dr. J. W. Hanne.

Die drei ersten Evangelien übersetzt und erklärt, von Heinrich Ewald, Gottingen, 1850. 8vo., pp. 368.

Die zehn Gebote, in Zeitpredigten, gehalten in 1849, von Dr. Edward Niemann, Hannover, 1850. 8vo., pp. 171.

Among the new works announced in Great Britain, are the following:—

The British Churches in relation to the British People, by Edward Miall, 1 vol. crown 8vo.:—A Letter to Lord John Russell; being an Answer to Cardinal Wiseman's Manifesto, by the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., Minister of the Scottish Church, Covent Garden:—Dealings with the Inquisition at Rome, by Dr. Achilli:—Second Edition, with Additions, Romanism in England Exposed, by Charles Hasting Collette:—Popish Infallibility. Letters to Viscount Fielding on the Secession:—Journal of a Tour in Italy, in 1850, with an Account of an Interview with the Pope, at the Vatican, by the Rev. George Townsend, D. D., Canon of Durham:—Protestantism and Popery contrasted by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion. Edited by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M. A., F. S. A., of All Souls' College, Oxford; Vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London. 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Divinity of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, a Prize Essay read in the Divinity School, Oxford, Friday, June 7, 1850, by the Rev. William Alexander. 8vo.:—The Apostles as the Completion of the Patriarchs; being the Christian Advocate's Publication for 1850, and the sixth and last part of the Province of the Intellect in Religion, by T. Worsley, M. A. 8vo.:—An Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayers; with a Discourse on the Relation of our Lord's Intercession to the Conversion of the World. By John Brown, D. D., Edinburgh. 8vo.:—Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke, in a Series of Lectures. By James Thomson, D. D. Chapters IX.–XX. Vol. II. Edinburgh:—Christianity in Harmony with Man's Nature, Present and Progressive. Seven Lectures. By the Rev. George Legge, D. D.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. Lane & Scott are preparing for publication a very valuable contribution to Biblical literature, in a *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, arranged on an entirely new plan, with a paraphrastic version of the text, by James Strong, Esq. The readers of this Journal have too often had the benefit of Mr. Strong's accurate scholarship and thorough research, to need to be told that this new work will be prepared in a most careful and scholarly way.

The same publishers have in press a new edition of *Asbury's Journal*, which has long been out of print. It will be issued in three 12mo. volumes.

They will also shortly issue, *Light in the Dark Places*, or Memorials of the Christian Life in the Middle Ages. This beautiful book, filled with narratives that have all the interest of romance, is a translation of part of Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums und des Christlichen Lebens.

A Report on the *Geology of Palestine* is soon to be published by Dr. H. J. Anderson, who accompanied Lieut. Lynch on his exploring expedition to the Jordan.

An abridgment of Dr. Alexander's Commentary on Isaiah is announced by J. Wiley, under the title of "Isaiah translated and explained." (2 vols., 12mo.)

Professor Moses Stuart is engaged in a Commentary on Ecclesiastes. A Commentary on the Apocalypse, by Rev. Joel Mann, of Kingston, R. I., is also announced as in preparation.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

The publication of Mr. Bohn's excellent "Libraries" still goes on with punctual regularity. The November issue in the "Classical Library" was Plato's works, vol. iii., containing Meno, Euthydemus, the Sophist, Statesman, Cratylus, Parmenides, and Banquet. The "Standard Library" issue for November was Neander's Church History, vol. i.; and for December, the third volume of Goethe's Works. The several series are kept always on sale by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co., New-York.

It is said that Sir Robert Peel has left an autobiography ready for the press. It will not, however, be published for some years.

The *Journal de la Librairie* for 1850 furnishes an account of the number of books, pamphlets, and works of all kinds published in France during the last year. They amount to 7,208. Of these, 4,711 have been printed in Paris, 2,460 in the provinces, and 37 in Algeria. 1,360 works are reprints, or new editions; and 5,848 may be considered new publications. 6,661 are written in French, 68 in the different dialects spoken in the provinces of France, 53 in German, 61 in English, 2 in Arabic, 51 in Spanish, 83 in Greek, 9 in Hebrew, 16 in Italian, 165 in Latin, 14 in the Polish language, 16 in Portuguese, 4 in the Roumelian dialect, 1 in Russian, 2 in the Turkish language, and 2 are polyglot works. These 7,208 publications comprise 281 newspapers, partly new,—79 of which have been printed and published in the departments, and 73 works printed by the lithographic process.

Some idea of the indomitable literary industry of Robert Southey may be formed from the following list of his writings:—

1. Poems by R. Southey and R. Lovell. 1 vol. 1794:—2. Joan of Arc. 1 vol. 4to. 1795:—3. Letters from Spain and Portugal. 1 vol. 1797:—4. Minor Poems. 2 vols. 1797–1799:—5. Annual Anthology. 2 vols. 1799–1800:—6. Thalaba. 2 vols. 1801:—7. Chatterton's Works, edited by R. Southey and J. Cottle. 3 vols. 1802:—8. Amadis of Gaul. 4 vols. 1803:—9. Metrical Tales and other Poems. 1 vol. 1805:—10. Madoc. 1 vol. 4to. 1805:—11. Palmerin of England. 4 vols. 1807:—12. Specimens of English Poets. 3 vols. 1807:—13. Letters from England, by Don Manuel Espriella. 3 vols. 1807:—14. Remains of Henry Kirke White, edited by R. Southey. 2 vols. 1807:—15. Chronicle of the Cid. 1 vol. 4to. 1808:—16.

Curse of Kehama. 1 vol. 4to. 1810:—17. Omniana. 2 vols. 1812:—18. Life of Nelson. 2 vols. 1813:—19. Roderic the Last of the Goths. 1 vol. 4to. 1814:—20. Carmen Triumphale and Carmina Aulica. 1 vol. 1814:—21. Minor Poems (re-arranged, &c.) 3 vols. 1815:—22. Lay of the Laureate. 1 vol. 1816:—23. Specimens of later British Poets:—24. Pilgrimage to Waterloo. 1 vol. 1816:—25. Morte d'Arthur. 2 vols. 4to. 1817:—26. Letter to William Smith. A Pamphlet. 1817:—27. History of Brazil. 3 vols. 4to. 1810–1817–1819:—28. Life of Wesley. 2 vols. 1820:—29. Expedition of Orsua. 1 vol. 1821:—30. A Vision of Judgment. 1 vol. 4to. 1821:—31. Book of the Church. 2 vols. 1824:—32. Tale of Paraguay. 1 vol. 1825:—33. Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. 1 vol. 1826:—34. History of the Peninsular War. 3 vols. 4to. 1822–1824–1832:—35. Lives of Uneducated Poets—Prefixed to Verses by John Jones. 1 vol. 1829:—36. All for Love and the Legend of a Cock and a Hen. 1 vol. 1829:—37. Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society. 2 vols. 1829:—38. Life of John Bunyan, for an Edition of the Pilgrim's Progress. 1830:—39. Select Works of British Poets, from Chaucer to Jonson, edited with Biographical Notices. 1 vol. 1831:—40. Naval History of England, 4 vols. and part of the 5th, in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. 1833–1840:—41. The Doctor, &c. 7 vols. Vols. 6 and 7, edited by the Rev. J. Wood Warter, 1834–1847:—42. The Life and Works of Cowper. Edited, 15 vols. 1835–1837:—43. Collected Edition of his Poems. 10 vols. 1837–1838. Also complete in 1 volume. 1847:—44. Common-place Book, 1st, 2d, and 3d Series. A fourth is announced. Edited by the Rev. J. Wood Warter:—45. Oliver Newman, and other Fragments. Edited by the Rev. H. Hill. 1 vol. 1845.

He wrote, besides, nearly one hundred and fifty articles in the Annual Review, the Quarterly, and the Foreign Quarterly.

The following new works in Philosophy have appeared on the continent of Europe, namely:—

Introduction à l'étude de l'histoire de la philosophie, par M. Nicolas, Paris. 2 volumes, 8vo.

Die Katastrophe und der Ausgang der Geschichte der Philosophie, von Dr. A. Smetana. Hamburgh, pp. 288, 8vo.

De la Philosophie Scholastique, par B. Haureau. Paris, pp. 260, 8vo.

System der Wissenschaft, von Dr. K. Rosenkranz. Königsberg, pp. 622, 8vo.

Herbart's complete Works, vol. v., containing the Lehrbuch zur Psychologie. 8vo., pp. 514.

Among the Works in Classical and General Literature, lately announced on the continent of Europe, are the following:—

Theorie der Modi und Tempora in der griechischen Sprache, von Dr. W. Fuisting. Münster, 1850, pp. 159, 8vo.

Parallel-Syntax der griechischen und lateinischen Sprache, von Dr. Aur. Möller. Jena, 1850, pp. 364, 8vo.

Griechische Mythologie. In 3 Büchern, von Dr. Emil Braun. 1. Buch. Hamburgh, 1850. pp. 214, 8vo.

Euripides Werke. Griechisch mit metrischer Uebersetzung und prüfenden und erklärenden Ammerkungen von *J. A. Hartung*. 10. Bdchen. Leipzig, 1850. pp. 189, 8vo.

Grundriss der römischen Literatur, von G. Bernhardy. 2. Bearbeitung. Halle, 1850. pp. 613, 8vo.

Sophoclis Tragoediae. Graece et Latine. Ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii, vol. i. Ajax, Electra, Oedipus rex. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 8vo.

Andeutungen eines Systems der Mythologie, entwickelt aus der priesterlichen Mysteriosophie und Hierologie des alten Orients, von F. Nork. Leipsig, 1850. 8vo. pp. 330.

Pragmatische Psychologie, oder Seelenlehre in der Anwendung auf das Leben, von Dr. Edward Beneke, Professor zu Berlin. Vol. i. Berlin, 1850. 8vo., pp. 426.

Among the new works recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, by H. G. Atkinson and Harriet Martineau. 1 vol. post 8vo.:—Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849; with a glance at California. By a Merchant long resident at Tahiti. With coloured plates. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Commander E. Forbes's work on Dahomey and the Dahomans; being his Journals of Two Missions to the King of Dahomey and Residence at His Majesty's Capital. 2 vols. post 8vo.:—Mr. W. P. Snow's voyage of the "Prince Albert" in search of Sir John Franklin; a narrative of Every-day Life in the Arctic Seas. Post 8vo.:—Modern State Trials. Revised and Illustrated with Essays and Notes, by William Charles Townsend, Esq., M. A., Q. C., late Recorder of Macclesfield:—The Stones of Venice. Volume the first—The Foundations, by John Ruskin, author of "The

Seven Lamps of Architecture," &c.:—A Year on the Punjaub Frontiers in 1848–1849, by Major Herbert Edwardes. 2 vols. 8vo., with maps, plates, &c.:—The Literary Veteran; Including Sketches and Anecdotes of the most Distinguished Literary Characters from 1794 to 1849, by R. P. Gillies. 3 vols. post 8vo.:—A History of Greek and Roman Classical Literature. With an Introduction on each of the Languages; with Biographical Notices; with an Account of the Periods in which each principal Author lived and wrote, so far as Literature was affected by such History; and Observations on the Works themselves, by R. W. Browne, Professor of Classics at King's College. 2 vols. 8vo.:—Goa and the Blue Mountains; or Six Months of Sick Leave, by Richard F. Burton, Lieut. Bombay Army. 2 vols. post 8vo. with illustrations:—The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, and the Rev. William Mason. Now first published from the original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by the Rev. J. Mitford, author of "The Life of Gray." 2 vols. 8vo.:—England as it is; Political, Social, and Industrial, by William Johnston. 2 vols. post 8vo.:—Christianity in Ceylon; its Introduction and Progress under the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and American Missions, by Sir J. Emerson Tennent. Woodcuts. 8vo.:—Gleanings, Antiquarian and Pictorial, on the Overland Route, by the author of "Walks about Jerusalem," "Forty Days in the Desert," "The Nile Boat," &c. Large 8vo.:—Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg; or, the History of Prussia, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by Leopold Ranke. Translated from the German by Sir Alex. Duff Gordon, Bart., 3 vols. 8vo.:—The Military Events in Italy, 1848–9. Translated from the German by the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere. With a map. Post 8vo.:—The Lexington Papers; or, the Courts of London and Vienna in the XVIIth Century, by the Hon. H. Manners Sutton. 8vo.:—A Manual of Elementary Geology; or, the Ancient Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants, by Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S., P.G.S. Third edition, thoroughly revised. 8vo.:—The Personal Narrative of an Englishman Domesticated in Abyssinia, by Mansfield Parkyns, Esq. 8vo.:—The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored. An Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture, by James Fergusson, Esq. With maps and 45 wood-cuts. 8vo.

AMERICAN.

We are very glad to see that Grote's History of Greece is to be presented to American readers in a cheap and convenient form. The first two volumes have been published, and are to be followed by the remaining volumes. Eight volumes have appeared in England—the last of which dwells on the career of Socrates, in a chapter which, according to the (London) Quarterly, "in originality of conception, and excellence of execution, will generally be hailed as the masterpiece of this work." Indeed, the Review goes so far as to say, that before the publication of Mr. Grote's last volumes, the character of Socrates was comparatively unknown.

Mr. E. G. Squier is preparing a work on "Nicaragua: its Condition, Resources, and Prospects;" to be illustrated by maps, plans and engravings. The Appendix will embrace the recently published work of John Bailey, Esq., on "Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, and Costa Rica." This work will present a complete and compendious account of the states of Central America, Geographical, Topographical, Statistical; their Mines, Harbours, &c., &c.; together with all the facts hitherto developed respecting the proposed grand inter-oceanic canal.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields will publish, from the early proof-sheets, "The Biography of Wordsworth," by his nephew, Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. Edited, at his request, by Prof. Henry Reed, of Philadelphia.

Mr. G. P. Putnam announces as in preparation what promises to be a valuable series of manuals, to be compiled from Maunder's *Treasuries* and other sources, and intended to form, when complete, a portable and convenient library of reference. They will embrace, I. Hand-Book of Science. II. Hand-Book of General Literature. III. Hand-Book of Biography. IV. Hand-Book of the Fine Arts, (now ready, Huntington's Manual.) V. Hand-Book of the Useful Arts.

A new weekly catalogue of German books is now issued in Leipsig under the title of *Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland.* It contains the names of all new books. Mr. Rudolph Garrigue, New-York, will furnish it to all who desire it.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1851.

Art. I.—UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

1. *The Natural History of Man; comprising inquiries into the modifying influence of physical and moral agencies on the different tribes of the human family.* By James Cowles Prichard, M. D., &c., &c. Third edition, enlarged, with fifty coloured and five plain illustrations on steel, and ninety-seven engravings on wood. Royal 8vo., pp. 677. London: H. Bailliere. 1848.
2. *The Unity of the Human Races, proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science, with a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz.* By the Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D. 12mo., pp. 404. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1850.
3. *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science.* By John Bachman, D. D. 8vo., pp. 312. Charleston, S. C.: C. Canning. 1850.
4. *Philological Proofs of the Original Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race.* By Arthur James Johnes, Esq. London. 1846.
5. *An Investigation of the Theories of the Natural History of Man.* By William Frederic Van Arminge. New-York. 1848.
6. *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany;* March, 1850. *On the Geographical Distribution of Animals;* July, 1850. *On the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races.* By Professor Louis Agassiz.

The question whether man may not after all be the second cousin of the monkeys, is one which most plain people will not think worthy of elaborate discussion. But as the Bible had had the temerity to assert that he is not, Voltaire and the French school of infidelity, flinging down the glove for the slandered baboons, maintained that the Bible in this, as in so many other matters, was wholly in the dark. Now, had they limited the investigation to mere researches into personal genealogy, we should not have been so impolite—either to the Frenchmen or the monkeys—as to have meddled with their family matters, but would have allowed them to settle the question of consanguinity as best pleased them. But with a magnanimity and abnegation of self highly characteristic of that school, they

generously disclaim the honour of this simial relationship, and benevolently bestow it upon poor Quashee, in consideration, perhaps, of the fact that he had been somewhat neglected in their previous benefactions. Now, as neither Quashee nor the baboons were allowed to appear in the Encyclopædia, any more than the Bible or Christianity, it became necessary that others should examine their claim to the heraldic honours thus bestowed upon them by the *savants* of the Academy. Such was the origin of the question as to the Unity of the Human Race.

The question thus raised, and discussed, at times, ever since, has recently awakened fresh interest in the scientific world. Commerce, travel, exploring expeditions, researches in natural history, and other causes, have accumulated such a mass of evidence bearing on this point, that a hope has arisen that it may speedily and finally be settled as a ruled case in science. Hence the number and ability of books and essays that have lately appeared on both sides of this question. And it is not without a feeling of national pride that we observe the fact that some of the ablest treatises on the subject are from American pens. Some of these we propose briefly to notice before presenting a rapid *résumé* of the argument, as we believe it to stand at present.

First in order we place Prichard, as the most laborious, voluminous, and accurate writer in our language, on the general physical phenomena of the human races. In his Physical Researches, we have a vast repository of facts drawn from every available source that was trustworthy. His Natural History of Man is an extensive and laborious induction of particulars in regard to the unity of the different races. The edition now before us is enriched with extensive appendixes, presenting the latest results of scientific research in the departments of philology and ethnography, especially in regard to the African races. The costliness of the work, however, arising from its elegant coloured plates, must prevent its extensive circulation in this country. This is, however, the less to be regretted, as we have in some treatises of native origin, an equally satisfactory discussion of the subject.

Dr. Bachman's book is one of the very best that has ever been written on this question. One of the first naturalists of our age, his opinions on the questions of science involved would be of great value, even if he had given no special attention to this particular controversy. But his professional studies having early directed his mind to this subject, he has given all the points involved the most sifting and thorough examination. With very rare powers of observation, he has carried on a series of experiments for many years,

has visited the best museums and cabinets of this country and Europe, has consulted every accessible source of information, and collected an immense mass of facts, by means of which he has placed the doctrines of the intransitive permanence of species, the barrenness of hybrids, and the consequent unity of the races of men, on a basis of inductive proof which we think is absolutely immovable. He has subjected the showy but shallow generalizations of Dr. Morton to a most searching and exhaustive analysis, and shown that in not a single case alleged is the fruitfulness of hybrid races sustained by the facts. The dogged and persevering manner in which the veteran naturalist scents out and runs down the alleged facts, dragging them to the light, and showing their irrelevancy, or their establishment of the opposite doctrine, is really amusing. One cannot help feeling some compassion for a theory so completely and mercilessly used up. After demolishing the frost-work of Dr. Morton, he discusses the direct question with a clearness, originality, and force, which we have rarely seen equalled.

Dr. Smyth's book is a faithful and laborious summary of the argument in all its ramifications. Like Dr. Bachman's, it had its origin in the discussions of a literary club in Charleston, and first appeared in the columns of several of our religious newspapers. Possessing one of the finest private libraries in the country, and knowing well how to use its treasures, Dr. Smyth has enjoyed rare facilities for presenting a complete bird's-eye view of the controversy. This accordingly he has done in the work before us. Like all his other writings, it displays vigorous thinking, patient research, extensive erudition, and a high tone of moral and religious feeling. He first takes up the Scriptural argument and discusses it with special reference to the recent speculations of Professor Agassiz. Here his professional training gives him great advantage over the distinguished naturalist. He then proves, by an extensive induction of facts from ancient history and literature, the former civilization of the black races. Next he grapples directly with the question of the varieties of the human species, suggests their probable origin, and shows their entire consistency with the unity of the different races. Then, after discussing the nature and philosophy of species, he proves the unity of the races from the unity of the species. He then presents the philological, ethnological, and, what may be termed the psychological, arguments. After this he carries the war into Africa, attacks the theory of diversity of origin, and urges objections to the latest views of Agassiz. Several useful papers are added in an appendix, and the whole work made convenient and valuable as a book of reference, by a Scriptural and general index.

It is, perhaps, hardly to be expected that a work of this kind, made up amidst the multifarious engagements of a laborious pastoral charge, should possess all the logical arrangement, and digested method, of a treatise prepared in the scholarly leisure of a life devoted entirely to a single branch of science. The wonder is, that a book prepared amidst the pressure of so many duties, should evince so thorough an exploration of the whole ground, and so complete a mastery of the argument, rather than that it should lack that compact and organic unity which we see in works more technically scientific. As it is, we are furnished with the bibliography of the subject more completely than it can be found in any other book we have seen, and with an accumulation of argument in favour of the unity of the races, which must be satisfactory to most fair and unbiassed minds.

There is another work, which we have not seen, by a Dr. Nott of Mobile, but the quotations from which evince a rancour against the Bible and a coarse brutality of feeling, that is exceedingly loathsome. If he be not some Alabama negro-trader, who has found it more profitable to sell men's bodies than to cure them, and who wishes to write his trade into respectability, his book at least emits the odour of that delectable class so strongly as to make any nearer approach to it neither pleasant nor necessary.

That this is a question on which the Bible has clearly and definitely pronounced, we do not think it needful to show at any greater length than we shall necessarily do, in noticing the position of Professor Agassiz; as most of our readers are already thoroughly convinced and informed on that point. It will be more profitable to present a condensed view of the argument for the unity of the races, as a question of natural history, and, to some extent, of ethnography. In doing this, we shall draw indiscriminately on all the sources of information within our reach, without referring in each case to the precise authority on which we make our statements, or cumbering our pages with details that are appropriate only to the extended treatise.

That there are varieties in the races of men of the most diverse character, is a fact that stands out palpably to universal observation. The fair-skinned, energetic Anglo-Saxon, the black-skinned, indolent Negro, and the saffron and copper-coloured races of Asia, Australia, and America, present permanent types of the widest diversities of physical characteristics. The question then arises. Are these diversities so wide and impassable as to prove that the different races of men are different species, having a different origin; or are they of such a character as only to prove that they are different

varieties of the same species? Man, being an animal, under the same physical laws as to his physical economy with the lower tribes, must be considered, in discussing this question, as subjected to the same principles of classification that are adopted in other departments of animated nature. We are willing, then, to submit this question as one purely of natural history, and discuss it on those principles which are recognised in that branch of natural science.

The word species is often loosely used to mean any class of individuals possessing characteristics in common. In Zoology, however, it has a fixed and definite sense. This sense is not an arbitrary invention in the nomenclature of science, but a permanent fact ordained in the very constitution of organic life. A species is simply a tribe of living things descended originally, either from the same common parentage, or from a parentage in every respect precisely similar. The fact that puts them in the same species, is, descent from the same original stock. Now, as this fact cannot always be ascertained historically, Nature, (by which term in this paper we always mean the God of Nature,) has left a mark by which this can always be ascertained. This mark is the power of permanent reproduction. Like always produces like, and not unlike. That, therefore, which proves the descent of the offspring from the parentage, is the power of producing and perpetuating an offspring in all essential respects similar to that parentage.

There are two great facts that characterize the actions of Nature in regard to the different families of living things: the one is the great flexibility and adaptability of the law of resemblance within certain limits; the other is, the rigid, inflexible permanence of that law beyond these limits. The final causes of these facts or laws will be obvious on a moment's reflection.

The first law is essential to the very existence and advancement of human society. The earth contains many varieties of climate, soil, and surface, and the precise physical constitution adapted to one place would be very unsuitable to another. Hence, either the more useful races of animals and plants must be confined to their original locality; or a new creation must take place whenever a new country is to be settled; or there must be in organic life a power of adaptation by which it shall conform to the new circumstances in which the possessors of it may be placed. The necessities of man, however, demand that certain animals and plants should be domesticated, and trained to the various uses for which they may be needed, and that they be capable of transportation with him in his various migrations. Now, if the peculiarities of each species were unchangeable, domesticity and migration would be impossible. The

dog, the horse, the sheep, and the hog, must remain in their original wildness, and the many useful varieties of these important races be unknown. The plants, fruits, and grains, must be confined to the countries to which they were indigenous, and be incapable of improvement by cultivation. The incentives and rewards of human industry and skill, arising from the wonderful improvements that may be made by cultivation, and acting so powerfully upon the civilization and advancement of the world, would be wholly wanting. Therefore, to accomplish the obvious purposes of God in peopling the earth, there must be this *nisus formativus* in organic life, by which the various tribes of living things may be adapted to the circumstances of their position and the wants of man, and by which a stimulus may be given to the active and inventive faculties of social and civilized life. It is this fact, or tendency in organic life, which gives rise to those endless varieties of different species which we find everywhere existing, especially in the more settled and advanced states of society.

But the second law is equally important. If this capability of variation were unlimited, the peculiarities of each species must at last be wholly obliterated. If the different species could amalgamate without limit, and produce new species partaking of the characteristics of both races thus commingled, in process of time the existing species must become hopelessly confounded, the peculiarities that fit them for their various positions in the scale of living things be lost, and the earth become a scene of organic confusion. Indeed, had this law not been always in existence, the various species of domestic animals, at least, would long since have disappeared and become completely blended into some strange and nondescript monstrosity, as wild as a sick man's dream. To prevent such a calamity Nature has set up an impassable barrier between the different species, so as to prevent their permanent intermixture. It is this fact that establishes the conditions of hybridity. A hybrid individual may be produced between two different species, but never a hybrid species, for the hybrid is barren, and cannot perpetuate its kind. And although, in two or perhaps three cases, (those of the buffalo and cow, the China and common goose, and some species of ducks,) where the species are nearly related, the power of reproduction existed in the hybrid, it is so feeble as not to extend beyond the second or third generation. The race becomes extinct, and hence the hybrid is incapable of establishing a new species. Recent anatomical investigations show that an actual barrier is produced in the hybrid, making the power of propagation impossible. And universal observation shows that there is between different species

an invincible repugnance to union, so that death is often the result of attempts to bring them together. No new species then can be produced by art or accident, for the attempt to produce it will always end in barrenness. The law of organic life is, that each creature shall propagate its own kind and not any other. It is also a significant indication of the strength of this law, that mules, or hybrid plants and animals, very rarely occur in a wild state. They are usually the result of domesticity or specific culture, in which the action of Nature is forced by man, and in such cases her displeasure is evinced by the sterility of the unnatural product. Were it necessary, we could give a page of hybrids between different species, which, in spite of every effort to the contrary, have been found absolutely sterile. The fact, then, that hybrid individuals are barren, and hence, that hybrid species or races can never be formed, furnishes us with a clear and certain criterion of species and varieties. If we find the power of permanent reproduction existing between any two classes, we know that they are only varieties, and belong to the same species. If they belong to the same species we infer that they had the same origin, for we have seen that the production of a new species is impossible.

The application of these views to the question before us is obvious. We know that the different races of men freely and permanently amalgamate. This phenomenon has frequently been seen, and new races possessing the power of permanent reproduction have frequently been formed, and are now in actual process of formation. The fertility of the mixed races of men, therefore, proves them to belong to the same species; and, unless man be an exception to all other races of living things, or unless there is specific historical testimony to establish the contrary, proves that these races have had a common and a single origin.

The most strenuous attack that has ever been made on this long-established doctrine of natural history, has been by Dr. Morton of Philadelphia. In an essay on the hybridity of animals in its relation to the unity of the human races, he affirms that hybrid races, with the power of permanent reproduction, are capable of being formed; and hence that this is not the criterion to determine separate species. He brings together an imposing array of alleged facts to sustain this position. But this array has not imposed on Dr. Bachman, however it may have on Dr. Morton. With a far wider knowledge of both the science and the literature of the subject than even his learned opponent, Dr. Bachman has taken up these facts *seriatim*, and shown with the clearness of demonstration, that some of his statements are not authentic; that others are disproved by

positive countervailing testimony; that others are so vague and indefinite as to establish nothing with certainty; that others prove the very position which he attacks; and that in no case has it been proven that a hybrid race or species has been produced or perpetuated. This is done with a searching thoroughness and minuteness of refutation that leaves literally no ground for the theory to rest upon, and establishes the sterility of hybrids and the impossibility of hybrid races beyond all successful contradiction.

The views that Professor Agassiz has recently thrown out, are only in partial conflict with this general doctrine, and hence need not be examined in this immediate connexion.

Here then we might rest the argument for the unity of the races, as an established point of natural history, and demand proof that man was an exception to the rest of the animated creation. But we are willing to wave this advantage, and investigate those difficulties that lie in our path, which however are not peculiarly pressing upon our theory.

The great difficulty in the way of admitting the unity of the human races, is the number and marked character of their varieties. It is alleged that these varieties are so broad, so permanent, and so ancient, that we are forced to the conclusion that the different races had different origins. Let us then examine the law of varieties as it exists in the other forms of organic life, and ascertain whether it leads us to this conclusion. If we find that no such widely-marked and permanent varieties appear in them, this difficulty will be formidable to the theory of unity. But if we find in tribes that are known to belong to the same species and to have the same origin, varieties appearing as broadly marked, and as indelible as those of the human races—varieties which when once produced put on the permanence of species in their characteristics,—then it will follow that the existence of similar varieties, similarly marked, in the human race, can be no valid proof of either diversity of species or diversity of origin.

We have already remarked that it is a law of Nature that varieties be produced within the same species, and that to this beneficent law we owe much of the comfort and improvement of our race. These varieties are sometimes accidental, originating without any known cause. A striking instance of this law of accidental origin is found in the otter breed of sheep. In 1791 one ewe, on the farm of Seth Wright, in Massachusetts, gave birth to a male lamb, which, without any known cause, had a longer body and shorter legs than the rest of the breed, with the fore-legs crooked. This peculiar form rendering it unable to leap fences, it was resolved if possible to

propagate this accidental variety. This was accordingly done, and the breed received its name from the resemblance of its bodily form to that of the otter. A race of swine with solid hoofs arose in Hungary, in the same way, and recently the same singular variety has made its appearance along the banks of the Red river in our own country, without any assignable cause.

But varieties are more frequently formed from causes acting uniformly and regularly, such as climate, food, habits of life, etc., in the states of wildness and domesticity. Whilst we are unable to say what the precise mode of action is, the general fact is clear, that where animals are subjected to any new circumstances such as these, there is an instant effort in Nature to accommodate herself to these circumstances, and if there is sufficient constitutional energy to endure this struggle, the result is a change in the physical peculiarities which are adapted to the change in the outward circumstances. This is the great law of compensation that runs through all organic life, and is one of the most mysterious and beautiful in the economy of Nature. It is the great analogue to the adaptive courtesies and kindnesses of the social world, which illustrate the wonderful correspondences that we find running through all the manifestations of that dread and glorious mystery—LIFE.

It is difficult to trace our domestic animals to their original stocks, owing to the remoteness of the period of their subjugation by man. The original types, in many cases, seem to have disappeared, the necessity for their continued existence no longer remaining. The oxen, horses, goats, etc., which we now find wild, are more frequently derivations from the domesticated varieties, than types from which those varieties were originally derived. But the transition from domesticity to wildness furnishes us with a standard by which to judge of the changes effected in the contrary transition; and although it is doubtful whether the original type is ever restored in such cases, yet we have, at least, an illustration of the law of variations, and the tendency in organic life to put on new characteristics when subjected to new influences.

Happily for our purpose we have a series of authentic experiments, made on a scale sufficiently extended to afford us the finest possible illustration of this great law. The Spaniards, when they discovered this country, found none of the domestic animals existing here which were used in Europe. They were accordingly introduced, and escaping and straying from their owners, they have run wild in our vast forests for several centuries. The result has been the obliteration of the characteristics of the domesticated animals, and a reappearance of some of the typal marks of the wild state;

and a generation of new and striking characteristics in accommodation to these new circumstances.

The wild hog of our forests bears a striking likeness to the wild boar of the old world. The hog of the high mountains of Paramos resembles the wild boar of France. Instead of being covered with bristles, however, as the domestic breed from which he sprang, he has a thick fur, often crisp, and sometimes an under-coat of wool. Instead of being generally white or spotted, they are uniformly black, except in some warmer regions, where they are red, like the young pecari. The anatomical structure has changed, adapting itself to the new habits of the animal, in an elongation of the snout, a vaulting of the forehead, a lengthening of the hind legs, and in the case of those left on the island of Cubagua, a monstrous elongation of the toes to half a span.

The ox has undergone the same changes. In some of the provinces of South America a variety has been produced called "pelones," having a very rare and fine fur. In other provinces a variety is produced with an entirely naked skin, like the dog of Mexico or of Guinea. In Colombia, owing to the immense size of farms and other causes, the practice of milking was laid aside, and the result has been that the secretion of milk in the cows is, like the same function in other animals of this class, only an occasional phenomenon, and confined strictly to the period of suckling the calf. As soon as the calf is removed, the milk ceases to flow, as in the case of other mammals.

The same changes have taken place in other animals. The wild dog of the Pampas never barks as the domestic animal does, but howls like the wolf. The wild cat has lost the musical accomplishments of her civilized sisterhood, and gives none of those delectable concerts of caterwauling that so often make night hideous, and call down, from irritable listeners, curses, if not something heavier, on the whole feline race. The wild horse of the higher plains of South America, becomes covered with a long, shaggy fur, and is of an uniform chestnut-colour. The sheep of the Central Cordilleras, if not shorn, produces a thick, matted, woolly fleece, which gradually breaks off in shaggy tufts, and leaves underneath a short, fine hair, shining and smooth, like that of the goat, and the wool never reappears. The goat has lost her large teats, and produces two or three kids annually. The same changes have been produced in geese and gallinaceous fowls. A variety has sprung up, called rumpless fowls, which want from one to six of the caudal vertebræ.

The same varieties have sprung up in other parts of the world. The fat-tailed sheep of Tartary loses its posterior mass of fat, when

removed to the Steppes of Siberia, whose scant and bitter herbage is less favourable to the secretion of adipose matter. The African sheep has become large like a goat, and exchanged its wool for hair. The Wallachian sheep has put on large, perpendicular, spiral horns, and in like manner become clothed with hair. Some also have four, and even six horns. The wild horses of eastern Siberia have the same anatomical differences from the tame ones that we noticed in the case of the swine; and culture, climate, and other causes, have produced the widest varieties—from the little, shaggy pony of the Shetlands, that scrambles up the Highland crags like a goat, to the gigantic steed of Flanders, or the Conestoga of Pennsylvania, which will sometimes drag a load of four tons on the level ground. Whether the dog and the wolf are of the same species, is a question about which there is some difference of opinion among naturalists; but there is a very general agreement that all varieties of the dog must be referred to one species. Between these there is the widest difference—from the gigantic St. Bernard that will carry a frozen traveller to the convent, the shaggy Newfoundland with his webbed feet and his aquatic habits, and the scentless and almost tongueless greyhound; to the little lap-dog that nestles in a lady's arms, the nosing foxhound whose scent is almost a miracle, the ratting terrier, and the naked Mexican dog that has an additional toe. The cow presents the most diverse varieties—from the little Surat ox, not larger than a dog, to the humped and long-eared Brahmin cow, and the gigantic prize ox that will weigh two tons. The domesticated fowls and pigeons have assumed varieties enough to fill a page, some of them of the most diverse character, varying from the largest size to the most dwarfish, and possessing every peculiarity compatible with the preservation of the species, in the feathers, the form, the wattles, and the psychological traits and habits.

From this brief summary of facts, which might be indefinitely extended, we may infer the law of variation in animal life, as to its extent. Within the limits of the preservation of the type of the species, the widest variations may occur in anatomical structure; in external properties, in the colour of the skin, in the colour and texture of the hair, in the features, and in the psychological habits; and these peculiarities once produced may pass into permanent varieties, which shall assume all the indelibility of species. And this remarkable fact may be observed, that the nearer the animal approaches to man in its associations and habits, the wider the range of variation. The dog, who is man's companion and imitator, more nearly than any other animal,—who hunts with him in the forest, watches with him over the flock, lies down by his fireside,

and shares his food,—has, perhaps, the widest range of variety. So the roots and grains that are most used by man have the most varieties. The potato has more than one hundred varieties; and Dr. Bachman relates that he saw at one warehouse, more than one hundred kinds of wheat. The fact then stands broadly out, that the widest varieties may occur among animals that are known to belong to the same species. Hence, when we come to man himself, and find varieties existing that are widely different from each other, we see in the range and extent of these varieties nothing which this law of variation in the lower tribes declares to be at variance with the position that these races all belong to the same species and possess the same origin.

But the law of variation we find as clearly marked in its permanence, as we have found it in its extent. The general fact is, that varieties, when once formed, never return to their original type, if left to themselves. They may be changed into new varieties, by being subjected to new circumstances; but if let alone, they will perpetuate their own characteristics, and not those from which they have departed. The motto of Nature is *nulla vestigia retrorsum.* The stream never flows backward to the fountain. The variety may have been produced by accident; but once produced, it puts on the unyielding tenacity of a species. It may pass into a new variety, but this will rarely if ever be the exact type of the original species. Some varieties of the dog have been in existence for centuries, and their precise origin is lost in the past. These varieties have necessarily assumed all the tenacious permanence of species, to have maintained for so many years a distinct existence. The final cause of the permanence of varieties is identical with that of the permanence of species. The same beneficent reasons which demand that the valuable properties of a species should not be lost by the extinction or amalgamation of that species, also require that, when a variety has been called forth by peculiar circumstances, that variety should be permanent.

If, therefore, we find that the varieties of the human race remain permanent, although the climatic or other influences under which we find them may be changed; if we find that the black, red, and white races continue to propagate their peculiarities, although their original geographical positions should be exchanged, we find in this fact nothing which is at variance with the law of varieties, as we have just found it to exist in the lower tribes.

Having thus learned the law of variation, within the limit of species, as to the lower families of animated nature, we turn to the varieties of the human race, and inquire whether there is anything

in them, as to their extent or permanence, inconsistent with unity of origin and unity of species.

When we come to examine these varieties in detail, we find them to be neither so many, nor so great, as we find them in other animals confessedly of the same species, and of the same parentage. The difference between the fairest Caucasian and the sootiest African, is not nearly so great as that between the little, shaggy, Shetland pony, and the gigantic dray-horse of London; or between the soft and silky lap-dog, and the majestic St. Bernard. The differences we have already noted between the oxen, hogs, horses and goats that run wild in our forests, and the breeds from which they are known to have sprung, are far greater than we find between any two races of men on earth.

It is by means of the number, importance, and permanence of the resemblances between individuals; and, also, by the fact of their capability to unite and produce fertile progeny, that we are enabled to class them in the same species. This is the rule adopted as to all other departments of natural history, and hence the rule that should govern us here. Now, when we examine the various races of men we find that they agree among themselves and differ from all other animals in many marked characteristics. They resemble each other in the number, the length, the position, the growth, and the shedding of the teeth; in the shortness of the lower jaw, and the want of the intermaxillary bone; in the number of bones in the skeleton; in an erect stature; in the articulation of the head with the spinal column by the middle of its basis; in the possession of two hands, and they of the most exquisite mechanism; in a smooth skin, and the head covered with hair; in the number and arrangement of the muscles, the digestive and other organs; in the great development of the cerebral hemispheres, and the size of the brain compared with the nerves connected with it; in the organs of speech, and the power of singing and laughing; in being omnivorous and using cooked food, and therefore fire; in the capability of inhabiting all climates; in a long infancy, slow growth, and late puberty; in a peculiar structure of the physical constitution of the female, in the incurvation of the *sacrum* and *os coccygis*, and consequent forward direction of the organs connected with them; in the period of gestation; in the number of young at a birth; in the times and seasons of procreation; in liability to the same diseases, the same parasitical insects and worms; and above all, in the possession of mental, moral and religious faculties, which make them subjects of the government of God, and responsible to his law, as well as capable of organized society, and the various phenomena of civilization.

Now if these momentous resemblances and peculiarities do not classify the human races into one species, how can a case of species ever be made out? If all these essential resemblances, together with the capability of blending the different races and producing fertile varieties, do not prove unity of species, and, therefore, by the admitted rules of natural history, unity of origin, what conceivable facts could establish it?

But if the varieties of the human race were much more widely marked than we see them, there would be in this no insuperable objection to their original and specific unity. The same general reasons that require varieties to exist in organic life at all, demand a wider margin for them in man than in any other animal. His range of being is wider; his circumstances and necessities more varied and numerous; his destinies higher in the event of obedience, and lower in the event of disobedience, to the laws under which he is placed; his capabilities of self-culture are more expansive, that a stronger stimulus might be applied to his active powers, and hence, as a correlative fact, his liability to degeneracy, if that culture be neglected, is proportionally wide in its range; and his entire position as the responsible head of the creation demands a broader scope for change to the better, and hence by possibility to the worse, than any other animal on earth. We would therefore naturally expect a wider variation in all those characteristics that are affected by the outward circumstances in which he is placed. He inhabits every climate—from the frozen snows of the Arctics, where the reindeer perishes with cold, to the burning sands of Sahara, and the steaming jungles of the Carnatic. He subsists on every species of food—from the dripping blubber and train-oil of the Esquimaux, to the cooling fruits and simple cereals of the naked dweller in the tropics. He adopts every mode of life—from that of the lean and hungry hunter who scours the forest and plain for his daily food, or the wandering herdsman who tends his vast flocks by day and by night on the boundless Steppe and beneath the silent stars that looked down on the Chaldean shepherds, to the peaceful tiller of the soil, the moiling artisan of the shop, and the luxurious inmate of the princely mansion. He is subjected to the extremes of civilization and barbarism—influences the most potent, as facts before our eyes demonstrate, where a few families are left for a generation or two in ignorance, isolation and poverty; and influences which cannot to any very great extent be brought to bear on the lower tribes. If then we should find the varieties of the human races broader and more indelible than those of other animals, we would find nothing, in this fact, which the causes just alluded to would not have led us to anticipate.

But, great as these influences are, we are by no means certain that yet greater may not have existed in a former age of our world's history. That the climate of different portions of the earth's surface is not now what it once was, is rendered almost certain by some of the earth's geological records. And that this change of climate has taken place since the creation of man, is also a fact of the highest probability. Whatever was the extent of the Noachic deluge, the physical conditions that affect the human race must have been seriously modified by it. And if in these early ages of the history of the race, when it was in the yielding condition of its infancy, there was a quicker susceptibility in forming varieties, and a stronger tenacity in retaining them, than afterwards,—if the forming state of the race, like the clay in the potter's hand, had a capability of receiving and retaining impressions then, which it did not have at a later stage,—there is in this nothing at variance with what the soundest philosophy would sanction. And the same reasons that required a dispersion of men, and the confusion of their tongues at Babel, would also seem to require their separation by physical features as broad and indelible as the distinctions of language. If then there was even an extraordinary operation of Divine agencies tending to produce diversity of physical features, as the Bible assures us there was to produce diversity of languages; if these original diversities were propagated and made permanent, by isolation and restrictive intermarriage of the respective families thus separated; and if the general purposes of God, and destinies of the race, were to be advanced by nations separated in their features as well as their language, there is nothing unscriptural or unreasonable in the hypothesis that thus some of these widest diversities may have originated. Hence, if we should be unable to state historically the precise origin of all these varieties; if there should be no known causes operating at present to produce new races, more than to produce new languages; if existing causes should be clearly ascertained to be insufficient to account for the appearance of the different races of men so early as we find them noticed in history,—there would be nothing in this state of facts to shake the doctrine of the original unity of these races. If we must assert an interposition of Divine power, as our opponents contend, the rules of hypothesis require us not to assume a higher cause or interposition if a lower is sufficient to explain the effect. Now, if instead of admitting, as they assert, a creative interposition of God, calling these varieties into existence from nonentity, we simply assert a directive interposition, causing different families already in existence to assume certain peculiarities which should be permanent, our hypothesis, presenting

a lower, yet a sufficient cause, is obviously the more philosophical and reasonable. Hence, were it clearly proven, (which it has not been,) that existing causes, or natural causes once acting more powerfully than they do at present, could not explain these effects, then, on the supposition that our race is a fallen one, and that great problems of ontology are slowly evolving in its various families; and that, like the river that went out from Eden, this mighty stream of life, though originally one, has been separated into great heads, each of which has itself become a broad river, and gone forth to compass the earth,—the position that this separation and division, like that of Babel, was caused by specific Divine interpositions no longer needed and no longer exerted, is, of the two demanded, the more reasonable, philosophical, and Scriptural.

But whilst we believe this hypothesis to be a legitimate one in the discussion, should existing causes be demonstrated inadequate to account for the varieties, we need not take any special advantage of it. It has not been demonstrated that these causes are insufficient, but on the contrary many facts exist which tend to prove the opposite position. The law of variations, which we saw existing in the lower tribes, is found to exist in the human constitution, as clearly as in the other departments of animal life. Permanent causes are in constant operation, and accidental peculiarities arise, from both of which sources varieties appear whose characters are deep and permanent.

It is impossible for us, in the present state of our physiological knowledge, to explain the precise mode in which changes are produced in the physical constitution, by a change of geographical location. But the fact is, that there is in the constitution of man a tendency, such as we saw in that of the lower tribes, to put on certain changes of colour, hair, form, etc., when removed from one climate and locality to another, or when subjected to any great change of social habits. Whether the external condition of these changes be the chemical solar rays; the altitude or depression of the general level; the difference of geological formations; the varying agencies of magnetism and electricity; atmospheric peculiarities; miasmatic exhalations from vegetable or mineral matter; difference of soils; proximity to the ocean; variety of food, habits of life and exposure—all of which perhaps at times come in play—or other causes yet more occult,—there can be no question about the fact that such causes are at work. The general fact is, that when the other physical conditions are the same, tribes living nearest the equator are marked with the darkest skin, and the crispest hair. Thus, we make a gradual ascent from the jetty negro of the line to the olive-coloured Arab,

the brown Moor, the swarthy Italian, the dusky Spaniard, the dark-skinned Frenchman, the ruddy Englishman, and the pallid Scandinavian. When we reach the Arctic regions we find a dark tint reappearing, owing probably to the intensity of the summer's sun, the exposure of the natives, and the blackening effect of the winter's smoke in their dim and greasy burrows. When the white races are transferred to a tropical climate, there is a gradual darkening of the complexion and crisping of the hair. There is not so immediate and perceptible a change in the removal of the dark races to a cooler climate, because this deposition of a colouring pigment in the *rete mucosum* is a positive peculiarity; and the law of varieties, as we have ascertained it, is, that these peculiarities once produced become tenacious and permanent, even though the original conditions of their production should be changed. The white races are more immediately affected because their colour is a negative peculiarity, and hence more readily affected by the action of positive agencies. Dough may readily be changed into bread by subjecting it to heat, but bread cannot so readily be changed into dough by reversing the process,—yet no man would from this fact affirm that a lump of dough and a loaf of bread may not have had the same origin. But even on these races a bleaching effect is seen after the lapse of a considerable time. The negroes of this country, where the race has been unmixed, are undoubtedly lighter in colour than their kinsmen in Africa. And the Gipsies, in spite of their exposure and nomade habits, have gradually assumed a lighter tint in the cooler parts of Europe. So in the opposite direction Bishop Heber declares that three centuries of residence in India have made the Portuguese nearly as black as the Caffres.

These agencies we find acting independently of any relations of race. Races that are known historically to have the same origin, by exposure to these influences have assumed every shade of colour, and the other peculiarities that are supposed to indicate a distinct origin in the different varieties. The children of Abraham are found of every hue, from the ruddy tints of the Polish and German, through the dusky hue of the Moorish and Syrian, to the jetty melanism of the black Jews of India. The American nations vary—from the fair tribes of the upper Orinoco, mentioned by Humboldt, to the chocolate-coloured Charruas, and the black races of California, mentioned by Dr. Morton. The great Arian race includes the Affghan, Kurd, Armenian, and Indo-European of the fairest complexion, and the Hindoo, whose skin rivals in jettiness that of the negro. And the Hindoos themselves present every variety of complexion—from the fair-skinned Rajpoot, whose cheek is fanned by the cool breezes of

the Himmalayas, to the swart coolies, and the coal-black fishermen, who swarm on the burning banks of the Hoogly. The Chinese Mongolians—compared among themselves, and also with the same race in adjacent countries—present the same results. The African races display the same varieties—from the red Fúlahs and the yellow Bushmen, to the genuine negro of Guinea, and the broad-faced Hottentot of the southern plains. Many of the Caffres are stated by Professor Lichtenstein to be as light-coloured as the Portuguese. The Gallas, a large and powerful race that inhabits north-eastern Africa, and the Haüsan people of Central Soudan, have physical features resembling those of the negroes, whilst their language and history indicate a Shemitish origin. A tribe also of the Berber Tuaryk—that have long been isolated in the oasis Wadreag, an island of green, in the great African desert—have not only assumed the black hue which we find in many Arabs, but even the features and hair of the negro race. This has resulted, as the history of the tribe proves, not from any intermixture of races,—a result against which their haughty pride of blood were a sufficient guarantee,—but from the physical causes that glow and sweep over those oceans of burning sand. A similar fact is mentioned by Mr. Buckingham in regard to an Arab family of the Haüran, all of whom, except the father, had negro features and hair, although it was matter of proof that no negro blood had ever mingled with that of the family. Mr. B. referred it to that tropical sultriness that broods over the valley of the Jordan, giving the tribes of that region flatter features, darker skins, and coarser hair, than others of the same family.

If we are asked what it is in the climate that produces these peculiarities, we cannot tell, any more than we can tell what it is in the climate of Africa that has made the hog black, stripped the sheep of its wool and clothed it with black hair, caused the hog and dog to lose their hair and have nothing but a black, oily skin, and made the feathers and bones of a variety of the gallinaceous fowl to become black, whilst its skin and wattles are purple. We know too little of the mysterious chemistry of the great laboratory of Nature to say how these changes are wrought; but the facts—that they are going on in the lower tribes before our eyes, and that they have occurred and are now occurring in tribes that are known to have the same origin—prove that the existence of such diversities, where we are ignorant of their rise, cannot prove a diversity of origin in the races where they appear.

But aside from these general causes, which act uniformly and universally, there are particular agencies at work, whose action produces varieties of the most permanent kind. Prichard suggests that

the races of men as to their physical characteristics, fall into three general types, found respectively in the savage and hunting tribes, the nomadic and pastoral races, and the nations that are subjected to the influences of civilization. The first have a form of skull called prognathous, indicated by a forward prolongation of the jaws, and other features; the second, a pyramidal form of skull with a broad face; and the third, an oval or elliptical skull. When a race passes from the one mode of life to the other, there is a corresponding change in its physical features. Thus the Turks, since their encampment on the Bosphorus, have exchanged the Tartar peculiarities for those of the Europeans; and the negroes, during their residence in this country, have undergone a decided change of skull and physical conformation.

Other races are arising from intermixtures of existing ones. The Griquas in Southern Africa have arisen from a union of the Dutch boors of the Cape with the aboriginal Hottentots, and are now a clearly-marked and permanent variety. The Cafusos in Brazil have sprung from a mixture of the native Indian race with the negroes. These varieties, though of such recent origin, have all the tenacity of other and older races. Even accidental features and malformations may be long transmitted in particular cases. A peculiar nose, mouth, or chin, will often pass through several generations of a family. A striking illustration of this is presented in the celebrated porcupine family of England, the members of which, for several generations, had their bodies covered with bony excrescences, like the quills of a porcupine, which were yearly shed, and yearly renewed. Although they intermarried with those who had no such peculiarity, yet so tenacious is Nature of a property which has once appeared, that this singular kind of cuticle did not disappear for several generations. Mr. Poinsett also testifies to the existence of a spotted race of men in Mexico, a whole regiment of whom he saw, that is known to have arisen from a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. Albinism is a further illustration of this law. It occurs in man, and the lower animals, without any known cause, and in the healthiest individuals. Its phenomena in the lower animals prove that it is not to be regarded as among the morbid manifestations of the physical system, but a mere accidental variety. An Albino rabbit, commonly called the English rabbit, has spread all over this country, without any variation or tendency to disease. White mice, rats, racoons, and ferrets, are also in existence. In the human races, Albinoes appear who are prolific and healthy to an extent which proves, that if they were isolated and mated together, there would be an Albino race of men, as we have of rabbits and other animals.

Had any of these accidental peculiarities been isolated, we would have had races of men differing from the rest more widely than any we now see, which would yet not have warranted an inference that they had an independent creation. If then these greater differences would not have warranted the inference that the diverse races were of diverse origins, it is hard to see how smaller differences can demand a conclusion which would not have been warranted by the greater.

But when we examine these diversities more closely, we find the argument drawn from them against the unity of the race to be hopelessly encumbered. If they prove anything in regard to the origin of the races, they prove too much, for they would prove fifty races as readily as five. There is no one feature that can be fixed upon as a test of species. Colour, hair, form of skull, etc., all exist in their widest variety among those who are known to belong to the same race, and run into each other by shades so gradual that it is impossible to draw any clear line of demarcation. Hence scarcely any two great writers on this subject have been able to agree as to the number of races—some making but three; some five; whilst some make twelve or fifteen. Hence no dividing line can be drawn. But if such a line could be drawn clearly, it would carry confusion, as to the doctrine of species, into every department of natural history. There are as wide and permanent varieties of cows, hogs, dogs, etc., known to have sprung from the same origin, as we find in the human races; and if, for these reasons, we insist on different species of men, we must, also, on different species of these animals. This, however, would bring utter and hopeless confusion into every department of natural history, and disregard those clear and impassable marks, which nature has placed, to distinguish one species from another. As a question then of mere natural history, the unity of the human race is clearly the doctrine of science. Unity of species infers unity of origin, by consent of nearly all great naturalists. Unity of species is indicated by the power of mutual and permanent reproduction, and is perfectly consistent with wide and tenacious varieties. As therefore the human races have this power of mutual and permanent reproduction, and as their varieties are neither as many nor as great as we find in the lower tribes of the same species, nor as we see accidentally appearing as sporadic cases in different races of men, we are at liberty to infer their original unity of species and hence their original unity of origin.

The only other objections presenting any difficulty are those drawn from the distribution of the races, and their isolation in countries and islands that are separated by wide and formidable barriers.

Our limits will not allow us to go at length into this branch of the subject; nor is it necessary, for, after all, it is only an *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. That we are unable to state with historical precision how America and the Polynesian Islands were peopled, is the natural result of the remoteness of the period when the migrations occurred; and what is known cannot be set aside by unanswered queries about what is unknown. The utmost that can be demanded of us is, to suggest a possible mode by which these migrations might have occurred; and if there be any such possibility, the objection falls, for it assumes an impossibility as the only ground on which it can rest.

That there may have been a connection by land across Bhering's Straits, in former times, is a fact that the geological indications of the region, and changes now going on, render, at least, not at all improbable. But even if this were not the case, the drifting of Japanese and Polynesian canoes, with their bewildered mariners, to lands many hundred miles—in one instance, fifteen hundred—from their starting-place, suggests the mode in which the Pacific islands, and then the American continent, may have been peopled. And when to this we add, that the traces of a higher civilization in ancient times, which are found in Central America, indicate the probability of superior skill and facilities in navigation among these early nations, the likelihood of such a migration, either by accident or design, becomes yet more probable. That there were nomade rovers of the sea—who passed from island to island, with their wives and domestic animals, just as the wandering races of the desert pass from oasis to oasis, and from pasturage to pasturage, on land—is a fact by no means improbable. And that some of these Bedouins of the ocean may have been driven to distant shores by the great westwardly currents of the Pacific, is a supposition which the facts already alluded to render highly probable. If it be said that all this is only an appeal to our ignorance, we answer, that so is the objection to which we reply, and the one appeal is surely as fair as the other. The objection demands an impossibility which these suppositions show does not exist in the case, and hence as an argument against our position it must fall.

These conjectures are greatly strengthened by the fact, that all tradition and history point to Central Asia as the cradle of the human race. There we find what is confessedly the most perfect type of physical feature and development, whether we term it the Caucasian, the Circassian, or the Iranian race; and as we trace the natural channels of population, we find, except where civilization has interposed, a steady deterioration until we find the physiological

extremes almost to coincide with the geographical, in the Negro of Africa, the Australian of Polynesia, and the Esquimaux of America. Another fact that bears irresistibly in the same direction is, that this same spot is the native country of nearly all of the animals, grains, vegetables, and fruits, that have accompanied man in all his wanderings. It is the native country of rice, wheat, maize, the vine, and nearly all of the products of the earth that man has used for his food. There also we find in their wild state, the ass, goat, sheep, cow, horse, dog, hog, cat, camel, etc., the companions and servants of men the earth over. And as we trace these animals in their dispersions, we find them assuming the same variations of form and appearance that we find in the human races, nearly in exact proportion to the nearness of their association and companionship with man. There are the same Asiatic pointings in the affinities and resemblances of language. The science of comparative glottology is yet in its infancy, but sufficient advance has been made to show the most remarkable relations; and as the evidence is positive, it is reliable as far as it goes, to render it probable that all existing languages have had, to some extent, a common origin. But for the elucidation of this point we must refer to the excellent work of Mr. Johnes, and others, in which it is discussed at length. Inasmuch, then, as the dispersion of the families of the earth from a single spot, is neither impossible nor improbable; as tradition points to a locality in Asia as that spot; as we find in that locality what seem to be the primitive types of man, and the animals and vegetables he has domesticated,—we submit that there is nothing in the present distribution or isolation of the races, to set aside the evidence of natural history already given, that these races belong to the same species and have had the same origin.

But the most signal indication that could perhaps be given of the strength of the argument we have thus been developing, is, the recent position of Professor Agassiz, as detailed in the essays at the head of this article. Perceiving the unanswerable mass of evidence in favour of the specific identity of the races of men, he takes a new position, and whilst admitting an unity of species, he asserts a diversity of origin. He endeavours to establish in his first article the preliminary position, that there are certain definite zoological provinces, the fauna and flora in each of which must have been created in the province itself, and not distributed thither by migration from a central point. He then maintains that each province has its own race of men, which could not have come from a single pair, but must have been created each in the province where we find it. These positions he thinks fully consistent with the Bible, which

only gives the origin and history of the white race, and alludes to none other.

Now, this is really an abandonment of the whole ground in dispute, as a question of science. The uniform doctrine of natural history is, that unity of species implies unity of origin, because permanent reproduction is the mark and test of species. If then this law is to be abandoned as to the human races, it is a tacit confession, that by the ordinary principles of natural history the original unity of the human races is settled; and that to unsettle it, new principles of science must be asserted. This is a most triumphant concession to the impregnable strength of the scientific grounds on which our doctrine rests. But we apprehend that the new position will be found as untenable as the old one; and if so, we hope that the question will then be allowed to rest as a *res adjudicata* in science. Let us then briefly examine the learned Professor's new hypothesis.

His views when analyzed resolve themselves into the following positions, namely: (1.) That animals are geographically distributed in distinct and separate zoological provinces; (2.) That they are so isolated in these provinces as to make it impossible that they could have come forth from a common centre; (3.) That they must therefore have been separately created in these provinces; (4.) That man is found distributed in the same provinces; (5.) That therefore, like the fauna and flora of these provinces, each race must have been created in the locality it occupies, and could not possibly have been distributed from a common centre, or originated from a single pair. The weakness of his general position may be perceived, when it is thus drawn out in logical method; and it will be seen at a glance that the conclusion rests on a chain of assumptions, any one of which being disproved, the chain is broken, and the conclusion falls to the ground. Let us then test the strength of these successive links, and see whether his theories rest on facts, or his facts warrant his conclusions.

It might seem presumptuous in us to challenge such high authority as that of Agassiz, who is confessedly the Neptune of modern zoology: but we may venture to suggest that the presumption is in the other direction—that even Neptune himself could not be allowed to sway his trident over the domains of other authorities; and that a man may be a peerless ichthyologist who is neither a profound logician nor a safe interpreter; and as he has discarded all authority in taking his position, he will be the last to demand a submission to his own mere authority, however great it may be. We shall therefore freely canvass his views, whilst, at the same time, we cheerfully

recognise his eminence as a naturalist, and the manly reverence with which he speaks of the Bible, and what he deems to be its teachings.

His preliminary position is, that animals are geographically distributed in separate provinces, in which the same species appears in different provinces and in different parts of the same province, at intervals that preclude the hypothesis of a common origin, and demand that of a separate creation. There is nothing in this position that necessarily infringes on any Bible truth or assertion, and our sole objection to it is, that there is no sufficient difficulty that demands it as a hypothesis, and no sufficient evidence that sustains it as a fact. The simple question to which it is at last resolved, is, whether the geographical distribution of animals may be accounted for by natural agencies dispersing them from a common centre, or whether a miracle must be assumed to account for it; and if so, whether the only miracle that meets the case, is that of a separate creation of the inhabitants of each separate province..

We are not prepared to deny that there are great zoological centres, each having its surrounding province whose fauna and flora are peculiar, but the sense in which this is true does not avail the new theory, and the sense in which it asserts these provinces is one in which they do not exist. The sense in which this is true, is, that there are different regions of the earth whose species are distinct and peculiar, or whose varieties are so marked as to indicate the action of local and provincial agencies. In this sense however it is of no avail to support the position that unity of species may consist with diversity of origin, for the species are diverse, and the varieties indicative of local action alone, and not separate creation. The sense in which the theory asserts such provinces, is that in which the species are the same; but so far as they are the same, the provinces are the same, and not different. And if the few facts on which the theory rests were multiplied to such an extent as to make all the species of all the provinces the same, it is plain that there would be no distinct provinces at all, and the theory must perish by the very completeness of its success. Its entire force then depends on the confounding of these two facts, which are totally distinct. Had exactly the same species been found in all the provinces there would have been no provinces, except in regard to the topographical lines of separation; and had the species of all the provinces been different, it would not have availed in this argument, where the species of the races is conceded to be the same. Let us then examine whether there are these broad and clear lines of topographical separation. It is obvious that no such lines exist,

from the fact that no two naturalists have been able to agree in their identification. The provinces overlap and interpenetrate one another to such an extent as to show that the cause is to be sought, not in the creation of separate races, but in the action of local and physical causes on races already created.

The same species we grant occurs in very different localities; but in almost every case, in such localities alone as could be reached by ordinary migration. Thus we know that the domestic animals have been spread. When America was discovered none of them were found here but the dog, whose use for draught in the Polar regions suggests the reason and mode of his introduction in that direction. The lion, tiger, elephant, etc., are found in Asia and Africa, but not in America, Australia or Polynesia, in the same climates, because they are separated from these regions by barriers impassable to them, and man has no motive to introduce them by artificial means. The vermin that accompany man, as his scavengers—such as rats, mice, cockroaches, flies, fleas, etc.—are never found in newly-discovered islands until after they have been visited by ships; showing the mode of their introduction. Certain provinces are found equally or more favourable to certain animals than those in which man first discovered them: if then each species was created in the locality it occupies, why were not these localities peopled with them? Why was not the camel created in Northern Africa, the reindeer in Iceland, the horse in Flanders, and the hog in Berkshire, where they are found so admirably to thrive; and where we know that they have been artificially introduced? These questions are unanswerable on this theory.

But facts show that animals are distributed precisely in the way which is denied by this theory. Dr. Bachman gives some curious and forcible illustrations of this point. The opossum occurs in the warmer parts of North America, west of the Hudson, but in no case east of it, for it is unable to swim, and dreads the cold too much to pass round the head waters of this stream, or cross it on the ice. The gofer is found on the southern bank of the Savannah, but not on the northern, with precisely the same soil and food, because it cannot swim. The soft-shelled turtle is found in all the streams and lakes connected with the Mississippi, even to the Mohawk and Hudson, but in none south of these until we reach the Savannah, because it travels only by water, and the streams on that part of the Atlantic slope do not connect with the northern or western waters. No eels were found in Lake Erie until the opening of the Erie Canal, which gave them an inlet; they are now plenty. The red fox, which is an arctic animal, was only found as low as Pennsylvania forty

years ago, then it appeared in Virginia, then in the Carolinas, and now it is more common than the gray fox. The latter, which is a southern animal, has, in like manner, migrated north until it has reached Canada. These facts show conclusively that such migrations are going on, and suggest the most easy and natural means to account for the geographical distribution of animals. The same process is going on in regard to vegetables and plants, for whose distribution, as they have not the power of voluntary locomotion, Nature has furnished the most elaborate provision. Some seeds are furnished with wings to be carried by the wind; others with hooks to fasten upon the passing animal and thus be transported; others are carried by water thousands of miles, as tropical productions have been stranded by the Gulf Stream on the shores of Iceland; whilst others are carried in the stomachs of birds and beasts many leagues from their native locality. No sooner does the coral reef become capable of sustaining vegetable life than it is supplied by some of these seed-carriers of nature. Facts on this point exist by the hundred. What conceivable need then exists for the hypothesis of a new creation, when we see the same species repeated in new localities!

The only difficulty that remains is, the occurrence of arctic plants and animals in the Alpine regions, cut off from their natural kindred. But it curiously happens that in the same review that contains the essay we are answering, there is a complete solution to this difficulty, unconsciously suggested by Professor Agassiz himself, when speaking on a different subject. In his scientific tour to Lake Superior he gave a very ingenious, and, as far as we can see, a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of boulders, by referring them to a glacial origin. Now, where is the difficulty of giving the same account of the existence of these Alpine fauna and flora? As the glacial sea receded to the pole, the arctic animals and plants that co-existed with it, would naturally remain on these Alpine heights, which were congenial to them, since they would have no inducements to change their locality. Hence where this recession of the ice-line left them isolated on these arctic islands, they would of course remain and propagate just as their kindred which receded with the glaciers to the pole. Hence, there is nothing in this requiring a new creation of lynxes, marmots, and chamois, in the regions where they are now found.

Hence if we concede the existence of clearly-marked zoological provinces, as contended for by Professor Agassiz, the facts that they run into one another by insensible gradations, that migrations are going on from one region to another, that arrangements for this

mode of distribution are now in operation, suggest the likelihood that the same arrangements existed in former times, and actually effected the distribution which we find. The very same principle that requires us to suppose that the geological distribution of rocks was made by natural causes such as we now see in operation, demands that we should hold the same supposition in regard to the zoological distribution of animals. But even if it were demonstrated that these causes, in any conceivable mode of their operation, are insufficient to account for the effects, it will not follow that a separate creation in each locality is demanded as the only alternative. Some extraordinary agency must be supposed; but is this the only one? If a miracle must be assumed, may it not as readily have been in the distribution of these races to their present localities, as in their creation within them? Does not universal observation show that direct creation is usually the last expedient resorted to, in the attainment of any end? Now what is there to demand it as the only alternative here? We submit then that there is nothing in the distribution of animals requiring a miracle at all; and that if any such unusual interposition of Divine power was needed, it is much more likely to have been in the distribution of races already created, than in their separate and distinct creation.

But suppose these three links of the chain mended, the fourth breaks with the weight that is hung upon it. Grant that there are distinct zoological provinces; that they are so isolated from each other that their fauna and flora could not have come forth from a common centre; and that a separate creation in each province is the only mode of overcoming the difficulty,—we find that the races of men are not co-extensive and identical with these alleged zoological provinces.

One would think, from the confidence with which the learned Professor asserts the identity in the two cases, that not only the zoological provinces were clearly made out, but the limits of the races also plainly and universally ascertained. But there is no point in natural history more undetermined than this. Some make but three races, others five, others eleven, others still more; but the most remarkable fact is, that Professor Agassiz does not positively determine this point *himself*. He enumerates about a dozen zoological provinces, but not more than half that number of races. Why this significant silence? If his theory is really true, why did he not tell us what the races are, that inhabit these provinces? We shall perhaps see the reason as we examine the relations of the two distributions. This examination our limits will only allow us to make in one or two of these provinces which he has mapped out.

His first province is the arctic, with the Samoyedes, the Laplanders, and the Esquimaux. But can any one suppose that an animal so helpless as man, so destitute of natural covering, protection, and food, could originate in the bleak and inhospitable regions of the pole, where he could obtain neither clothing, fire, nor food? If we suppose him to have originated in a warmer region, and migrated thither, with his acquired knowledge and habits, these difficulties vanish; but if we suppose him created, a naked, shivering Troglodyte, amidst the eternal snows, we must pile miracle on miracle to account for his continued existence. But even if this difficulty were overcome, the Esquimaux of America are as widely separate from the arctic races of Asia, in distance, difficulty of communication, and physical features, as the latter are from the adjacent tribes of the Mongolians, or the former from the northern tribes of Indians. Why not make an Asian arctic, and an American arctic, on the same grounds that a distinction is drawn between the southern arctic and the northern Mongolian? There is absolutely no ground in the one case that does not exist as broadly in the other. The Malay race he assigns to a natural zoological province; but what it is, he does not inform us. It cannot be limited to his tropical Asiatic province, for it extends through Polynesia to western America, by the testimony of the most accurate observers, even those who deny the original unity of the races. The same difficulty exists in the provinces of New-Holland and Africa. The Tasmanian and Alforian races of the New-Holland province differ far more widely than the Malay and the Mongolian; and we have shown that Africa presents the widest extremes of variety, with every intermediate shade, from the fair races of Abyssinia to the genuine Dahomey negro. But, when we come to the American provinces, the theory breaks utterly and hopelessly down. He makes four such provinces: one east, and one west of the Rocky Mountains; one in tropical America, and one in temperate South America. But where are the four races corresponding to them? Do not all recognise the same physical type in all our aboriginal tribes? Has even Professor Agassiz dissented from this? How then can the facts be cut up to fit the theory? But if we had the four races that have been created on this continent, what will we do with the Patagonians? The same questions might be asked in regard to the Papuan, Feejee, and other races, which though clearly and strongly marked cannot be referred to any distinct or definite zoological provinces.

It is abundantly evident from this brief enumeration of facts that there is no such coincidence in the geographical distribution of the races and that of the plants and animals, such as is asserted by this

theory. But suppose all these difficulties removed, and yet the last step could not legitimately be taken. If the races and zoological provinces were identical, that fact clearly could not prove that each race was created in its province. All that it could prove would be, that the human races, and the fauna and flora of each province, were subjected to the same or similar influences, giving them this identity of limitation. What these influences were, would not be determined by this coincidence of boundary, and would therefore remain matter for further investigation. Whether they were natural or supernatural would not be determined by such identity of circumscription. And if we must assume a supernatural agency, it by no means follows, that creation is the only one. The Divine power might as readily have been exerted in causing these peculiarities, or in distributing these races, as in their direct creation; and if we must assert its interposition to account for the varieties, we have at least the same right to affirm the smaller and more ordinary exercise of it, that he has to affirm the greater and more extraordinary.

The fact on which he lays so much stress, that climatic conditions are not exactly coincident with the various races, will prove that climatic conditions are not the only agencies at work in producing these varieties; and nothing more. What these other agencies are, and whether distinct creation is the only conceivable one, is wholly undetermined by this fact. His remark, that the adaptations of man to his various localities must have been intentional, is true; but it does not follow from this, that separate creation of each race was the only way in which this intention could be carried into effect. We grant that these adaptations were intentional, and simply affirm that they were brought about by an original susceptibility to such adaptations impressed by God on man's physical constitution; and that the same reasons for its existence at first require its existence now, and undoubted facts prove that it actually does exist. Designing man to be a cosmopolite, and to subdue the earth, he impressed him with this susceptibility, and the result is, the varieties we find in the races of the world. So far then is this designed adaptation of man to the various localities in which he is found, from proving that the varieties were separately created, it is the very fact that makes this supposition unnecessary.

We thus find this chain of assumptions to break at every link. Whilst there are zoological provinces, they are not such as to forbid their occupance by natural and existing causes; or if supernatural agency were required it is not necessitated to be in the form of creation; and if these points were reached, they would not avail us,

for the races of men are not identical with these provinces; and if they were, this identity would be explicable by that adaptive susceptibility of the human constitution to conform itself to the varying conditions in which it is placed, with which man, as the destined conqueror of the earth has been furnished; and if some direct and unusual interposition of Divine power must be supposed, it was much more likely to be in producing these varieties from a race already existing than in calling new ones into existence. Hence in every part of this new theory we find it more completely untenable than the old one.

We have neither the space nor the heart to follow the Professor into all his random utterances. It were cruel to take advantage of all the exposed points he presents to an opponent. Thus, in tossing aside the philological argument, he says, that it is as natural for men to talk, as it is for dogs to bark, or asses to bray, and that one bird does not learn its song from another; and hence we could not from the phenomena of language infer unity of origin. Now, if one bird does not learn its song from another, does this prove that one human being does not learn its language from another? And aside from the fact that it is not natural for dogs to bark, as they never do it in their wild state, is there no difference between an inarticulate cry, and the use of a set of conventional sounds to designate certain thoughts? Does not the one imply previous arrangement and agreement, where the sounds are the same, whilst the other does not? If we argued man's original unity from his instinctive cries, it were pertinent to refer us to the instinctive cries of animals; but when, from the fact that the same or similar collocations of syllabic sounds are applied by different races to the same natural objects, we argue that there must have been a previous agreement that these sounds should designate these objects, the reference to the braying of asses, etc., looks really like trifling.

But his exegesis is as curious as his logic. He asserts triumphantly, that the Bible is solely an account of the white race, and makes no reference at all to the other, and, as he terms them, the non-historical races. We would be glad to know how he has discovered that Adam and Noah belonged to the white race at all. The best critics have been unable to discover any evidence for it from Scripture; and scientific grounds, we are disposed to think, indicate the primitive type as intermediate between the white and the black. ' But, however this may be, the assertion that the Bible sanctions the original plurality of the races is amazing. Is it not expressly affirmed, that before the creation of Adam there was not a man to till the ground? That when he was created, man (the

generic term always used to denote the whole human race) was created? That he was the head of the human race—the one by whom sin and death entered the world? If then the non-historical races sin and die, have they not these proofs of their connexion with Adam? Is not Eve called the mother of *all* living? And did Moses know of no other living races but the white one? Does he not expressly declare (Deut. xxxii, 8,) that the divided nations of the earth are the sons of Adam? Does he not refer the Ethiopian and Egyptian races to Noah through his sons Cush and Mizraim? Is not the physical characteristic of the Cushite unequivocally intimated when it is said that he cannot change his skin? Did not Christ expressly endorse this when he taught monogamy from the original unity of the race in Adam and Eve; and when, to fulfil the prophecies respecting Ethiopia, China, (Sinim,) and the islands of the Sea, he commanded his disciples to go and preach the Gospel to every creature? And can words declare it, if Paul's did not, when, in opposition to the Athenian doctrine of a separate, autochthonal creation for Attica, he declares that God has made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth? Is not the entire Bible-teaching about sin, the moral government of God, the fall of man, and redemption in Christ, based on this assumption? If we exclude the non-historic races from all connexion with Adam, must we not, by the express language of Paul, ("as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive,") also exclude them from all connexion with Christ? And if on the contrary they are expressly affirmed to be connected with Christ, does not this also affirm their connection with Adam? Must not a cause that requires such exegesis as this be pressed for support?

That Professor Agassiz was aware how wide and deep was the sweep of his views, is apparent from his fling at mock philanthropy; his assertion of the original and necessary inferiority of the African race; his avowed inability to decide what is the best education that can be given them; and his magisterial denunciation of the injudiciousness of the attempt to force the peculiarities of our present white civilization on all the nations of the world. The plain meaning of all this is, that the benevolent and missionary operations of the Church, in their application to any other than the white race, are foolish and futile attempts to traverse the immutable ordinations of the Creator.

We cannot trust ourselves to speak of sentiments like these as perhaps they really deserve. There is something in this cold-blooded and haughty assignment of more than half the human race to a doom of hopeless, irreversible degradation, for time and eter-

nity, and this by the very act and arrangement of their original creation, from which the Christian heart recoils with indignation and disgust. We thank God that the nations sitting in darkness are not left to the tender mercies of human philosophy, and that its endorsement is not needed to warrant us to go forth into *all the world* and preach the gospel to every creature.

And we know of no more unanswerable argument for the absolute unity of the race than that furnished by the very phenomena that call for and warrant the efforts so sneeringly decried by the learned Professor! Alas! the same sad proofs of brotherhood in sin and sorrow, of common parentage and common fall, of depravity transmitted by universal and hereditary taint, meet us in every race. The same wail of remorseful sorrow comes up in mysterious plaint from all; the same mournful memories of primeval purity now soiled and dishonoured; the same gleaming visions of an Eden innocence that has faded away, leaving only these mute longings after its unforgotten brightness; the same dire and terrific phantoms of guilt that come forth to awe and affright; the same deep yearnings after the unseen and the eternal in the soul's deepest stirrings; and the same sublime hopes that shoot upward to the "high and terrible crystal,"—are found alike in every race of every hue. The unspeakable gift of Christ and him crucified, is as wide in its efficacy as these mournful symptoms of malady. The lofty intellects of a Pascal and a Newton, do not grasp it with a keener relish and a deeper sympathy than the besotted Caffre in the lonely wilds of Africa, or the crouching Pariah in the steaming jungles of India. The Cross is that wondrous talisman that calls forth from every adventitious guise the universal manhood and brotherhood of the races. And when the lowliest African is "born again," in that heavenly birth that links into a new and holier unity the fallen descendants of the first Adam, he is found to exult with as pure a gladness as the honoured heir of the proudest and noblest blood. O! it is this blessed fact that stands in lofty and indignant rebuke of that cold and cruel philosophy that would wrest from the humble and the oppressed the only boon that is beyond the grasp of an unfeeling avarice. It is for this reason that we contend so earnestly against this vamping up of the old infidel theories of Voltaire. It is because we believe that its general reception will not only undermine the authority of the Bible, but also cut the sinews of the noblest charities and the purest pieties of our age; sink the unfortunate and degraded into a deeper and more hopeless degradation; give a plausible plea to cruelty and avarice to rivet tighter the fetters of oppression; and fling a pall of despairing gloom over the brightest

visions of the future, unfolded on the canvass of prophecy: it is for these reasons that we oppose this theory with such earnestness and warmth.

But having shown, as we think unanswerably, that the old and admitted principles of natural history require us to regard the varieties of the human race as belonging to the same species, and having shown that the last and most ingenious evasion of this argument is an utter failure, we may sit down content with what the word of God has clearly asserted, and the vast majority of the first naturalists of the world have believed—that men were not the offspring of diverse origins, but that God has made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth.

Art. II.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS IN THE INTRODUCTION TO JOHN'S GOSPEL, Chap. I, 1–18.

[FIRST PAPER.]

We have read, with much satisfaction, the investigation of this interesting but difficult passage, by Professor Stuart, in the January and April numbers of the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1850. We had, some time before, formed our own opinion of the interpretation to be assigned these verses, by a careful study of their scope as well as phraseology; and are gratified to find so many of the results of our inquiries confirmed by the views of so eminent an expositor and critic. How far we are following in his wake, and where we deviate from it or pursue a cross track, those who may feel interested to know, can best ascertain by a collation of the dissertations above referred to with our own lucubrations, exhibited in a simple and independent manner. These we now commit to our readers, not with the presumptuous thought of arraying ourselves against a veteran scholar of so vastly superior erudition; but with the humbler aim, partly of propagating and partly of reviewing some of the conclusions to which he has arrived.

We may premise that we can see no good reason for supposing that John borrows the term Λόγος in this peculiar application, either from the nomenclature of oriental Gnosticism or the dialectics of Alexandrian Platonism. The writings of Philo he can scarcely have ever read, or if he had, he would have more distinctly referred to them; and the Gnostic heresy was not yet sufficiently developed to

call forth a direct confutation, nor were its speculations much more within the range of the Evangelist's reading. Neither can we think that he adopts the Rabbinical usage of the phrase, "Word of Jehovah:" for this class of literature has little more to do with the New Testament than the two former; and the impersonation of the Divine attribute of wisdom in the Proverbs, and other passages of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, is totally diverse from this setting forth of a real distinctive Being. Yet the general impress of all these appropriations of this term, indistinctly and remotely operating upon the mingled tenets and dialect of Ephesus, may have unconsciously inclined the Evangelist to its employment, and especially would assist his readers in apprehending its meaning, as an epithet already familiar to them in similar theosophical uses. The primordial distinctions of semi-divine emanations, in particular, had long been current in the east, and were in fact the germ from which Gnosticism soon became evolved as a system. These incipient dogmas could hardly have failed of circulation to some dangerous extent in Asia Minor, at the time of John's writing the Gospel, and the polemical aspect of several passages in it—indeed, of this very introduction, to say nothing of the Apocalypse*—seems to corroborate the statement, made apparently from tradition by Irenæus, that he wrote it with a special view of neutralizing the errors of Cerinthus. These considerations may aid us in the interpretation of this term, as showing the sense in which John would have expected his readers to understand him; but the truer mode of determining the import which *he* wished to convey, is, after all, to fix the exact shade of signification of the *term* itself, under the relations imposed by the circumstances and context. This is peculiarly necessary in treating the phraseology of so *subjective* a writer as John, who speaks so constantly from the deep-toned suggestions of his own vividly spiritual mind, that the chief difficulty in appreciating his pointed, sententious language lies in placing one's self distinctly in his own commanding point of view. The legitimate signification of the word, in itself considered, moreover, must have been the actual basis of all these secondary applications; and therefore, at this distance of time, and removal of

* Rev. ii, 6, 15. Compare 1 John ii, 22; iv, 3; 2 John 7. The Apocalypse is probably the first in point of time, and the Gospel the last, of John's writings. Davidson's conclusion on this subject (Introduction to the New Testament, i, 330,) seems about the true one, that "an anti-gnostic spirit pervades this Gospel, not [so much] because John's design was to furnish a *direct* antidote to it [the false gnosis,] but because his object was so general as naturally to include it." The term Λόγος occurs in this sense only here and in 1 John i, 1; [v, 7;] Rev. xix, 13.

association, this alone can furnish us with a correct guide in developing them. Without investigating the more recondite etymology, the word λόγος, as a pure verbal noun from the root λέγω (*I speak*) in its *middle* form, means precisely *speech*, both in its subjective capability and objective exercise—the *ratio et oratio* of the Latins. From this endowment and function, the distinguishing attribute of man, the sense passed over naturally into the result or product of the faculty; namely, a *word*, or articulate sign of thought, and thence was extended to the general signification of a symbol of some idea, whether spoken or written. In this particular instance of its adoption, we are obviously not to look for anything other than a *metaphorical* acceptation of the word; namely, as denoting some exterior representation, which should serve the same purpose between the speaker and the addressed, as the ordinary vehicle of thought does between man and man. But as it is also employed in an *emphatic* sense, and with express reference to the Godhead, it can only mean by a strict grammatical and rhetorical interpretation, some great medium of communication on the part of God with his creatures. The *incarnation* that follows, further limits this sense to some *personality*, in distinction from the mere objective revelation contained in the Bible; making it, as Professor Stuart aptly renders, Θεὸς Λόγος, *God revealed*, to which might be added actively, that it is *God revealing himself*. To sum up the meaning of Λόγος, then, as here required, it may be expressed in one word as the Divine MANIFESTATION; not merely the *exponent* of the Divine character and will to others, but the very *bodying forth* of the Divine nature in himself. This is precisely John's conception of Christ, and his whole introduction and Gospel are constructed with the sole view of exhibiting and illustrating his Master in this aspect. From this comprehensive fundamental import, too, all the particular significations above referred to, are immediately and obviously derived, and this in a way that neither makes them interfere with each other, nor detract from the sublimity of the theme. With these preliminary remarks, we pass to the consideration of the passage in detail.

Verse 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος.] The assertion ἐν ἀρχῇ is placed first in the sentence, as being the *emphatic* point in a declaration which ushers in an express statement of the *eternity* of the Logos; it evidently corresponds to the בְּרֵאשִׁית of Gen. i, 1, and refers to the same period. That it is a translation of that adverbial phrase, may be one reason for the omission of the article; but a better one is, that the article would make the time too *definite*, the meaning being, not *at the origin* of the present mundane order of

things merely, but *aboriginally*, in the widest sense that the mind can take in. The imperfect ἦν can hardly be relied upon as proof of Christ's pre-existence, for no other tense could have been used; the verb denotes simple existence as predicated of him at that period; it is the ἐν rather which implies that he did not then begin to be—had ἐπί been used, the idea would have been at least ambiguous; with ἀπό the notion of priority must have ceased, even had ἦν continued in use.

Καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν,] Καί is used universally by John as a simple *continuative*, the ו of the Hebrew; whether the meaning be adversative or otherwise, must generally be gathered from the context. Those are rather hasty, who make πρός here equivalent to παρά; it may justly be doubted whether such an interchange of prepositions, especially with a different *case*, ever takes place in Greek, even in the New Testament; and an intentional selection of πρός in this instance is shown by its repetition in verse 2, as well as by εἰς in the parallel expression of verse 18. The predominant idea undoubtedly is παρά; but as this would be obvious, and included in the collateral notion of εἰς (in the sense of *erga*), πρός is used to combine them. Glorified *saints* are παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *angels* may be said to be παρὰ τὸν Θεόν, but the *Logos* only is πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; within this interior circle of proximity and *interpenetration* no finite being can enter. The meaning then, as we think, is the personal and intimate association or *intercourse* enjoyed by the Logos with the Father, previous to the incarnation. Παρά denotes mere *juxtaposition;* even with the accusative it could only have intimated an *approach* to the Deity, with the dative it would have made the proximity too remote and quiescent, and with the genitive (as Prof. Stuart suggests) it might have been perverted to countenance the emanation system. On the contrary, πρός at once signifies closeness of connection, and at the same time shows that it is an actively assumed relation, a permanent flowing in of one essence upon the other in the harmonious consociation of the distinctive persons of the Godhead, yet not an infusion or commingling of the two beings, as εἰς might have been mistaken to denote.*

* The interpretation of Lücke (in loc.) comes nearest to this. After quoting analogous expressions from Proverbs, the Apocrypha, and Philo, leading to "the presumption that John, by the phrase πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, would express the inmost consociation (gemeinschaft) of the Λόγος with God, his very existence near (bei) God," he proceeds to refer to Fritsche and Winer as noting the same idiom in classic Greek, and then adduces Matt. xxvi, 55; Mark vi, 3; ix, 19; 1 Cor. xvi, 6, 7; Gal. i, 18; iv, 18, as sustaining "the usual exposition of the expression πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, that it denotes the being of the Logos with (bei) God, in his im-

Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.] The Evangelist has just shown the exterior relations of the Logos,—namely, in respect to *time*, his duration as compared with that of this world, and his *place*, a residence with the Deity; he now brings to view his inmost *nature*, which is expressed by a comparison with that of the Deity himself. For this reason Θεός is placed first as the important unknown element. Many think the article requisite to make this word expressive of strict Divinity; but to have said ὁ Λόγος ἦν ὁ Θεός, would have been to assert the absolute *identity* of the two beings, rather than to distinguish one by a comparison with the other. The word θεός with the Greeks was not synonymous with the English word *God*,—their ideas on this subject were different from ours; its usage was precisely analogous to that of our word *deity*,—for that was what the ancients meant. Thus when we speak of an idolatrous or mythological personage, we say *a deity*, in distinction from the true God, whom alone we style *the* Deity; but when we wish to speak of Divinity independently of any such distinction, we express our meaning very pertinently and forcibly by omitting either article,—as in the phrase "Moslems believe that Allah, not Mohammed, is Deity." Who does not see that the symmetry of such a sentence would be marred, and its meaning impaired, were it expressed thus: "Moslems believe that Allah, not Mohammed, is the Deity;" the idea in this form is too specific, or not sufficiently abstract to suit the predication of a Divine character in the general sense intended. Yet no one would understand the sentence containing no article before "deity," as equivalent to the following: "Moslems believe that Allah, not Mohammed, is a deity;" here the *in*definite article really becomes *definite*, by limiting the idea to a single particular Divine personage. The omission of any article whatever is thus seen to generalize an idea more fully than any other form of phraseology. This sentence of John, therefore, is constructed in the best manner to express the idea intended; and is in accordance

mediate society (gemeinsehaft)." It seems to us, however, that the exalted character of the present case intensifies the connexion intimated by the πρός in those passages; so that we should translate this *gemeinschaft bei* into a *communion* of sentiment and agency in active intercourse, whereas Lücke doubtless rather designed it passively to express a *community* of residence, or at most of sphere, as a privilege. The idea of *equality*, although not directly intended by this clause, results necessarily from the statement of this intimacy, especially if it be one actively exercised *toward* God on the part of the Logos by inherent right, and not merely received or enjoyed as with a superior. It is precisely this distinction that πρός with the accusative is here fitted to intimate.—It is not a little remarkable that the same construction (πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα) recurs in the parallel declaration of 1 John i, 2.

with true grammatical principles, which are found even in our own language. For instance, this sentence is a very appropriate one: "The question has often been raised, whether *the ape is man;*" but to say "the ape is *a* man," would be absurd, and to say, "the ape is *the* man," would be utter nonsense. Every noun thus employed contains a generic idea—that is, is descriptive of intrinsic character; and it is this peculiarity that qualifies it to stand in this unlimited manner, as distinct, *per se*, from all other objects. Now, this is exactly the case with the Greek word θεός; it denotes that which possesses Divine attributes. With the article, it indicates some particular deity—for example, Jehovah, the God of the Jews; and by using the article, therefore, John would have confounded the Son with the Father, and made nonsense. Without the article, θεός may mean either of two things—*a* god, or simply, Deity; it is here only that the true issue of the present question lies. We make no account of the fact that frequently in the New Testament Θεός stands alone for ὁ Θεός: because, in the first place, we do not believe that so great a difference exists as many suppose in the *rationale* of diction between the classic and Hebraistic idioms; and in the second place, to make Θεὸς here equivalent to ὁ Θεὸς would destroy the peculiar sense intended, by confounding ὁ Λόγος with ὁ Θεός. The peculiarities of the New Testament Greek arise from three causes: first, a leaning to Hebraistic constructions of words with respect to *syntax;* secondly, their combination into certain *phrases*, which may be regarded as translations of their Hebrew formulæ; and, thirdly, the accommodation of words current in Greek literature in a general or naturalistic meaning, to kindred but more specific elements of Christianity—for example, πίστις, ἀλήθεια, Λόγος. Now, the word θεός obviously comes under this last category of terms, which necessarily received a modification of their meaning when applied to the Jewish-Christian religion. No Jew, certainly no Christian, could possibly mean the same thing by it as a heathen, because he had not the same conceptions on the subject to express. With John and his readers, ὁ Λόγος ἦν (τὶς) θεός, could only have asserted that *Christ was an idolatrous object of worship;* whilst from saying ὁ Λόγος ἦν (ὁ) Θεός, would have resulted the mistake that *Christ constituted the Godhead.* The word was therefore properly left without any such limitation, because the idea was to be taken in the widest sense, which is applicable of course only to the three persons of the one true Godhead.

In this form, we have said, it can mean only *a god*, or simply, *Deity.* There is no middle *demi-god* sense tolerable or even conceivable to Jewish minds. They had no deified heroes, or celestial mythology;

they knew no *tertium quid* between the finite and the Infinite. They would have shuddered at the thought of predicating such a term in any sense, however subordinate, even to Moses; and our Saviour's assumption of kinship with this title was to them unpardonable blasphemy. The only *philological* circumstance which we can perceive in the sentence under consideration, that would determine which mode of rendering is the correct one here, is the *position* of the word in the clause. We know not whether this argument would be conclusive with those who reject the other evidence of a moral character, but it certainly seems to us that Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος is not an equivalent sentence for ὁ Λόγος ἦν θεός. If so, the latter would surely have been the more natural arrangement, and at the same time, if we mistake not, smoother and better Greek. But we think we can see a reason for the inversion, which makes it far more expressive than the usual position of the predicate-noun after the verb. The Greek, it is true, does not employ that arrangement of words which may be called the *inverted* (as compared with the English mode of sequence in the order of grammatical dependence), so extensively and systematically as the Latin, and yet it has its rules for the order of words,—they are less mechanical, and more the result of taste, a *je ne sais quoi* of internal sense of beauty and harmony, peculiar to the Greek mind,—which frequently impart great force and vividness to an idea that would otherwise be tame and vague.

The essential rule that prevails in the Greek (as is more fully seen in Latin) is to introduce the most important words as early in the sentence as possible, thus really following the order in which the thoughts naturally arise. Hence, "the usual arrangement in simple sentences, is that the *subject* occupies the *first* place, and the *predicate* (that is, verb or adjective [or descriptive noun] with εἶναι) the *last* place," (Kühner's Ausführliche Griech. Grammatik, § 862, 3.) The same general principle obtains with the New Testament writers, (Winer's Idioms, § 65, 2.) The regular succession of words in the sentence under consideration would therefore be the same as in English, namely, ὁ Λόγος ἦν Θεός, *the Word was God.* In this way, the introducing and closing terms of a sentence became its most important members, and the very assignment of these locations to a word indicated the stress intended by the writer to be laid upon it. For this reason, to have said ὁ Λόγος Θεὸς ἦν, would not have been so proper, as it would either have made ἦν too prominent, instead of Θεός, or else interfered with another meaning presently to be noticed. But when they wished to throw still more emphasis upon a word, the Greeks employed the figure *hyperbaton, trajectio,* or *inversion* of these members, by which they changed places with

respect to each other; this transposition to an unusual order, attracted the attention of the reader, and intimated the special significancy. This additional emphasis, so far as Θεός is concerned, might have been partially obtained by transposing its normal arrangement after ἦν, and writing ὁ Λόγος Θεὸς ἦν, as above, like the emphatic declaration in 1 John iv, 16, ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστί; but in this form, no emphasis would be thrown upon Λόγος. This very sentence, it may be observed, is an excellent illustration of the *usus loquendi* in question with respect to an omission of the article before the predicated noun. Had this statement been ὁ Θεὸς ἡ ἀγάπη ἐστί, it would have been uncertain which noun was the subject, because both would have the same extension, whereas the rules of logic require that in every such *particular affirmative* proposition, the predicate must be more general than the subject, so as to include it. Just so, to have said, ὁ Λόγος ἦν ὁ Θεός, in any arrangement of the terms, would have changed the proposition from a *singular* one, in which the individual ὁ Λόγος was defined by referring it to the species θεός, into an *identical* one, which either makes nonsense by confounding two objects at the same time that they are distinguished by their names, or could only be true by a quibbling double sense in the word Θεός, unworthy the sacred theme and inspired writer. The only way, then, in which this assertion of John could be made with the requisite emphasis, and the predicate Θεός receive the prominence suited to its peculiar generic sense, was that actually adopted. The transposition of both members secures the antitheses of Λόγος and Θεός, and the leading place of the latter marks the introduction of a new feature in the development of the topic. This is in fact the genuine Greek usage under such circumstances; for "when in the inverted arrangement *two* words in the same simple sentence are to be rendered prominent by their position, one passes to the *head of the clause*, while the other occupies the *last place*," (Kühner, ut supra, § 863, 3.) This phraseology of John, therefore, is strictly correct, according to the most precise rules of grammar and logic; and, if we mistake not, its rhetorical form imparts a truer and higher theological sense than could otherwise have been couched within it. We have dwelt thus largely upon this point, because of its important bearing upon the doctrine of Christ's proper Divinity, and especially because it has been so frequently wrested by even critical interpreters to discountenance that vital tenet. Indeed, most orthodox critics have contented themselves with appealing to other proofs and passages to sustain the requisite interpretation of this sentence, and have scarcely claimed more than that Θεός must here be allowed to pass

for an equivalent to ὁ Θεός, thus at once misconceiving the idiom, and placing their argument in the disadvantageous attitude of an apology. Professor Stuart is the first we have met with on this text, who has struck the right vein of interpretation, by regarding Θεός as having the attributive force of an adjective, nearly, *q. d.*, ὁ Λόγος ἦν θεῖος, *the Logos was* truly *Divine* in himself; but we think the above philological consideration necessary to vindicate completely the Evangelist's language, and to show its entire propriety and even felicity,—*the* same *Logos was* God. The question as to whether Θεός is subject or predicate in this sentence, is also determined by this view; for the omission of the article, by giving it greater *extension*, shows that it is generically predicated of Λόγος, which has the article. If to this it be said that as Θεός in the Christian sense is after all an individual term, it can have no greater extension than Λόγος, we answer that it is only an accidental circumstance that in this case the individual absorbs the species, but the logical distinction of *superiority* in Θεός compared with Λόγος is still proved by the comparatively less *comprehension* of the former, which always indicates (conceptually, at least) an inverse ratio of extension. As this argument, however, is liable to be set aside by the assumption that Θεός stands for ὁ Θεός,—yet the logical truth of the proposition would even then require that one of the terms be taken subordinately to the other, and Θεός alone is consistently eligible to the wider sphere of the predicate,—we should prefer (what has always and readily decided the matter with general readers) to regard the relation of Λόγος as subject ultimately settled by the fact of its repetition in that capacity from the preceding clauses, the idea obviously being, so far as the construction is concerned, ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἦν Θεός, (*Deus ipsissimus.*) It is the emphasis that caused the repetition and peculiar position of the subject.

Verse 2. Οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.] The first two statements of verse 1 are here emphatically repeated in one, lest the assertion just preceding of the actual Divinity of the Logos should after all be misconstrued either into a denial of any ontological distinction, (οὗτος ἦν vere *apud* τὸν Θεόν,) or on the other hand as favouring the notion of a procession or evolution at some particular epoch, (ἐν ἀρχῇ πρός.) Thus far we have, subjectively, the relations of the Logos in his Divine sphere; next follow, objectively, those under which he has exhibited himself to mortals. First, the great fact of the production of this latter sphere for manifesting his character, hinted at in ἀρχή above.

Verse 3. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,] Thus are exploded at once,

the pagan axiom of the eternity of matter, the deep-rooted notion —variously modified in different ages and countries—of the spontaneous germination of terrene things from some ill-defined *βύθος* of possible forms; and the Oriental theory of demiurgic creation in the process of celestial emanation. Πάντα, *all* finite objects, rather than classically *τὸ πᾶν, the universe* as a whole, which might have been true of the world in a chaotic state. The same individuality of meaning is further guarded by the more explicit repetition that follows in a negative form.

Καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν.] Χωρίς is here to be explained as the opposite of *διά* in the foregoing clause. This latter preposition appropriately designates the medium or instrumental agent in the work of creation, yet so as to involve his independent volition: compare the striking parallel and amplified declaration of Paul in Col. i, 16, where Christ is exhibited as constituting at once the *model* (ἐν), the *efficient* (διά) and the *final* cause (εἰς) of the creation (κτίσις.) Had John made this great act or series of acts to have taken place *ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου*, he would have merged the principal in the colleague; and how such a resolution of the attribute of omnipotence is at all possible, can only be explained by his own distinction just made, *ὁ Λόγος ἦν Θεός*. It is obvious also that *διὰ* does not here conflict with the doctrine of secondary natural causes, provided the original conception and continual potentiality be vested in the Godhead. In *οὐδὲ ἕν* there is a speciality and exclusiveness not to be attained by the usual *οὐδέν*. The verb *γίνομαι* has no reference to *formation* or construction, nor does it of itself imply *creation* or production; it prōperly signifies, the *coming to be* a certain thing or in a certain relation, either from internal development or outward influence.* In the present instance, however, it amounts to the significance of proper creation; for as the collateral notion of a particular state or relation is omitted, the comparatively abstract idea of pure existence as a result is left to the word, and the mode by which this fact came to pass is stated to

* In the July Number of the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1850, p. 471, Professor Stowe endeavours, for a particular purpose, to show by quotations from lexicographers that the proper sense of *γίνομαι* is to *begin to be;* but he falls into a misconception as to the *inceptive* force of this rendering. The idea of *procreation* seems to lie at the foundation of *γίγνομαι*, as the affinity of its root with *gigno, γεννάω, gender, γένος, genus, kin, (begin?)* etc., intimates; the verb, therefore, properly means to *start into existence* for the first time and thereafter continue to be. But this dating of existence as a particular fact (which, by-the-way, indicates the difference between *γίνομαι* and the absolute substantive force of *εἰμί*) is a very different thing from a gradual development of being; in short, *γίνομαι* simply means to appear on the stage of action, to *occur* as an event.

be by the causality of the Logos. The use of the aorist (*ἐγένετο*) shows that this was an actual definite occurrence, but does not oblige us to refer the whole of the particulars included in it to the same point of time; the *enihilation* of the primordial elements is required to have been an instantaneous fact *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, and the details followed under the action of the laws then originated. The perfect *γέγονε* indicates that the universality of objects stated to be thus existent is brought down to the present moment. Thus far the Logos has been contemplated in his superhuman relations; first, in his original state within the bosom of the Godhead, (verses 1, 2,) and, secondly, in the exhibition of his Divinity in the works of creation, (verse 3;) the way is thus prepared for the elucidation of his still more external relation which as Messiah he sustains with the human race, the crowning feature of that creation. In the treatment of this portion of his design, John pursues his usual method of developing the objective from the subjective; he has just shown (by the attribution of Divinity) how Christ could be the creator, and he now expands this same element of originative vitality into the recuperative functions of his office,—the *vis vitæ* that first organized the moral frame of man, is seen to be competent to supply any decay and repair every lesion.

Verse 4. *Ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν,*] *Ἐν* does not here denote merely the instrumental cause, but the *seat* and *origin*, as included in the preceding statement of creatorship; the use of *ἦν* carries the same idea of permanent inherence,—had the *production* of animation alone been intended, it would have been expressed by *ἐγένετο*. The context, it is thus perceived, requires *ζωή* to be understood of animated existence, as an essential principle developed in the works of creation,—the *vis efficatrix* of the whole circle of nature, in all its laws and formations, is lodged in the central being of the Logos. Precisely parallel are Christ's asseverations of this his essential attribute in that its most marked exercise, the *resurrection* power, John v, 21, 26; xi, 25. The higher "life" of the *soul* must not be excluded from this thought, for it is but the healthy and vigorous action of all the moral powers that constitutes this life. The article is omitted before *ζωή* for the sake of wider generalization. It is not unlikely that some of the terms employed in this *apocalypse* of the Logos, were adopted partially with reference to their use in the systems of Gnosticism, especially *ζωή*, *φῶς* and *πλήρωμα*, which held a prominent place in some of those theories. Compare 1 John i, 2.

Καὶ ἡ Ζωὴ ἦν τὸ Φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων·] The *ζωή* has now become an individual, and therefore takes the article, which has here a demonstrative force=*this same*. There is evidently a progression of

thought in this sentence; but as ἦν is still employed, we must construe it as expressing a potential and germinal existence of the ζωή in the character of φῶς, which afterwards assumed an actual and developed type. This is also in keeping with the scope of this introduction, which in its first portion treats of the *contents* of Christ's character, and only touches upon his terrestrial history by way of illustrating the principles discovered. The connection of φῶς with ζωή is not at first clear: logically, the statement only is that the Logos constituted at once the life and the light of the human race; but this, although easily seen to be true, neither exhausts the meaning, nor conveys it with precision. The true link of thought appears to run through the imagination—an indispensable guide in threading John's propositions,—which seizes upon the affinity between these two elements in the sun's vivifying beams, as an illustration of the moral illumination poured upon the mind of man by Him who first called it into existence with all its conscious activities. The figure of a *light* to express spiritual direction is too frequent in the Scriptures, to allow a doubt of this interpretation; but in all the passages where it occurs, (so far as we are aware,) it is used with respect to some personal teacher of religious truth, (compare especially Christ's marked application of it to himself in his earthly mission in John viii, 12; ix, 5.) For this reason we incline to refer τῶν ἀνθρώπων to the then existing race, particularly the Jewish nation. It is not true that Christ instructed the world at large, except by his Apostles after the termination of his personal career; and to understand this enlightenment to allude to the general light of conscience in the human breast, is not only too narrow and far-fetched an interpretation of so emphatic a declaration, but involves an utter confusion of natural with revealed religion. It is true the statement is apparently general as to ἀνθρώπων, and the clause with which it is connected is intended to be of the widest application; but it must be observed that the generic ζωή of that proposition has here become individualized into a personality, and the article before φῶς indicates a distinct embodiment that can well be identified only in the Great Teacher. If there be a seeming advantage for such a general acceptation in ἦν, it is more than neutralized by the present φαίνει that follows; and the plea, that the context assigns the reason of the feebleness of the light of heathenism in the resistance it encounters, is defeated by the tense of κατέλαβε, which points to some particular struggle. The whole tenor of this introduction, moreover, shows that the illumination of the Gospel is here meant. As to the countenance derived from verse 9, in favour of the opposite view, it is sufficient here to say that the phraseology

of that verse, when properly examined, will be found to confirm decidedly the interpretation we have adopted of this passage. No other explanation of its meaning would probably have ever been insisted on, but for a mistaken view of certain passages deemed to be parallel, such as 1 Cor. xii, 7, "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," (*πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*, for some useful purpose, *sc.* to the Church;) where the slightest examination of the context will show that Paul is directly speaking of the distribution (not of general moral perceptions, but) of the special ability, such as the gift of prophecy, languages, healing, etc., with which the various members of the early Christian societies were endowed through the miraculous influences of the Holy Spirit. Still less to the point is the doctrine of Paul respecting heathens destitute of a revelation, which is often appealed to for the purpose of proving their Divine enlightenment through the medium of conscience; for their being "a law unto themselves," (Rom. ii, 14,) certainly makes them independent of all guidance external to their own mental powers, and it is from their own reflection upon the works of the Creator that they derive their only knowledge of "his eternal power and Godhead," (Rom. i, 20.) No, it is the Gospel (in proportion to its successive stages) that brings the only true light to the human soul, and universal history presents but too melancholy a picture of man's spiritual benightedness without the Bible's "light of life."

Verse 5. *Καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει,*] Here a simile is instituted between the action of religious and natural light; without some such allusion, the statements of this clause would be a mere truism: as it is the inherent property of light to render itself conspicuous in the dark, so this spiritual luminary cannot but shed its beams on the face of a benighted society. The objective relation of the *φῶς* is thus more fully developed than in the preceding clause; hence the present tense is used to express an actual phenomenon, (the fact of Christ's tuition,) as the product of what was then only contemplated as a latent characteristic or native tendency. By *ἐν* is intimated the embosoming of this light in the very midst of darkness; and in no position could an illuminator have been more completely environed with it, than was Christ as "manifested in the flesh." The *σκοτία* is of course the opposite of the *φῶς*, that is, moral ignorance, with its consequent depravity: it here (with the article) specially denotes the degenerate Jewish community.

Καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.] The interpretation of this clause depends chiefly upon the meaning of *κατέλαβε*; this has been much disputed. Some understand it, as in John xii, 35, of an *over-*

taking, closing in upon and consequent *overwhelming* of the light by the dense darkness around it: this would make the figure correct, for no darkness, however opaque, can thus quench a simple taper; but on the other hand, it would throw too triumphant an air about the efforts of Christ's ministry, and directly contradict the statements of verses 10 and 11 on this subject. Most interpreters have retained the more general signification of *seizing* as with eagerness, which is the prevailing one of this verb, especially its metaphorical acceptation of seizing with the mind, or *comprehending* as our version has it; but this is a very awkward metaphor—for what is the *mind* of darkness?—and reflects but little honour on the teaching, as incomprehensible. It is true, Christ's hearers did generally fail to appreciate his doctrines, and the misapprehension may be attributed to the perversity of the affections, rather than to an error of the judgment, as in the interpretation of ἔγνω in verse 10; but this after all leaves the simple idea of *rejection* as a matter of volition, which may be at once reached without this circumlocutory signification of καταλαμβάνω. The prefixed preposition is here usually said to be *intensive*, denoting avidity or violence; but this is a very vague and incorrect mode of disposing of such adjuncts. As κατά radically implies *descending motion*, the compound essentially signifies to *take down*, and in a reflexive acceptation, to take something down into itself, that is, *embosom* or hold in one's embrace. This is precisely the sense here required; the moral antagonism depicted in the preceding clause, has reached its crisis, the genial rays that strove to infuse themselves through the dark mass around and dissipate the gloom, are refused an entrance, and spurned from within it. The very peculiarity of the term employed contains a conclusive confirmation of this interpretation, in a way that seems to have escaped the notice of critics. The use of the same verb λαμβάνω with κατά in this verse, with παρά in verse 11, and uncompounded in verse 12, is not, we think, an accidental circumstance, but designed to express a sort of κατάβασις or descending climax in this respect: the κατά here answers to the ἐν of the preceding clause, the παρά below to the ἦλθεν εἰς of the same verse, and the simple verb of verse 12 requires no correlative term; the darkness refuses to *harbour* the light that already beams *within* it, or, more directly but less profoundly expressed, Christ's kindred disdain even to *admit* him *to* their friendly circle as he approaches, while only a few strangers *invite* his honouring visit. The violation of the metaphor here (darkness expelling light) heightens the description of the rejection, which is even more astonishingly melancholy than that of verses 10

and 11; and on account of this abrupt reversing of the figure, or almost *catachresis*, the tense is changed,—the present would contradict the figure of the preceding clause, and in its literal application would have implied a continued opposition to Christianity not consistent with facts, but the aorist indicates a definite purpose of resistance which reached its highest expression in the act of the crucifixion. Καί, as it here connects two tenses of variant time, may with some propriety be termed a "disjunctive conjunction," equivalent to *and yet;* it is more adversative than in verse 15, where it joins two *primary* or similar tenses.

Verse 6.—Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ·] Here begins a parenthetical transition, intended as a *caveat*, perhaps, to some sect of the Baptist's followers, who were numerous in Ephesus (Acts xix, 1–3,) and were liable to entertain an undue opinion of their Master's character, (compare John iii, 25, 26.) The caution is suggested by the epithet Φῶς, (see the same title—apparently a proverbial one—of the Baptist in John v, 35,) and confirms the acceptation given above to that term. Ἐγένετο marks the introduction of a new topic; it is not to be joined in construction with ἀπεσταλμένος as a periphrase for ἀπεστάλη, the participle being here equivalent to a noun, *q. d.* ἀπόστολος in its primitive sense. Παρά implies his intimacy with the Divine purposes, as a special commissioner for authoritative negotiations; compare Matt. xi, 11. Θεός is here *Jehovah;* without the article, because not liable to be misunderstood.

Ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης.] A construction too common to require special notice. The name of course was necessary to identify the person.

Verse 7. Οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν,] Οὗτος, in contrast with the οὗτος of verse 2. Ἦλθε refers to his public ministry. Παρὰ Θεοῦ is implied from verse 6. Μαρτυρία denotes the general object of his mission, and therefore has no article; it is left thus extensive for a stronger antithesis with the work of τὸ Φῶς.

Ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ Φωτός·] An explanation of μαρτυρία preceding, which required limitation. Περί shows that τὸ Φῶς was his *theme:* of his mode of μαρτυρία a specimen is given in verse 15.

Ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσι δι' αὐτοῦ.] The preceding clause contains the object of John's mission on the part of himself, this gives the ulterior design on the part of God. Πάντες primarily refers to his hearers the Jews, and πιστεύσωσι to saving faith in Christ, to which διά indicates that the purport of his communications was calculated to lead them.

Verse 8. Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ Φῶς,] This is the guarding clause;

note the emphatic position of *οὐκ*, and the strongly demonstrative use of *ἐκεῖνος* = *iste*.

Ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ Φωτός·] After *ἀλλά* must be supplied *ἦλθε* from the preceding context. Mark the strongly adversative force of *ἀλλά*. The Baptist's character has just been given negatively; it is now necessary, in order to complete the sentence, to state positively, that although he was distinct from *τὸ Φῶς*, he yet held a subordinate relation to it, which is done by an emphatic repetition of his office.

Verse 9. *Ἦν τὸ Φῶς*] The existence of this being in the person of John has been denied, his real existence is here maintained nevertheless, and is attributed to a different personage. To construe *ἦν* with *ἐρχόμενον* as equivalent to *ἤρχετο*, as many eminent philologists do, would be too harsh, and also injure the meaning; the emphatic position of *ἦν* moreover forbids this merging of it into a mere auxiliary. It is designed to assert the absolute and independent existence of *τὸ Φῶς*, in the face of the previous negation, and the clause may therefore without violence be translated directly as it stands, "*The Light* EXISTED nevertheless;" but the sentence may be made smooth without losing any of its force, by supplying an ellipsis after *ἦν*, and making *Φῶς* follow as a descriptive predicate, in some such way as this: *ἦν* [*δὲ ἄλλος*] *τὸ Φῶς*, "*still* there *was another* who constituted *the Light*." The common version, "that *was the true Light*," hits the meaning, (except that it suppresses the repetition of *τὸ*,) but its construction would require a different position of *ἦν*.

Τὸ ἀληθινόν,] After denying the identity of John and the Light, it was proper to show the particulars wherein they differed: the first point is a subjective one, as usual, and respects their comparative *authenticity*. *Ἀληθινόν* must not here be understood of mere genuineness as opposed to deception, for that would have involved a *petitio principii* in the Evangelist's argument. It rather denotes that intrinsic quality of nature upon which external unity depends—that veritableness of air which assures beholders *à priori* of a person's irrefragable truth. But it has a higher significance when viewed from the intensely subjective stand-point of "the beloved disciple," who glances with an intuitive ken into the depths of the Redeemer's soul, and throws into the scale of evidence the *Divinity* that is seen to lie at the basis of his character. It is the majestic fact that Christ must needs have been the Light he was, by the very force of his own interior being's attributes, that constitutes the *truthful* element here intended. Other explanations of this term sink into unmeaning equivocations before this lofty conception, which may be

expressed for distinct apprehension by the emphatic rendering, *he was* THE *Light*,—such *per se*, the source and final cause of the Baptist's rays, transcending infinitely in dignity and importance all other teachers, "*velut inter ignes Luna minores*."

Ὁ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον,] Here is given another distinctive trait of Christ, which is chiefly couched in πάντα; John's mission was limited to a particular generation of Jews, Christ's is universal, for the whole human race in all coming time. Φωτίζει, as to its tense, is expressive of the *design* of the Gospel, rather than its actual propagation at the time, and certainly cannot be intended to be confined to our Saviour's personal ministry. It corresponds to φαίνει of verse 5, and has a similar extent of application; the comparison with John does not require any reference to the light of natural reason, which would also clash with the succeeding phrase.

Ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.—] Our English translators and many other interpreters have mistaken the construction here, by referring ἐρχόμενον to ἄνθρωπον instead of Φῶς; but several considerations render it nearly certain that the latter is the true meaning. In the first place, this whole latter clause, under the former construction, is quite useless and even tautological, for πάντα ἄνθρωπον is as general an expression as could be desired; and, moreover, γινόμενον would then have been the proper term, rather than ἐρχόμενον, which carries the idea that this illumination is connected with the *introduction* of each human being into the world,—an idea that cannot have been intended. But a more conclusive argument against this view is the fact, that ὁ Ἐρχόμενος, is a proverbial name for the Messiah, as may be seen in Matt. xi, 3; John xii, 13, and numerous kindred passages. John himself in two instances employs precisely the full form ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, to denote the advent of the Redeemer, chap. vi, 14; xi, 27. It is true, the article is prefixed in these instances, but that is because it is used as a name to designate an individual, while here it is a collateral particular in the description of one who has been specified by other more definite terms. John, indeed, appeared among men, but it was not in a Messianic character; his birth and acts had none of the tokens of that personage, and in his doctrine he expressly disclaimed this very title (see verse 27.) This clause is added to show how it was that the Φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων actually φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον—it is the mode of development. Having thus disposed of the objection likely to arise from an unjust comparison of the Baptist's mission with that of Christ, the Evangelist now proceeds with the development of this latter, which was his main topic.

Verse 10. Ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν,] For this remark the way had been

prepared by the statements of verses 4 and 5, and it here naturally connects itself with the language of the preceding clause, the meaning of which it serves to confirm as relating to Christ, who must obviously be made the subject of *ἦν*: there is also an advance in the thought; the Messiah not only entered the world but remained there for a time, *ἦν*=*ἐσκήνωσε* of verse 14. In *κόσμος* are implied also its residents.

Καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,] The relation of creatorship (verse 13) is assigned as the ground of a claim to respect and service, implied in this statement.

Καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω·] This unparalleled act of base impiety is exhibited as one of the immediate effects of the Messiah's embassy. It is an illustration of the *οὐ κατέλαβε* of verse 5. Truly said the Redeemer of his murderers, "They know not what they do!" *Ἔγνω* is here used in the Hebraistic sense of publicly recognising with suitable sentiments, as an act of the will.

Verse 11. *Εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε,*] *Ἦλθε* is synchronous with *ἐρχόμενον* in verse 9, which it illustrates: note that the first advances are made by Christ. The general *κόσμον* of that verse, is here brought down to the specific *ἴδια, sc. οἰκήματα, home*, as in chap. xix, 27; it here metaphorically represents Palestine, Christ's birth-place, residence, and exclusive scene of personal ministrations.

Καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον·] This is a second illustration, still more definite and aggravated, of the strange treatment experienced by the Redeemer from his beneficiaries; his very family (*ἴδιοι*, the inmates of *τὰ ἴδια*) turn him from the door! *Παρά*, radically signifying *near*, here denotes a refusal to take their kinsman *close to* them,—by the hand, in their arms, and to their society. His countrymen, to whom he had long been promised, disowned him when arrived, and in turn were cast off in his last memorable words of mournful despair and warning, Matt. xxiii, 38, 39.

Verse 12. *Ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν,*] There were some exceptions to this seemingly hopeless rejection of their Messiah on the part of the Jews; *δέ* intimates a transition to this opposite side of the picture. The fact of a contrary conduct on the part of some, is not directly stated, however, lest it should interfere with the impression of (apparently) universal indignity intended to be left upon the mind by the previous statements; it is rather implied by a statement of the privilege acquired by those who acted differently, which is here adduced in order to heighten the view of the irrationality of those ingrates. This whole account of Christ's treatment is here introduced not as a matter of *history*, but by way of contrasting his character with that of ordinary men; and the blessing of verse

12 is referred to in the light of a *proposal* on his part, its actual accomplishment being specified in verse 16. Some individuals did welcome the Saviour, the chief of whom were the Apostles and the Galilean females; the *spirit* of ἔλαβον is best illustrated by that of Mary, the sister of Lazarus,—it was that of confiding love.

Ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι,] Ἐξουσία must not be taken as equivalent to δύναμις, the capacity for such a relation, nor yet is it a simple κτῆμα or possession of such a blessing; it here retains its prevalent sense of influence and importance as connected with official *rank*, implying all the immunities and enjoyments flowing from such a position. The station here is that of τέκνα Θεοῦ, a relation of honour, authority, and security that might well be coveted by any earthly potentate, and the perquisites are such as are described in Rom. viii, 17; the rank is of such exalted character and blessedness that the Apostle elsewhere (1 John iii, 1, 2) labours in vain to find a more expressive title. Γενέσθαι contains the idea of *investiture* with this spiritual affinity, and implies that the condition is not the original one of its subjects. Τέκνα is destitute of the article because it is here descriptive of character, thus constituting a generic term; and also because its application is not intended to be limited to any favourite class or community, as the Jews held. The omission of the article before ἐξουσία is a little more peculiar, as this is here a special favour: its absence in this case seems to depend upon the common rule of New Testament usage, that where a general term is limited by some express particular application following, it may dispense with the article, (see Stuart's New Testament Grammar, § 89, (3);) thus the clause γενέσθαι τέκνα Θεοῦ becomes equivalent to the article by particularizing ἐξουσία. A similar idiom prevails with the corresponding English words; we regularly say, "He gave them *leave* to do so," although we must in strict propriety say, "He gave them *the privilege* of doing so," while we may say with equal elegance, either "He gave them *the power* (or liberty) *of* doing so," or "He gave them *power* (or liberty, or *the* power) *to* do so."

Τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ·] This more particularly defines the ὅσοι; and by assigning the ground of their selection, it at once illustrates the meaning of ἔλαβον, and the prerequisite to the γενέσθαι τέκνα. By ὄνομα is here meant, by a frequent Hebraistic extension, the Divine *character* of Christ, and εἰς (as elsewhere) shows that this was the *object* toward which their faith was directed. There seems also to be intimated in this preposition the spiritual *union* of believers with their Saviour, as the tendency and effect of faith.

(Conclusion in the October Number.)

Art. III.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

1. *History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, comprehending all the official proceedings of the General Conference, Southern Annual Conferences, and the General Convention, with such other matters as are necessary to a right understanding of the Case.* Nashville: Compiled and Published by the Editors and Publishers of the South-Western Christian Advocate, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By order of the Louisville Convention. William Cameron, printer. 1845.
2. *Brief Appeal to Public Opinion, in a Series of Exceptions to the Course and Action of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from* 1844 *to* 1848, *affecting the Rights and Interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.* By H. B. Bascom, A. L. P. Greene, C. B. Parsons, Southern Commissioners for the Settlement of the Property Question between the two Churches. Louisville, Kentucky: published by John Early, Agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Morton and Griswold, printers. 1848.

In our number for April, 1849, we noticed, in part, the first publication at the head of this article. We now add another official publication, containing a number of unfair statements and unsound reasonings with regard to the later action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In our former article we found it necessary to justify upon Scripture grounds, the position which the Methodists in this country, both before and after their organization as a Church, had always maintained in regard to the system of slavery, as it existed in the slave-holding States. To do so, it was necessary to show that the omission of any positive command in the New Testament, obliging the converts to Christianity to emancipate their slaves, did not justify, and was not, in the primitive Church, considered as justifying the cruel and inhuman laws of the Roman empire in respect to slavery, which were condemned by the fundamental principles of the moral code proclaimed by our Lord and his apostles; but that the command was omitted in mercy to the slaves themselves, not from any acknowledged moral right in the owners to hold their fellow-men in bondage, reducing them to the condition of cattle or other property. The Roman laws forbade the emancipation of slaves, except to a very limited number, strictly regulated by law. The slave was not a person, and had no personal rights; and if discharged from service by his master, who, by the very act, renounced his right to protect the slave as his property, the slave, so discharged, enjoyed none of the privileges of the freed man. He had no redress for any injury done him, and no security for any property he might acquire. In fact,

any one might slay him with impunity. To kill him was no more a murder, or criminal offence, than to kill an ox. The slave and the ox were alike the property of the owner, who could recover damages for any injury done them; but when the ownership was renounced all protection was taken away.

To have commanded the Christians of the primitive Church to discharge their slaves from service, when they could not secure to them the protection of law, or the rights of freemen, would have been as unjust as unmerciful. But the Christian religion had its origin in the love of God to sinful, helpless man, and all its doctrines and precepts are directed by the same love and compassion. It could not, therefore, impose, as a condition of its covenant mercies, a precept or requirement which went directly, and of necessary consequence, to render any condition of humanity still more miserable. The Christian religion condemned the whole system of slavery, as contrary to the obligations of the universal law of love; while it permitted slaveholding where such relation between owner and servant was essentially necessary to the fulfilment of this very law itself. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," was the law; but "love worketh no ill to its neighbour." To fulfil the law was not to renounce the right to protect the slave, and turn him out to be worried or slain by others; but to retain the power, and exercise it for his benefit—awaiting the changes in the laws which Christianity was calculated and destined to effect, and which it did ultimately effect to the utter extirpation of slavery. These statements we have illustrated and proved in our former article, by the records of antiquity, and need not repeat these proofs here.

We also showed that the Methodists, from the earliest to the latest action taken on the subject, have borne faithful testimony against slavery as a grievous wrong, "contrary to Scripture and natural justice;" and that while they were permitted by the laws to enforce the emancipation of slaves, as a condition of Church-fellowship, they did so, in despite of the offence taken by those whose selfishness and interests held them by strong ties to the iniquitous practice. But when the legislation of the slaveholding States began to be fashioned according to the laws of heathen Rome; when the Christian master could no longer discharge his slaves from his service without subjecting them to be sold by the sheriff to the highest bidder—who, with few exceptions, would be a slave-trader—the merciful spirit of Christianity required a change in the rules of our Discipline; and they were, in obedience to the law of love itself, modified from time to time, until they were nearly reduced to a simple testimony against slavery as a great evil, while slaveholding was necessarily permitted

when the slave could not be manumitted and permitted to enjoy freedom.

Under these circumstances slavery made rapid and fearful encroachment upon the Southern and South-Western portions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Not only did it come to prevail generally among the laity, but the local and travelling preachers became slaveholders with an avidity which seemed to be only restrained by individual inability to acquire such property, which had greatly increased in value by the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida by the United States. Many ministers acquired slaves by marriage, and many by bequest; and as their slaves multiplied by natural increase, they were compelled to sell them, hire them out to others, or to take farms and cultivate them under the direction of an overseer. It may be asked why these itinerant ministers did not avail themselves of the provisions of the Discipline, and apply for transfers to the free States, where their slaves would be free. We answer, some did so; and it would be uncharitable, and perhaps unjust, to allege that those who did not were all influenced by sordid views. The circumstances of their slaves sometimes, and perhaps generally, restrained them. Their slaves might be married to other slaves on neighbouring plantations, whose masters would not release them, and they could not, as Christians, compel or even advise the violation of the marriage tie; for it is written, "whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." For the rest, all had relations and friends, and many had children, who could not accompany them, and they preferred slavery with them, to liberty separated from them. There may have been cases where none of these impediments really existed; but God only can judge the heart, and we must leave motives to the judgment of the great day, when He shall adjudicate, before whom death and hell are without a covering, and how much more the hearts of the children of men. The Church could take no action in the premises. The consequence was, that the section on slavery retained in the Discipline was wholly inoperative in most of the slaveholding States of the Union. Methodists, both lay and clerical, entered, as they alleged, of necessity, into all the practical relations, consequences, and effects of the "domestic institution." They bought and they sold slaves without restraint or scruple; because they could allege that they bought to better the condition of the slave, and they sold from necessity as debtors, or from the impossibility of providing food and raiment for the natural increase of their slaves. Hence, Methodists and Methodist ministers were found in the slave-marts, and in the accursed *barracoons* established in the more northern slaveholding States, where slaves are grown, as

cattle, for a more Southern market.* Some of the travelling preachers in the South had become rich by marriage, and held large farms stocked with slaves. These preachers were often made presiding elders, as their circumstances required appointments to districts which would give them an opportunity, without great personal inconvenience, to visit their estates frequently. Yet the arrangement required that they should be so constantly appointed to the same districts as to frustrate the design of frequent changes in the travelling ministry, and to bring the office of presiding elder into disrespect, if not into contempt. But the bishops could not pursue the evident design and plan of the itinerancy in such cases. These slaveholding, agricultural, presiding elders, or preachers, alleged that they were bound, as Christians, to attend to the religious and moral instruction of their domestics, and hence it was necessary that they should frequently visit them. How much religious and moral instruction was afforded, we do not know, and have no right to guess, or imagine. Yet we fear, that slaves left to the absolute authority of an irreligious and merciless overseer, with only the occasional interference of the owner, would not be very carefully instructed, or be likely to pay much attention to the instructions of one whom they could only look upon as a hireling employed to urge them to incessant labour, for the benefit of their master; especially as all experience shows, "the tender mercies" of a slave-driver "are cruel."

It is, however, matter of rejoicing, that a great number of travelling preachers who were furnished by civil restrictions upon the right of emancipation with all these excuses for slaveholding, did refrain from, and interdict the holding of slaves by the members of their conferences. The Philadelphia, the Baltimore, the Pittsburgh, and the Ohio Conferences, held territory in the slaveholding States, and preachers were annually sent from them to circuits and stations among a community where not only the laws but public feeling were in favour of slavery; yet they preserved themselves from all practical participation in the evil, making the holding of slaves an insuperable objection to the admission of a preacher to their conferences, or to continuance in such relation. The Baltimore Conference, for instance, not only included in its bounds the larger part of the State of Maryland, one of the slaveholding States, but a larger portion of Virginia than belonged to the Virginia Annual Conference. Yet that conference had steadfastly maintained such exclusion, neither admitting nor retaining a slaveholder in their body. Why the Virginia

* At the Conference of 1844, a travelling preacher attended as a visitor, who, on his way, had stopped at Baltimore, and purchased from one of these barracoons a slave, whom he subsequently took on or sent on to the South.

Conference could not, or did not, preserve its ministers from the great evil, we do not now inquire: but whatever was the cause of her defection, it must be a subject of sincere regret, that that conference hastened to avail itself of the impunity which the Discipline had gradually come to allow to slaveholders; and not only did many of her ministers become owners of slaves, but the most ultra pro-slavery opinions were adopted and advocated by her most influential members. During the session of the General Conference of 1844, no subject which came under discussion, gave more offence than the decision on the appeal of Mr. Harding, of the Baltimore Conference, who had been suspended from the exercise of his ministry, because he had become possessed of slaves by marriage, and refused to manumit them. His advocate was one of the Virginia Conference delegates, who exerted all his powers of rhetoric to procure a reversal of the decision, belabouring the Baltimore Conference without stint or pity. The General Conference affirmed the decision nevertheless; and the Virginia delegates led the way in the vindictive hostility of the South toward their old friends and neighbours of the Baltimore Annual Conference, for simply maintaining the discipline and usage of Methodism as it had existed from the earliest date of its history in the United States. But of this case we shall have occasion to say more in a coming part of this review.

During the interval between the sessions of the General Conference of 1840 and 1844, much had occurred to disturb the peace of the Church. Many of the preachers, and a still greater number of the laity, in the non-slaveholding States, had for some years been uniting themselves with "Abolition Societies," which, if not absolutely political associations, were decidedly of a political cast, and very clearly indicated a political design. Some of the resolutions and addresses of these societies were, to the utmost degree, fanatical and extravagant; and their agents, employed to travel through the free States to lecture on slavery, taught principles utterly subversive of the Constitution, and directly tending to rebellion and civil war. The General Conference had, from time to time, earnestly remonstrated with the members of the Church against all participation in the doings of these societies, and exhorted her members wholly to "abstain" from agitating the subjects of slavery and abolition, as no beneficial result could be effected by them in the free States, on a subject over which the slaveholding States only had any control. But this good counsel was rejected: and there were many Methodists who not only continued their connexion with the political abolitionists, but also proceeded to form themselves into "Methodist Anti-Slavery Societies," thereby announcing to the world that the Church

was no longer anti-slavery in doctrine, discipline, or feeling; and that, consequently, it was necessary to organize within it an "*imperium in imperio*"—a sort of Jacobin club, who were to compel the alteration of the rules of Discipline after their own fashion, and expel from the communion of the Church all who did not submit to their dicta, and immediately manumit their slaves. No allowance was made for circumstances. "Slavery was a sin under all circumstances, and all that was required to extirpate slavery was to cease sinning." In vain was it pleaded that such disciplinary law would be ruinous to the slaves themselves; as, while it could not effect their freedom, even if their owners should obey the law, it would subject them to be sold into more distant slavery, accompanied by the sundering of the social ties which constituted their only solace in slavery. All this was nothing to "the men of one idea." The "Methodist Anti-Slavery Society" was formed and organized by a convention of persons claiming to be members, and many of them ministers, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in open defiance of the advice and admonitions of the General Conference. All who did not co-operate with them were denounced as aiders and abettors of slavery; and, to cap the climax of absurdity, they appointed another convention to form a separate missionary society, as it was held to be inconsistent with their principles to mingle their contributions with the "blood money" of a pro-slavery Church.

Finally things came to a crisis. The great body of Methodists, lay and clerical, in the free States, though decidedly and conscientiously opposed to the whole system of slavery, were, nevertheless, as loyal citizens, opposed to any political action which tended to impair the union of the States; and as Methodists, they adhered to the Discipline of the Church, as it had been found necessary to make it, under the circumstances in which the Church found her slaveholding members placed by State legislation. From this position they were not to be moved; and, moreover, they were not disposed to tolerate the fanatical radico-abolitionists in the Church. It was insisted, that to assume the patronymic appellation of "Methodist" for their association, was deliberate insult to the Church; and that, in point of fact, they had, by uniting themselves to a society which they themselves insisted was a religious society, but which was unknown to, or not recognised by, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and from which all members of the Church who did not subscribe to their dogmas were interdicted, they had withdrawn from the Church, and should be so considered, and dealt with by the Church authorities. Finally the ultra radico-abolitionists withdrew from the Church, and set up for themselves, organizing what they facetiously denominated

"The True Wesleyan Church," without a single attribute peculiar to Wesleyanism in its composition or character. It was found, however, that although the Churches in the New-England States had been long agitated by ultra-abolition movements, they generally remained sound in their attachment to the Methodist Episcopal Church, its doctrines and discipline. The secession was inconsiderable. The storm soon subsided, and since that time the New-England Churches have been essentially conservative, and have greatly prospered. The Eastern conferences sent, on the whole, a peace-loving, and eminently Methodist delegation to the General Conference. From this quarter, therefore, nothing could be apprehended tending to disturb the harmony of the Church. In the other free States but little disturbance was produced by the radico-abolitionary movement. A few, here and there, seceded, without apparent object or aim; and were soon at a loss themselves to know where they were, except that they were without influence or standing anywhere. Thus matters stood in the free States at the time when the General Conference assembled in the city of New-York, in May, 1844. Let us now turn to the Southern department of the Church, and take a view of its position in respect to what might be expected to happen during the coming session of the General Conference.

The result of the agitations in the free States on the subject of slavery, the firm stand taken and maintained against the agitators, and the final deliverance from them by the secession, had restored the brethren in the Southern conferences to a more confiding relation to their brethren in the other portions of the connexion. They had at every step resisted, with moderation, but with firmness and unanimity, as well as with great power of reasoning and argument, any change of disciplinary regulation on the subject of slavery. To require emancipation by our members or ministers, in States where the emancipated would not be allowed to enjoy freedom, was, they alleged, not only unjust to the owners, but a cruelty to the slaves, both in regard to their civil and religious interests. And moreover, in some of the States, any action of the Church interfering with the relation of master and slave, would effectually cut off all access to the slaves by the ministers of the Church. So sensitive were the great planters of the Southern and South-Western States on this subject, that the slightest movement in the direction of abolition, would, it was said, excite such apprehension as to induce them to take effectual measures to exclude Methodist preachers from all access to their slaves; and thus all the benevolent efforts to establish missions for the purpose of carrying the Gospel to the slaves would be frus-

trated by the action of the very Church which, if not "embarrassed by too much regulation," was best calculated by her economy, to furnish the word of life to the millions of poor oppressed Africans, and descendants of Africans, in the extreme South and South-West. And these, of all people, needed most the consolations of the Christian religion.

At the Conference of 1840, conservative counsels prevailed; but there was a small minority, whose influence in future conferences was looked to with some apprehension. Happily this spirit had been extinguished by the late secession, and the South, which proposed no changes—asked for no further accommodation—were gratified and pacified by the now confident expectation, that after the hurricane which had passed over the Northern and Western Churches, the atmosphere was defecated and purified, and no ultra movements were to be apprehended.

But before the General Conference of 1844, there was some indication that the South, departing from her conservative course, would throw an apple of discord into the conference. It was more than intimated in one of the Methodist papers in the South, that the slaveholding conferences would no longer abide the long-established usage and practice of the Church in preserving the episcopacy, or general superintendency, free from all connexion with slavery. It was, it was said, an imputation on the slaveholding preachers of the South, which they could no longer endure; and an exclusion from the episcopacy, which was not warranted by any positive enactment. Hence it was suggested, that at the ensuing General Conference, the Southern delegates, though a minority, would demand the election of, at least, one slaveholder to the episcopal office; and that the South, if not gratified, could not, without degradation, remain in the connexion. This created great alarm in the Church in the free States, and particularly in the border conferences, whose districts included territory in the free, as well as in the slaveholding States. But these fears were allayed by the South itself. The suggestion was rebuked by the common feeling, and Dr. Capers stood prominently among those who condemned it. In a communication to one of the Southern Methodist papers, he deprecated all attempts to innovate upon the usage of the Church, which, for the sake of peace and harmony, had heretofore filled the office of bishop, whenever an occasion for election arose, with an elder selected without regard to the place or the conference in which he had laboured, but always from among those who were not encumbered with slaves. The doctor was even pleased to say, he should doubt the *heart* of any one who would be willing to go to the North as a slaveholding bishop. This rebuke

from a distinguished member of the South Carolina Conference, and who would have been long before in the episcopal office, had he been able to extricate himself from the embarrassment of holding slaves, was like oil poured on the troubled waters. Even those who at first favoured the Southern pretension, gave it up as hopeless, and there was a general understanding that no slaveholder would be nominated by Southern delegates for the episcopate. Assurance of this was explicitly and emphatically given by Bishop Soule during the session of the Baltimore Annual Conference, in the month of March immediately preceding the session of the General Conference in May. Thus this portentous storm passed harmlessly over us, and every heart throbbed with the delightful anticipation of a peaceful and useful session of the great delegated body, to whom the interests of the Church were constitutionally confided. How fatally these hopes were disappointed, is now matter of history.

Soon after the session of the General Conference of 1844 commenced, it was whispered around that Bishop Andrew had become the owner of slaves, by his marriage to a widow lady of Georgia. The report was not credited at first. Bishop Soule being applied to for information on the subject, stated that he had no knowledge of the facts in the case, further than that Mrs. Andrew was in the possession of slaves. Whether she held them in her own right, or for her children, he did not know, but he did not hesitate to say, that if Bishop Andrew was inextricably connected with slavery he would resign. He had heard the bishop often express a wish to resign the episcopal office before the death of his former wife; and the connexion of our episcopacy with slavery, he said, was utterly impracticable. It was ascertained, however, by some of the members, that the slaves had become really the property of Bishop Andrew, by the laws of Georgia, his wife owning them absolutely, without any reversionary right in her children; and the conference, on motion, took the following action in the premises, in order to bring the matter fairly before the body.

On the 20th day of May, the Rev. John A. Collins, of the Baltimore Conference, offered the following preamble and resolution, which was adopted, viz:—

"Whereas it is currently reported, and generally understood, that one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church has become connected with slavery; and whereas it is due to this General Conference to have a proper understanding of the matter; therefore, *Resolved*, that the Committee on the Episcopacy be instructed to ascertain the facts in the case, and report the results of their investigation to this body to-morrow morning."

Accordingly, Dr. Paine, chairman of the Committee on the Episcopacy, made a report on the following day. The Committee had

ascertained the facts in the case, in respect to which they were instructed to report by the resolution of the preceding day. Bishop Andrew had become "connected with slavery." The Committee had obtained an interview with him, and at their request the Bishop had addressed a written communication to them, in which the facts in relation to his case were stated, and the Committee asked leave to submit the communication as the report they had been instructed to make. In his letter to the Committee, the Bishop fully and explicitly admitted the fact that he had acquired the absolute ownership of a number of slaves by his late marriage, but that he had secured these slaves, by deed of trust, to his wife, after marriage.

Thus it appeared that Bishop Andrew had not only become a slaveholder, but had deliberately placed emancipation out of his power, by conveying his slaves, by a deed of trust, to a third person. It was afterwards learned that the deed created reversionary interests, which could not be legally revoked even if his wife should consent, as the trustees could not relinquish the trust but by a legal process, in which a substitute must be appointed, so as to render the trusteeship perpetual. His slaves and their descendants, as the deed had created contingent reversionary interests, were, therefore, beyond the reach of mercy, even if the legislature of Georgia should at any time thereafter take off all restriction in respect to the manumission of slaves. Rev. J. A. Collins moved, and the motion was adopted, that the report be laid on the table and made the special order for the next day.

On the 22d of May, the Rev. A. Griffith, of the Baltimore Conference, offered the following preamble and resolution:—

"Whereas the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has become connected with slavery, as communicated in his statement in reply to the inquiry of the Committee on the Episcopacy, which reply is embodied in their report of yesterday; and whereas it has been from the origin of said Church a settled policy and invariable usage, to elect no person to the office of bishop who was embarrassed with this great evil, as under such circumstances it would be impossible for a bishop to exercise the functions, and perform the duties assigned to a general superintendent, with acceptance, in that large portion of his charge in which slavery does not exist; and whereas Bishop Andrew himself was nominated by our brethren of the slaveholding States, and elected by the General Conference of 1832 as a candidate who, though living among a slaveholding population, was, nevertheless, free from all personal connexion with slavery; and whereas this, is in all periods in our history as a Church, the one least favourable to such an innovation upon the practice and usage of Methodism, as to confide a part of the general itinerant superintendency to a slaveholder; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. James O. Andrew be, and he is hereby affectionately requested to resign his office, as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

After considerable discussion the following substitute was offered

for the Rev. Mr. Griffith's preamble and resolution, by the Rev. James B. Finley, of the Ohio Annual Conference, and seconded by Rev. J. M. Trimble:—

"Whereas the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing anything calculated to destroy our general itinerant superintendency; and whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains."

A long and earnest debate upon the above substitute for the original resolution followed, in which great talents and power of argumentation were exhibited, and we are gratified to be able to add that, with few and only incidental exceptions, the courtesy of gentlemen and the law of Christian kindness were constantly preserved throughout the whole struggle. We shall give no synopsis of the speeches on either side, as they were generally published in the Methodist papers of the time, and are preserved in a pamphlet subsequently issued from the Methodist Book Concern. Our purpose is only to review, very briefly, the positions taken in justification of the separation of the conferences in the slaveholding States from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in consequence of the adoption of Mr. Finley's resolution, as these positions are to be found in the statements, documents, and reasoning, contained in the two publications placed at the head of this article.

Before the passage of the Rev. Mr. Finley's resolution, all the bishops, except Bishop Andrew, united in presenting a written proposition, to suspend all action in the case of Bishop Andrew until the next session of the General Conference. But it was evident that such a measure afforded no ground of hope that the peace of the Church would be preserved, or that the agitations which the Bishop's position must occasion would be even postponed. The former recommendation of the General Conference to the Churches throughout the whole connexion, to wholly "abstain" from all agitation of the questions of slavery and abolition would not only be nullified, but the agitation would be extended to conference districts where it had been heretofore either unknown or comparatively harmless. The Southern conferences themselves would be thrown into agitation, as they would be roused into action by the apprehension that at the next session of the General Conference, when the case of Bishop Andrew must again come up, some decisive condemnation of their slaveholding bishop would take place, and delegates must be

chosen who would firmly sustain "southern rights;" and the middle conferences, having both free and slaveholding territory, would find the membership as well as ministry divided in opinion and feeling on the subject. To restrain the liberty of speech or of the press there is no pretension of right, further than the indisputable right of the Church to punish by common expulsion for the licentious abuse of the liberty, in violation of Christian morality. Within these limits, however, what alienation of feeling, what strife and contention might be produced. For the rest, both in the East and West, the ultra-abolitionists, though they had mostly withdrawn from the Church, were nevertheless alive and active, and would rejoice in the opportunity of fastening their oft-repeated charge of pro-slavery upon the Methodist Episcopal Church. They would hasten to ring the changes on the fact that we had taken another step towards sanctioning slavery; the General Conference itself having sanctioned it in the case of one of the general superintendents for, at least, four years to come, and would be compelled at the next session to succumb to it finally and entirely without hope of redemption. With this weapon, furnished by the General Conference itself, the seceders would have been able to renew the conflict in the societies already weakened and crippled by secession, and little short of utter destruction must follow.

But this was not all. Even should all this be endured, there was nothing in the speeches of the Southern delegates to guarantee or even to give ground of hope, that if the decision of the ensuing General Conference should be adverse to Bishop Andrew, they would abide the decision. And in private conversation some of them did not hesitate to say, that if Bishop Andrew "should be touched" at the end of four years' convulsion, the South would withdraw. They would not even agree that he should be left to his own sense of propriety with respect to resigning his office. "He must retain it to test the principle,"—that is, the "principle" upon which they claimed to have slaveholding bishops.

It may be asked, whether the bishops could not foresee these evils when they made the proposition to postpone? We cheerfully and most cordially subscribe to the universal opinion of the Church, that they are men of great sagacity and sound judgment, and no one has intimated a doubt of at least a majority of them being influenced by a sincere and ardent desire to advise what they hoped would tend to the peace and prosperity of the whole Church; but one of them very soon withdrew his name from the recommendation, distinctly admitting that he had, since his signature had been appended, become convinced, by information which had reached him, that the measure

would not produce peace, but multiply agitation; and two more of the bishops only suffered their signatures to remain, the one, because he came into the measure under a train of circumstances which left him little or no option in the premises,—he adopted it as a last resort, and with little hope of success; it did, however, appear to him that it would be better to put "that view before the General Conference, and let it take its course, and, so far as he himself was concerned, he should be perfectly satisfied with the result;" he deprecated protracted discussion, and hoped the communications of the bishops would not produce such effect,—and the other bishop only permitted his signature to remain, that it might show that he had done everything in his power to preserve peace. It is evident, therefore, that a majority of the bishops had, very shortly after the presentation of their proposition, come to doubt of the effect which they had hoped it would produce. But we suspect the bishops were influenced in the presentation of the proposition to postpone action, by reasons which they were not at liberty to state to the conference. Suppose, that, in conversation with his colleagues, Bishop Andrew had said, that "if the conference passed over his case and took no action on the subject, he would get out of the way." His colleagues would not be at liberty to report this intimation to the conference, but it might very well be supposed to influence their desire for postponement of conference action. Yet as the conference could not be informed of this intention of Bishop Andrew, and as it was very well understood that his original desire to resign at once had been counteracted by the advice of the Southern delegates, in caucus, the conference was compelled to act in the case of the bishop, on the presumption that he would continue to exercise his official functions and prerogatives as a general superintendent, unless the conference gave some decision adverse to his purpose. Such we have reason to believe was the state of the case. The bishops recommended a postponement of action, in confident expectation that Bishop Andrew would resign before the next session of the conference; but they were not at liberty to assign this as the reason for their recommendation. The conference acted upon the conviction to which they had come, from a knowledge of the determination of the Southern delegates, in caucus, that he should not resign, but should "test the principle;" and hence, by a large majority, laid the recommendation of the bishops on the table, and took up and passed the resolution expressing the "sense" of the body, that Bishop Andrew ought to suspend the exercise of his official functions while the impediment remained, which they apprehended would so fatally interfere with his acceptability in the larger portion of the Church.

Subsequently, the bishops having communicated some doubts as to the position in which the resolution of the conference had left Bishop Andrew, the conference voted that his name should remain as heretofore, in the Minutes, Hymn Book, and Discipline; that the rule in reference to the support of a bishop applied to Bishop Andrew; and that "whether in any, and in what work he should be employed, is to be determined by his own decision and action, in relation to the previous action of the conference in his case." Bishop Andrew was thus left to his own conviction of duty, either to disregard the will of the conference, and resume his functions as a bishop, or to comply with its expressed wish, and cease to act as a general superintendent while he remained a slaveholder.

In the mean time some efforts were made to relieve him from his embarrassments. A prominent member of the conference proposed to the friends of the bishop to buy his slaves, at whatever price they would name, and send them to Africa, stating that he was authorized to say the money should be forthcoming within forty-eight hours. No response was made to this proposition. We presume the proposition was not acceptable to a large proportion of the Southern delegates, as it would not have afforded the opportunity "to test the principle." And besides, Bishop Andrew had rendered a compliance with the proposal impracticable, by the trusteeship he had voluntarily created, and which prohibited either the emancipation or the sale of his slaves. If he outlived his wife, they would be his, and he would be at liberty to do as he pleased with them; but if his wife should survive him, they would become her property, and descend to her children. This reversionary interest could not be voided, and hence he could not sell or manumit in advance of the contingency contained in the deed of trust.

The Southern delegations had previously presented "A Declaration," in which they say, that "the continued agitation of the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the Church, the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference, and especially the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew, which resulted in his virtual suspension from the office of superintendent, must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of the General Conference over these conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States."

Upon the reading of this declaration, some exception was taken to the charge of "extra-judicial proceedings" as untrue, and insulting to the conference; but, after some explanation, the paper was referred to a committee, previously appointed to devise a plan of

pacification, who subsequently reported their inability to agree upon any report which they judged likely to meet the approbation of the conference.

There followed this declaration a formal "Protest" against the action of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew, which we may suppose to embody the principal objections to the action of the conference, and the arguments by which these objections are intended to be sustained. The conference appointed a committee to prepare a statement of the facts connected with the proceedings in the case of Bishop Andrew, and to examine the "Protest," who made a report, which, together with the "Protest," was entered upon the journals, and published at the Methodist Episcopal Book Concern. In the "History" under review, the "Protest" is given at length, but the "Reply" was found too unmanageable to appear before the Southern public. It was safer to garble and misrepresent it, and accordingly this work has been performed with admirable dexterity and success.

In conformity with this "Declaration" and "Protest" aforesaid, the Southern delegates issued, immediately after the close of the conference, an "Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the slaveholding States and Territories." In this address they explicitly avow their conviction that a division of the Church has been rendered necessary by the action of the late General Conference; yet they condescend to say, "Disposed, however, to defer to the judgment of the Church, we leave this subject with you." But they left it to the Church with the assurance that a separation must inevitably come, sooner or later, and all that remained to be decided was, whether the time had already come. If the annual conferences should agree with them, they proposed a plan of proceeding by which a convention of delegates should assemble at Louisville, Kentucky, to take such measures in the premises as might, to that body, seem necessary. The preliminary steps were taken at the coming annual conferences. The delegates met, and the work of separation was consummated; the new Church adopting the Discipline, doctrines, and ritual, of the Methodist Episcopal Church entire, except with such verbal alterations as might be found necessary to adapt it to a separate and distinct ecclesiastical organization.

The "History of the Organization," etc., contains the proceedings of the slaveholding annual conferences, severally, *in extenso*, as well as those of the Louisville convention. The grievances which impelled to separation are reiterated again and again, but we do not find that they vary materially from those which are enumerated in the Decla-

ration and Protest to which we have referred. These may all be summed up in the alleged violation of what they are pleased to call the "compromise law of the Discipline," contained in the tenth section, in the case of Mr. Harding and Bishop Andrew; the agitations of the questions of slavery and abolition among the Methodists of the free States, and the frequent action on these subjects in the General Conference. To all which it may be, and has been answered, that the tenth section of the Discipline contains nothing in the nature of a compromise law, and has no single attribute of a "treaty" or "compact," as the "Protest" vainly argues; but is simply a rule of discipline, containing all that the General Conference found itself able to do, for "the extirpation of the great evil of slavery," in view of the action of the legislatures of the slaveholding States, restraining the manumission of slaves, with the privilege to the emancipated of enjoying freedom.

But whatever may be the nature of the rule of discipline referred to, whether "compact," "treaty," "compromise," or simple rule of discipline, having the same character as all other rules enacted by the General Conference, it has no connexion with or bearing on the case of Bishop Andrew. The General Conference did not arraign him under it, or justify their action by any application of it to his case. That body looked elsewhere in the Discipline for the justification of the course they took in the premises. They found it written expressly, that a bishop was amenable to the General Conference, "who have power to expel him for improper conduct, if they see it necessary." They deemed it "improper conduct" in Bishop Andrew, to place himself voluntarily in a position which rendered him wholly unavailable to the larger portion of the Church as a general superintendent; but they did not deem it "necessary" to proceed to extremities. They held, as it has always been held, that the rule authorized deposition; but as the position of Bishop Andrew was accompanied by some palliating circumstances, and might possibly be altered, they only advised that he should cease to exercise the functions of a general superintendent, or bishop, until he could do so without disturbing the peace of the Church.

But the minority of the conference, finding it impossible to evade the force or escape the consequences of this rule of discipline, resorted, in their speeches and "Protest," to doctrines, in respect to Methodist episcopacy, which, if not entirely new, had only been attributed by the most bitter enemies of our Church government, and which had been disavowed as a slander by its defenders. The episcopacy, in the view of the minority, was a "co-ordinate branch of the government," which is explained by the writer of the "Protest"

to mean "an independent department, a separate sphere of executive power of action, standing in the same relation to the Constitution that the General Conference does." A bishop, therefore, is not amenable, as such, to the General Conference, but only as a minister. He might be punished or expelled from the Church for immoral conduct, but his episcopal authority could be taken away in no other mode than by trial and conviction of crime. He might become imbecile, offensive in manners, if not criminally so, and produce universal discontent, and the Church could have no relief, even through the action of the General Conference. Why not assume the "Divine right," and the "indelible imprint" at once?

To sustain this view of the episcopacy, its advocates were compelled to take high-Church grounds, bordering upon Puseyism itself. Our episcopacy, they alleged, "in its origin and perpetuation, is derived from Mr. Wesley alone;" and the right of episcopal jurisdiction is communicated in ordination, and not in election by the General Conference. Here is the Divine right of succession with a vengeance, differing from the prelatical pretension only in deriving the succession through presbyters instead of bishops; for Mr. Wesley was only a presbyter. He had expressly denounced the prelatical doctrine of succession as a fable; and we are not to suppose, without some proof, that he held the doctrine of succession through presbyters as a whit more orthodox than through prelates.

But these high-Church notions of episcopal authority, independence, and jurisdiction, had to encounter the well-settled theory of Methodist episcopacy, as stated and explained by the first bishops of the Church, and by Dr. Emory in his "Defence of the Fathers;" and it was crushed and utterly annihilated by the contact. Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury in their notes, or commentaries, on the Discipline, published by the request of the General Conference, expressly declare "the American bishops are as responsible as any of the preachers. They are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference." The italicising follows the copy. And, again: "They [the bishops] are perfectly dependent upon the General Conference." And yet again: "Among us there is no exception. Our bishops are bound to obey, and submit to the General Conference." There is much more of the same import in these commentaries, but the above quotations may suffice to show that the high-Church notions of episcopal authority and independence assumed in the Protest, constituted no part of primitive American Methodism, or of the opinions of those who instituted Methodist episcopacy.

Nor has there been any change in this respect since the present form of Church government was instituted; Dr. Coke was dispos-

sessed of his episcopal authority, at the General Conference of 1808, by simple resolution, without formal charges or trial. And it is well known that the same body repealed a minute, in which they had, in the exuberance of their gratitude, constituted Mr. Wesley the absolute governor of the Church; and few sessions of the body since that time can be referred to in which its supremacy, within the restrictive articles, is not asserted by direct action in regard to episcopal authority, limiting and controlling it as occasion required, without the least intimation of restraint from any source but the constitutional article which forbids "destroying the episcopacy, or altering the plan of our genĕral itinerant superintendency." The bishops, in their Address to the General Conference of 1844, confirm this view of episcopal subordination, and expressly recommend a jealous supervision of episcopal administration. Dr. Emory, in his "Defence of the Fathers" against the charges of Alexander M'Caine in his "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," takes the same view of our episcopacy, and his "Defence" was sanctioned by the approbation of the whole Church, North and South.

It would appear, therefore, that this novel doctrine of episcopal authority and jurisdiction was taken up by the delegates from the slaveholding conferences to serve a purpose, and was founded on no just or tenable grounds whatever. The General Conference had a perfect right to hold Bishop Andrew responsible for any act "or conduct" which rendered him, in any degree, unavailable in the discharge of the official duties and prerogatives they had imposed or conferred by his election in 1832 to the office of bishop or superintendent. He had been elected, on the recommendation of Southern delegates, as being in other respects qualified, and as being free from the embarrassment of "slaveholding." It was perfectly well understood that Dr. Capers would have been the choice of the majority had he not frankly stated his inextricable entanglement with this "great evil," and recommended James O. Andrew as being, like himself, a Southern man, but a non-slaveholder. It was, for good reasons, desirable to elevate a Southern man to the office of bishop, though it was impracticable to impose a slaveholder on a large portion of the Church; and hence the Rev. J. O. Andrew was taken up by the delegates from the conferences which had preserved their members from the "evil," although they held much territory in slaveholding States, and he was elected. He was a member of a conference in the extreme South, and the extreme South claimed to be represented in the episcopacy. It was judged to be a matter of expediency and prudence to gratify their wishes.

if it could be done without electing a slaveholder, and the opportunity to do so was found in the Southern recommendation of Mr. Andrew to their choice.

From the first organization of the Church in 1784, to the assembling of the conference of 1844, no slaveholder had been elected to the episcopal office. In 1832 and in 1836, strong claims to a slaveholding bishop were made by the more ultra pro-slavery delegates, and Bishop Andrew's election was opposed by some of his personal friends from the South because he was supported as a candidate by those who objected to a slaveholding bishop. In 1836, the ultraists among the Southern delegates were requested by the Baltimore Conference delegation, to nominate a Southern man for the episcopal office who was not a slaveholder, with a promise to support him; but they replied, that "if they had a hundred men, in every other respect qualified, but not a slaveholder, they would not nominate one." The consequence was, that the Rev. Messrs. Waugh and Morris were elected; and already the intimation came from Southern delegates that a secession had become necessary,—a necessity, however, which they patiently endured until they found a slaveholding bishop made to their hand, and who submitted to their dictum not to resign, but to brave all consequences for the purpose of "testing the principle."

Upon a review of the whole matter, we think no just ground of offence was given to the South at the General Conference of 1844 by the action in the case of Bishop Andrew. The charge of acting without law, above law, and contrary to law, is to the last degree unjust. The conference acted toward him with the greatest delicacy, tenderness, and kindness. They had heard that he had acted improperly; not to the amount of crime or immorality, but, nevertheless, to a degree which rendered him an unsuitable general superintendent of the Church; and they directed the Standing Committee on the episcopacy to inquire into the fact. The committee invited the bishop to meet them. He did so, and agreed to make a statement of the facts in writing. This statement was submitted to the conference as the report of the committee, and upon this, the bishop's own voluntary statement of the case, without calling witness to give even a different colouring of the facts, the conference proceeded to act by resolution, and determined what, in their judgment, it was proper for the bishop to do, in order to prevent the injury which the impediment he had raised to his acceptability and usefulness would inevitably occasion. He was, moreover, heard in his own defence, and the whole subject was discussed for several weeks, chiefly by his advocates, before the decision was had. Surely

no man could desire to be dealt with more respectfully and tenderly than Bishop Andrew was; and yet the proceedings in his case have been denounced in the South with an asperity of condemnation almost unparalleled in ecclesiastical controversy. The principal grievance of the South has really no foundation at all.

The proceedings in the case of Mr. Harding were covered by the tenth section of the Discipline. There is no law in Maryland by which a manumitted slave can be reduced again to slavery. Slaves can be legally set free, and permitted to enjoy freedom in the State, and instances of it are constantly occurring. But it is alleged, and perhaps truly, that the slaves were by law the property of his wife. He admitted, however, that his wife would concur in the manumission if it could be legally executed. But if this had not been the fact, he was inexcusable in not securing the freedom of the slaves before marriage, as he knew he could not be available as an itinerant minister, and would not have been received as such by the Baltimore Conference. That conference has a large district of territory in Pennsylvania, where a slaveholding preacher would not be received; and it is doubtful whether such a preacher could be sent with propriety, or hope of usefulness, to a large proportion of her Maryland territory. The case of Harding served the purpose of the South for the time. We do not suppose he would *now* pass for a "martyr" or a "confessor," even with Dr. Smith.

There remains to be removed only the intolerable grievance of "agitation on the subject of slavery and abolition in the North," and the frequent action of the General Conference on those subjects. Of the last, it is impossible to see how the conference could avoid such action. The South sometimes brought up subjects which necessarily involved such action; and as the conference could not deny the right of petition, some action was demanded, even in respect to the most ultra petitions of the North. They must be received and referred. But it is admitted that no action of the two preceding conferences gave offence to the South. Delegates from the slaveholding conferences repeatedly admitted that they were eminently conservative. And as to the agitations complained of, the South were beyond their reach. All the injury sustained from them fell upon the Northern and Western Churches. It is evident, therefore, that these complaints are only brought in as make weight. The real grievance was, that the established usage of the General Conference excluded slaveholding ministers from the episcopal office.

The Louisville Convention, constituted of delegates elected by the annual conferences wholly in slaveholding States and Territories, assembled in Louisville, Kentucky, on the first day of May, 1845.

A large committee was appointed "to take into consideration, and report on, the propriety and necessity of a Southern organization, according to the Plan of Separation adopted by the late General Conference," &c. But the convention did not await the report of the committee on the propriety and necessity of the measure, but, on motion of Dr. W. A. Smith, determined the matter, instructing the committee to report in favour of separation, if they found there was no reasonable ground of hope that the Northern majority would recede from their ground, &c. How the committee was to ascertain the disposition of the Northern majority of the late General Conference in respect to the subject, does not appear. The committee, nothing loth, reported the "Plan," and it was adopted with very few dissenting votes.

In their "Resolutions," the convention justifies its action by "the Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844," though the Report of the Committee, which was adopted, in addition to this ground, enters into an elaborate vindication of the measure from the acknowledged inherent rights of man. How far this act of the convention is justified by the "Plan of Separation," depends upon what a strict interpretation of its provisions imports, and upon the constitutional right of the General Conference to enact it. As to the rights of man, whether moral, social, or political, they are wholly irrelevant, as it is not the right of secession that is claimed, but the right to constitute a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church under a separate organization and independent jurisdiction.

In all fairness we must admit that "the Report of the Committee of Nine," adopted by the General Conference of 1844, did authorize a division of the Church contingently. The contingency which was to justify it was *necessity*, and of this necessity the annual conferences in the slaveholding States were to be the judges. The condition expressed in the first "Resolution" is, "Should the annual conferences in the slaveholding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connexion," &c. These conferences did, with all formality, proceed to decide that the contingency had occurred, both in their primary assemblies, and in a convention of delegates, duly elected and instructed by their constituencies. The act, therefore, was justified by the authority given in the "Plan of Separation," if the General Conference of 1844 had the constitutional power to enact it.

We are aware that it has been objected, that the delegates from the South to the General Conference of 1844, anticipated the decision of their annual conferences, and determined the necessity of a

separation, in an "Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Slaveholding States and Territories." This is true; and it is also true, that some of these delegates did attend meetings of the societies immediately after their return, called for the purpose of taking into consideration the grievances of the South, and expressing their opinion on the measures necessary to be taken in the premises; and, moreover, that they did, so far from attempting to soothe the asperities which had been awakened, address themselves to the passions of their audiences, appealing to the feelings and sensibilities of the public, as well as the members of the Church, in respect to slavery and abolition, in consequence of which the most violent and abusive resolutions were passed by these meetings. But all this was the unofficial action of individuals, however numerous, and could not affect the validity of the "Plan of Separation," which addressed itself solely to the annual conferences of the slaveholding States. The conduct of the delegates may be justly impugned as a breach of confidence toward the majority of the General Conference of 1844, who, it seems, were mis-led into the belief that the Southern delegates would only submit to a *necessity* for separation, not create that necessity. They would bear with the action of the General Conference if their people could be persuaded to bear it; but they must go with the people of their pastoral care. All this may have been said by very eminent men among the minority, and intimations to the like effect may have been given in debate; but there is nothing of it in the bond—the official agreement, and therefore the agreement is not violated, or vitiated by it. So much we are compelled to admit; but we do not, therefore, admit that the action of the Louisville Convention was justified by the "Plan of Separation." We contend that the Plan itself could confer no legal authority to divide the Church, as the General Conference had no constitutional right to pass or enact it. Nay, we hold that they were clearly, and in terms, prohibited from doing so by the constitution of the Church; and hence the succeeding General Conference, immediately representing the judgment of their constituent assemblies—the annual conferences, had a right to repeal the unconstitutional enactment, and to declare it null and void, *ab initio*. The General Conference of 1848 did repeal the enactment; and the second publication placed at the head of this article is a "Bill of Exceptions," spread out into more than two hundred pages, against the action of the conference in this regard, as well as against the action of annual conferences, editors, and agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, antecedently to the session of the conference.

We are sorry we cannot say for the second, what we have said of the first work we are called upon to review, that it is written with as much fairness, perhaps, as could have been reasonably expected under the circumstances. "The Appeal to Public Opinion" and "Exceptions" abound in gross mis-statements and perversion of facts; in coarse and vulgar abuse of official bodies and individuals; and in the ascription of the worst motives to both. The style and language does not affect the dignified, sober manner of argumentative discussion, but assumes the dogmatic, *ipse dixit* style of unquestioned, absolute authority. No matter whether the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the annual conferences, agents, or editors are spoken of, all are either fools or knaves. Nothing else can account for their differing in opinion from the writer—we will not say the writers, for the paternity is well known. The bloated, bombastic style, the overbearing tone and temper, and the bold, unscrupulous assumption of superiority throughout the work, would betray the authorship, even if the name of the writer had not appeared in the title-page. A few specimens out of hundreds which might be given, will afford the reader an opportunity to justly appreciate the work before us. Take the following:—

"We regard Christianity as dishonoured in its claims, and damaged in its influence by all such movements, [anti-slavery movements;] and to the extent any Church may become a pander to such methods of influence and distinction, we decline intercourse; and no array of adverse combinations—no "World's Alliance [Evangelical Alliance] shall ever drive us into such a desecration of the divine claims of Christianity. We leave every Church of this description [innuendo, the Methodist Episcopal Church] alone in its glory and shame. We have no sympathy with its extra Christian optimism."—P. 27.

"We submitted, and went with the Northern portion of the Church for the sake of peace, and on the ground of compromise, until we became perfectly satisfied that they were *off the Bible*, and against the laws and polity of the country on the subject [that is, of slavery]—were ultra and fanatic; impatient of the restraints of truth and right—assailing and attempting to undermine and overthrow civil institutions existing under the full sanction of the national compact—sowing discord, and promoting disunion throughout the different States, as divided upon the question; and then we deemed it time to stop, and informed them distinctly we would no longer submit to such a course."—P. 29.

Now it is of the Methodist Episcopal Church that all this is said, not of individual members. The conference of 1844 did nothing, absolutely nothing on the subjects of abolition or slavery; while at the conferences of 1840 and 1836, all that was done was eminently conservative, the Southern delegates themselves being judges. Upon what ground then do the above denunciations rest? How has the Methodist Episcopal Church got "*off the Bible*," turned "fanatics" and "disturbers" of the public peace? Remember, this is said in

an "appeal to public opinion." Is it any marvel, then, that mobs in the South have forcibly ejected our preachers from their pulpits, and by threats of violence prevented them from preaching the Gospel. Or is it any wonder that with these sentiments and feelings, southern preachers should hasten to take possession of the houses of worship from which our preachers have been thus forcibly and lawlessly ejected? But here is more of it: "The light and darkness of heaven and hell are scarcely in more unyielding contrast than the conduct of the Northern Methodist Church and that of Christ and his apostles, in their action on the subject of slavery."

Again:—

"Here may be seen at once the necessity for separation between the North and the South of the Methodist Church. The whole movement North is a proclamation of notice, that the defective legislation of Heaven on the subject of slavery can be borne no longer, and must be supplemented by 'another Gospel'—the rare interfusions, and superadditions of abolition ethics and anti-slavery propagandism."—P. 30.

Now, although the Methodist Episcopal Church had always firmly resisted the fanaticism of the ultra abolitionists, so that they have nearly all withdrawn from the Church and set up, like our brethren of the South, "a separate ecclesiastical organization," yet we must do them the justice to say, that we have never heard them charged with desiring to add a supplement to the Bible. They only contended that their notions were already in the Bible. But the writer intended only a rhetorical flourish. He would say something bold and strong, in a language far-fetched and recondite. He is ever endeavouring to give us better bread than can be made of wheat. Who can fail to recognise in these extracts, the hand of "Vindex," "Neal," "Presbyter," and "Dissenter," of "Mutual Rights" memory? But we have given enough of this appeal to the public to show the character of the work. If all this is said of the Methodist Episcopal Church itself—and it is only a very small sample of what is said of it—our readers can easily imagine how individual opponents fare. And now having given specimens of the writer's rhetoric, let us examine his logic.

It is asserted in the Appeal—as it is elsewhere by the supporters of the separation—with the air of demonstration, that the General Conference of 1844 had constitutional authority to enact the "Plan of Separation," by virtue of the "full powers" granted to the General Conference at the time of its institution, "to make all necessary rules and regulations for the government of our Church." The constitution adds, however—what we shall show is fatal to the pretension—the words, "*under the following limitations and restrictions.*" Of

these limitations and restrictions we shall show that two of them at least are violated in the "Plan of Separation." But apart from the restrictions, the question is, Does the power to make "rules and regulations for the government of 'our' Church—that is, the Methodist Episcopal Church—grant or imply the power to create and organize another Church, with separate jurisdiction and independent legislative authority?" This is the real question to be determined. But, so stated, the affirmative would be so absolutely and ridiculously absurd, that no man, whose reputation for common sense and honesty was worth preserving, would venture to support it. Its deformity must, therefore, be not only covered, but decked in the most meretricious ornaments. Accordingly it is argued that the new Church is not another Church, but the very same, because it is to be built of the same materials—the same ministry and the same members; only it is to have independent powers of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. How hopelessly mystical is this duality in unity. It reminds us of the sage decision of the Irish court, who determined that "the county should build a new jail; that the new structure should be built with the materials of the old one; and that the old jail should stand until the new one was built." The idea of identity between two communities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, having each a perfectly distinct and independent government, may, for all we know, be very profound, but it is equally intangible, inscrutable, and incomprehensible. Our readers will indulge us when, with all humility, we beg to be excused the task of discussing a proposition which we confess we do not understand, after all the verbiage which is wasted upon it in the books before us. We must leave it, where the advocates of the "distinct ecclesiastical organization" have placed it—"before the public."

But we have said that whatever be the "full powers" granted to the General Conference, they are granted under specific limitations and restrictions. The force of this objection is wont to be met by alleging that those limitations and restrictions are of no more force than any other act of the General Conference which may be annulled by its subsequent action. The restrictions were imposed, it is said, by a General Conference, and the General Conference might, at any future time, set them aside by virtue of inherent power.

The fallacy of this argument will be best exposed by a brief history of the institution of the General Conference as now composed. Originally the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was composed of *all* the travelling preachers in full connexion. The body as thus constituted met for the last time in 1808. It was invested with powers of government, limited only by the laws

of the Supreme Lawgiver, to whom all things are given by the Father, both in heaven and earth, and who is of right "head over all things to the Church." In this conventional capacity they did institute a delegated General Conference, transferring to, and vesting in, the then created body all the powers which the convention possessed to make rules and regulations for the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church; under the paramount laws of its Supreme Lawgiver; with certain specified exceptions, embraced in six restrictive articles. How the "all power," limited specifically by the same power which conferred it, can be without limitation or restriction we cannot conceive.

We take the following positions:—The act of the General Conference of 1844, in enacting the "Plan of Separation," was wholly unconstitutional, being not only without constitutional warrant, but in violation of the constitution. The authority was not found in the powers given; but it was positively excepted in the restrictive articles. And,

First. The "all power" given in the constitution "to make rules and regulations for the government of 'our' Church,"—that is, for the Methodist Episcopal Church,—does not confer, and does not imply the power to divide the Church, and to erect another, and an independent Church, within the jurisdictional limits of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And the pretension that the "Plan" did not look to or authorize the erection of another Church prospectively, and upon a contingency, is inadmissible and utterly absurd. The "rule or regulation" thus enacted, could not be construed to be "for the government of our Church;" but to release a large portion of the Church from its government. But we cannot think it necessary to sustain by further argument so plain a position as this. Those who take the opposite ground, do so upon the supposition that the "Plan" did not propose the erection of "another" Church; but only to divide the jurisdiction of the same Church. The constitution, however, gives the General Conference no more power to *divide* the Church, than to create a new one within its limits and jurisdiction. But the "Plan" does, in fact, look to, and provides for, the erection of another Church organization, with separate and independent powers of government, absolute, and without restriction; and the Louisville Convention professedly acting upon "the Plan of Separation" did withdraw from the jurisdiction and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, creating and organizing a separate ecclesiastical organization, owing no more obedience or allegiance to the Methodist Episcopal Church, than to the "Protestant Episcopal" or the "Presbyterian Church."

Secondly. Two of the restrictive articles of the constitution are violated by the "Plan of Separation." The first is, the article which prohibits the delegated General Conference from "altering" the plan of our general itinerant superintendency. It is as follows:—"They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."—*Discipline*, p. 27.

We contend that the "Plan of Separation," if it does not absolutely destroy our episcopacy, does most materially *alter the plan* of the "general itinerant superintendency." According to the Discipline, the general superintendents have a common right to appoint the preachers to their several stations and circuits, wherever they may preside in an annual conference, and the right so to preside is common to all the bishops, and in every part of the connexion. They have also the right to decide all points of law which may arise in an annual conference, though the application of the law to the case under consideration is with the annual conference. The plan of individual visitation is left with the bishops themselves, provided that the general itinerant superintendency is preserved—that is, that no dioceses shall be created, localizing or limiting within prescribed bounds the authority, or confining the official prerogatives of the bishops to particular districts. The "Plan of Separation" authorizes the division of the Church, and the establishment of a line, beyond which the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall not pass, or carry their official authority; and it is maintained, that the annual conferences from which they are excluded, constitute, after the division, a part of the same Church over which they were appointed to exercise their episcopal oversight. The same Church we say; for this is contended for by the South, as part of the "Plan of Separation." The same Church, only with a separate and independent jurisdiction! If this is not an alteration of the *plan* of our general itinerant superintendence, we cannot conceive how it can be altered.

At the General Conference of 1820, great stress was laid upon the word "plan," in the restrictive article, by the Southern delegations. A motion coming from delegates from an opposite quarter, proposed to alter the mode of appointing the presiding-elders. Under the Discipline this had been heretofore done by the bishop who presided at the annual conference within whose district the presiding-elders were to exercise their peculiar functions. It was now proposed that they should be elected by their conferences, severally. To this it was objected, and the objection was sustained by the Southern delegations with great unanimity—that it would "alter

the *plan*" of the general itinerant superintendency. By the "plan," was to be understood whatever related to episcopal power and prerogative, and it could not be constitutionally altered or modified by the General Conference. After long and able debate, the matter was referred to a committee, selected from both parties, who reported compromise resolutions. These resolutions provided that the bishop should nominate, and the conferences elect the presiding elders. One of the Committee, in whose judgment the Southern delegates had great confidence, declared that, in his opinion, the reported resolutions did not "touch the plan," and they were adopted by a very large majority.

At this stage of the proceedings, the Rev. Joshua Soule, who had been elected to the Episcopal office a few days before, wrote a note to the Bishops, informing them that if ordained he would not execute the rule lately adopted in regard to the mode of appointing the Presiding Elders, as he believed it to be unconstitutional. This placed the bishops in a dilemma. They considered themselves bound to execute the orders of the General Conference, and that body had elected Mr. Soule to the episcopacy, thereby placing him in their hands for ordination. And yet, it did appear improper to ordain a person to the episcopal office who had declared he would not, or could not obey the conference. There was no alternative but to lay the matter before the conference. This done, Mr. Soule formally declined ordination, and it was supposed a new election must be had. But an expedient was found by which things were restored to their former position. The conference suspended the resolutions for four years, and Mr. Soule consented to be ordained. Another suspension took place in 1824; and finally, the resolutions were repealed in 1828.

Such were the opinions of Bishop Soule, and the Southern delegates, with respect to the *plan* of the general itinerant superintendency, in 1820. But times and circumstances change, and men change with times and circumstances. In 1820 it was, in the view of Bishop Soule and the Southern members of the General Conference,—some, and the most influential of whom were also members of the conference of 1844,—essential to the plan of "our general itinerant superintendency," that even the power to select and appoint presiding elders should remain in the episcopacy, absolute and entire. Now, they tell us, it is no violation of the same "plan" to divide the field of episcopal oversight into two parts, still constituting only one Church, but to exclude the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church from nearly one half the annual conferences. Such is the logic of the books under review.

The second restrictive article to which we have referred, as being violated by the "Plan of Separation," is in these words:—"They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal: neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal."—*Discipline*, p. 28.

The "Plan of Separation" wholly disregards the prohibitions in this article of the constitution. It allows indeed to members on the border a right of choice as to church relation; and to ministers of every grade the utmost latitude in this respect. But to interior charges nothing is allowed. The line of division once fixed and settled, every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church whose location places him in one of these interior charges, constituting the great body of the membership in the slaveholding States and Territories, is utterly cut off and separated from the Church relation which he had sought from choice, and into which he had been received under a positive provision of the constitution that he should not be expelled therefrom, without trial, and the right of appeal; and under disciplinary regulations, which secured to him a trial by his peers, and the right of appeal to the quarterly conference of his circuit or station. It was of no consequence whether he did or did not prefer a connexion with the Southern organization. He was transferred, like a Russian serf, with the soil. The language of the "Plan of Separation" is explicit and imperative in respect to interior charges within the bounds of the Church South. "The ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall in no wise attempt to organize Churches or societies within the limits of the Church South, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein." Thus those who declined to enter the "Church South" were cut off from all the privileges they had heretofore enjoyed as Methodists. "The interior charges," the "Plan" says, "shall in all cases be left to the care of that Church *within whose territory they are situated.*" There could not, surely, be a more palpable violation of the constitutional restriction than the "Plan of Separation" perpetrated.

At the General Conference of 1848, numerous petitions and memorials were sent up from districts within the bounds of the separating conferences, earnestly beseeching the conference to revoke the sentence of excommunication against the petitioners. They had never forfeited their *rights* as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had not abandoned them by joining the Church South; although they had belonged to interior charges, now within the territory of the said Church. They were, by the "Plan of Separation," deprived of the ministry which they preferred; and the

benefit of the institutions of the Church of their choice; and had suffered great persecution for refusing to adhere to the new organization. The memoralists amounted in number to nearly three thousand souls. The conference did all they could for their relief. They declared the "Plan of Separation" null and void, and thereby took off the restriction upon the ministers of the Church in regard to "oversight" and the organizing Churches and societies within the territory of the Church South.

But the constitutional right of the General Conference to divide the Church is attempted to be sustained by precedent. The Canada Conference was authorized to erect itself into a separate and independent Church by the General Conference of 1828. To this it would be sufficient to reply, that two wrongs cannot make a right. The assumption of a constitutional power by the conference in one instance, if the assumption was unwarranted, does not create the power, or justify its exercise. But there is really no parity, nor even much resemblance in the cases. The Canada Conference never was strictly and legally a component part of "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States;" for the reason that it was not in the United States at all. It was, in fact, a Mission Conference, although allowed to send delegates to the General Conference from the very necessity of the case. The Methodist Episcopal Church could have no legal right to the houses of worship, cemeteries, or parsonages of the Church in Canada; and if the Canada Conference had seceded without the consent or approbation of the General Conference, they would have carried with them, without any conventional agreement of parties, the legal right to such property. But a secession from the Church by any annual conference in the United States would not legally take with it any property of this kind. The representatives of the Canada Conference stated, in 1828, that they laboured under great and growing disabilities and embarrassments from their connexion with, and subordination to, a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and the General Conference released them. This is all: but how does this justify a division of the Church in the United States, and how does it affect the constitutional restrictions, which so plainly forbid such exercise of power? But ought not the Southern Church to be cautious how they urge this fanciful precedent? The "property question" is yet unsettled; and if this precedent is worth anything, it may have an important bearing against the Southern claim. We are aware that the Church South were, at first, mis-led by the "historian of the Church," and asserted upon his authority that the Canada Conference received ten thousand dollars for their interest in the Book Concern and the

Chartered Fund; and the assertion is reiterated in the books under review. But it is not true, notwithstanding. The Canada Conference did not receive a dollar, according to the official records of the Church. We, however, think the Canada case of as little importance in the decision of the property question, as in the constitutional question.

To notice the many mis-statements of fact with which the "Appeal to the Public" abounds, would be impracticable within the space to which we are limited; and it would be unnecessary were it practicable. But we cannot pass over the misrepresentation of the case of Dr. Pierce. The "Appellants" say: "Take the case of Dr. Pierce, the representative of the South, deputed to bear the tender of Christian salutation to the Northern General Conference, rejected with scorn too bitter even to be civil, because accredited from a slaveholding Church." It seems, by the above quotation, that the appellants think Dr. Pierce might have been rejected with scorn—nay, with *bitter* scorn, if not *too* bitter—without rendering the Conference liable to the charge of incivility. Now we differ with them in this, as in almost everything else. We think that to have treated Dr. Pierce with scorn at all, whether bitter or sweet,—with any, even the least degree of scorn,—would have been very uncivil indeed; absolutely contraband of Christian etiquette, and, what is worse, of Christian obligation. The Doctor is a very worthy man, and an eminent minister of the Gospel. There were, we believe, few, if any, members of the General Conference, who did not highly esteem and sincerely love him.

The General Conference did, however, decline to enter into the "fraternal relations" with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which he had been commissioned to offer; but they also did by "resolution" tender to him personally the assurance of their respect and Christian regards, inviting him to attend their sessions. This is not all. The conference did not reject the proposition of Dr. Pierce for the reason, any more than in the manner stated by the appellants. It was not because he was accredited by a *slaveholding Church* that he was not received in his official capacity, but because he represented a *belligerent Church*, which had been and was still waging a ruthless war upon the Methodist Episcopal Church along her whole southern border. The General Conference thought that *fraternal relations* implied peace at least, if nothing more; and they could not declare that a Church was at peace with them, much less sustaining fraternal relations, who, according to abundant evidence in their possession, had violated in numerous instances the obligations of the very "Plan of Separation" on which they based their right to erect their Church,—entering into the ter-

ritory of the Ohio, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Philadelphia Annual Conferences, seducing interior societies, stations, and circuits from their allegiance, and taking the "pastoral oversight" of them, contrary to the express provisions of the "Plan" they so much glorify; and, what is worse, taking possession of houses of worship, and performing ministerial services in them, from which the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been driven by lawless mobs, who neither feared God, nor regarded man; thus enlisting "Lynch law" as an auxiliary to the "Plan of Separation."

Nor was all this the act of individuals, for which the "Church South" could not be held responsible. The very worst aggressions complained of had their origin in a resolution of the Louisville Convention, authorizing minorities of conferences, not adhering to the Southern organization, to send delegates to their General Conference; and the first General Conference held under the "organization" specifically, and in due form, sanctioned these aggressions. The General Conference was therefore under the necessity of annulling the "Plan of Separation,"—boundaries and all, seeing that no boundary lines were observed or acknowledged on the other side.

The "Appeal," while it pours out unmeasured abuse on the General Conference for declaring the "Plan of Separation" null and void, insists vehemently, that the "Plan" did not fix any line of separation, but only the basis of a line; as if a line of demarcation could be separated, even in idea, from its basis. This, however, is mere logomachy. The annual conferences in the slaveholding States were allowed, upon the occurrence of a certain contingency, to separate themselves from the Methodist Episcopal Church and to enter into a "distinct ecclesiastical connexion." The Northern boundary lines of these conferences must therefore be the limits of their jurisdiction, and the boundary line between the two Churches. Some latitude of choice was allowed to societies on the border, but none to entire societies. The last were to remain undisturbed under the care of the ministry of that Church within whose territory they might be found to reside. The appellants, however, declared that even the interior societies, circuits, stations, and conferences, who did not, formally and by resolution, vote to adhere to the Methodist Episcopal Church, are to be considered neutral ground; yet *neutral* ground which may be, as it has been made, an arena of strife and contention between the Churches. The line, although by the admission of the appellants the General Conference fixed the basis, has really no basis at all, but is liable to be pushed North or South as strength or address may prevail. Surely it was a very harmless thing which was done by the General Conference of 1848. It only

repudiated a boundary, which was declared by the opposite party to have neither fixed line nor basis, in earth, air, or water.

Upon an impartial review of the whole matter,—both the action of the General Conference of 1844 in the case of Bishop Andrew, and the controversy which grew out of it,—will not any disinterested inquirer come to the same conclusion to which a celebrated United States Senator came, and which he announced in his place in the Senate, that he could not perceive any good ground for the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church? The Senator said he had read the whole controversy carefully; and we may suppose he was furnished with all that had been written upon the Southern side of the question at least, as he is one of the advocates retained to plead their cause in the suit at law they have instituted, to procure a division of the Book Concern and the Chartered Fund; yet with all his sagacity, and with all the bias of an advocate in favour of his clients, he had not been able to discover any good cause for their separation from the Church they had left. This, we believe, would be the conclusion to which any other impartial umpire would come. The cause of separation, therefore, must be looked for elsewhere, and will be found in the political contests to which slavery has given rise, and the exasperated state of feeling in the slaveholding States, which has unfortunately grown out of it. The Methodists in these States generally partook of these feelings, and the ministers still more than the private members, and they hastened to sever one of the ligaments which held the political confederacy together. How long the remaining ligaments will abide in their integrity and strength no human foresight may determine. May our merciful God, who has the hearts of all men in his hands, make them perpetual! Our confidence in statesmen and politicians has been fearfully shaken by the obvious infusion into their patriotism of party interests and party resentments, especially as we have seen these feelings operating with such irresistible force in men whom we had greatly esteemed—and do still esteem—for their wisdom and piety. To an overruling and omnipotent Providence, therefore, may we look for salvation from the awful, incalculable calamities of a political convulsion, bringing with it immediate sufferings too fearful to contemplate, and consequences which may be felt by the whole family of man. For who can doubt that the experiment now making by the United States, is destined either to prove the advantages of free and popular government, or to disappoint the best hopes of humanity in the capability of man to secure the blessings of liberty regulated by law, under purely republican institutions? But God is our refuge, in Him will we put our trust.

Art. IV.—THE GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

[FIRST PAPER.]

I. THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN GENERAL.

§ 1. *Origin and Design of the Sacred Ministry.*

Church government is grounded in the *Christian Ministry*, which is originally one with the *Apostolate*, and includes in itself the germ of all other Church-offices.

Its institution flows not from men, but directly from Christ. As the Lord was about to leave the earth, he clothed his disciples, whom he had trained for the purpose previously by a personal intercourse of three years, with a commission to carry forward his Divine work, to preach the Gospel to all nations, and baptize the penitent in the triune name of the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the human race. "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." For this purpose he imparted to them by an outward symbolical act the Holy Ghost, in the way of pledge first, and afterwards in full gift on the day of Pentecost: "And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." With this gift he joined at the same time the power of the keys; that is, power in his name and by his authority to open or shut the gates of heaven, to proclaim and certify remission of sins to the penitent, as well as Divine punishment to the impenitent: "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." John xx, 21–23; compare Matt. xvi, 19; xviii, 18; xxviii, 18–20. It is a false view, when Socinian and Rationalistic expositors see in this a special gift, which belonged to the apostles only in their own persons, and so became extinct with their death. Rather, the apostles appear here as the representatives of the ministerial office generally, of the whole congregation of the faithful indeed, to which the right of Church discipline is expressly granted, (compare Matt. xviii, 18 with verse 17,) just as the promise also of the Lord's continual presence passes over the apostolic age, and reaches forward to the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii, 18–20; xviii, 20.) The ministry of reconciliation is indispensable for the continuance of the Church, as well as for its first establishment. Hence Paul says of it, in distinction from the Old Testament ministry of the law: "If that which is done away was glorious, much more that *which remaineth* is glorious." 2 Cor. iii, 11.

The object of the Christian Ministry is no other than the object of Christ's own mission,—namely, the redemption of the world from sin and error, and the extension and completion of the kingdom of God, as a kingdom of truth, love, holiness, and peace. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, are divinely appointed, "for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry,* for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Eph. iv, 11–13. The spiritual office or Church ministry (*διακονία*) is the bearer of God's dispensations of grace, the regular channel through which the blessings of the Gospel flow to mankind, the organ through which the Holy Ghost works upon the world and transforms it still more and more into the kingdom of God. From its different sides and functions it takes different names. It is called the ministry of the *word*, (*διακονία τοῦ λόγου*, Acts vi, 4,) because the preaching of the Gospel is its first business, according to the commission from which it springs; (Matt. xxviii, 19 seq.; Mark xvi, 15;) again, the ministry of the *Spirit* (*διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος*, 2 Cor. iii, 8,) which maketh alive, in distinction from the Old Testament ministry of the letter, that killeth; the ministry of *righteousness*, (*διακ. τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, ver. 9,) which comes from faith in Christ and is owned of God, in contrast with the ministry of condemnation as proclaimed by the law; the ministry of *reconciliation*, (*διακ. τῆς καταλλαγῆς*. 2 Cor. v, 18,) as brought to pass by Christ between sinful men and a holy God.

Hence appear the endless importance, dignity, weight and responsibility of this calling. It is the main instrument for the execution of God's plan of mercy towards the world, and from it proceed almost all movements and advances in the Church. The apostles, and in wider view all ministers of the Gospel, are "the salt of the earth," by which the human family is preserved from corruption and kept in right savour; they are "the light of the world," from which the rays of eternal life are shed into the night of the natural heart, and made to irradiate all the relations of the living world; (Matt. v, 13–16;) they are "co-workers with God," (1 Cor. iii, 9,) and "stewards of the mysteries of God," which they are required faithfully to administer, and for which they must here-

* *Διακονία* is to be taken here in its wider sense, as denoting the particular service or function that falls to the members severally of Christ's body, for which they are to be fitted by the *διακονία* in the narrower sense—the ministry of apostles, prophets, &c. Compare on this whole passage, Eph. iv, 11–13, the instructive and thorough exposition of *Stier, Comm. zum Eph. Br. II. S.* 96 seqq.

after render an account; (1 Cor. iv, 12; Tit. i, 7; 1 Pet. iv, 10;) they are "ambassadors for Christ," (*ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν,*) who in his stead, as though God himself were beseeching by them, pray sinners, "Be ye reconciled to God." 2 Cor. v, 20. As the Lord himself comes in his servants, their reception or rejection is at the same time a reception or rejection of Christ, which is attended accordingly with a great blessing in the one case and with a heavy curse in the other: "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." Matt. x, 40 seqq., ver. 15; John xiii, 20; compare John xii, 26; xvii, 23; Matt. xxv, 40. Of course, however, this high position gives them no reason for self-exaltation, but forms an occasion, rather, for humility. Even a Paul, in view of the glory of an office which is to believers a savour of life unto life, to unbelievers a savour of death unto death, and from a deep sense of his own unworthiness, exclaims, "Who is sufficient for these things?" (2 Cor. ii, 16;) and refers all sufficiency to God's grace alone, (iii, 5, 6.) Just as little may they abuse their authority to lord it over conscience and to wrong the rights of the people; but are bound, rather, to be an example unto them in holy living, (1 Pet. v, 3,) that they may not preach to others and be themselves cast away; (1 Cor. ix, 27;) giving themselves up as true shepherds, with self-sacrificing devotion, to the welfare of the flock purchased with Christ's blood and committed to their care; (Acts xx, 28; compare John x, 12 seqq.,) bearing in mind that, according to the rule of the kingdom of heaven, greatness and rank are to be measured by the scale of humility and love,—"Whosoever will be great among you," saith the Lord to his disciples, "let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Matt. xx, 26–28; compare Luke xxii, 26–30. For their office is indeed a service, as the original Greek term for it, *διακονία,* imports,—ministers are immediately and in the highest view servants of God and of Christ, (2 Cor. vi, 4; 1 Cor. iii, 5; iv, 1;) but for this very reason also, in the true sense servants of the congregation for their eternal welfare, as Paul writes to the Corinthians, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." 2 Cor. iv, 5; compare Coloss. i, 25.

§ 2. *Development of Government out of the Apostolate.*

Church-Officers and Congregation-Officers.

Originally, as already remarked, the ministerial office was one with the apostolical. With the outward and inward growth of the Church, however, the apostles found their sphere of work also en-

larged, so that it became impossible for them to sustain longer the sole charge of discipline and public worship, and recourse was had accordingly to a division of labour. In this way arose gradually, just as the wants of the Church and the pressure of circumstances required, the several single offices, which have their common root in the apostolate, and through it partake with different measure in its Divine origin, its powers, privileges and duties. The Lord himself gave no directions on the subject in detail, but left his disciples to the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Under this guidance they proceeded with the greatest wisdom and consideration, following closely the objective course of history, and conforming as far as possible to the existing arrangements of the *Jewish synagogue.* Hence, in the beginning the Church was looked upon merely as a sect or school (*αἱρεσις*, Acts xxiv, 5; xxviii, 22) within the wider theocratic communion, along with other sects, as the Pharisees (xv, 5; xxvi, 5,) and the Sadducees, (v, 17.) Even the apostle of the Gentiles, Paul himself, turned to the synagogues first, and moved in the order of their customary forms, till he was thrust out of them with his followers and friends. (Acts xiii, 5, 46; xiv, 1; xviii, 4–8; xix, 8–10; xxviii, 17–29.) At the same time, however, it is proper to remark here, that the analogy, which undeniably holds between the constitution of the apostolical Church and the Jewish synagogue, must not be pedantically extended to the smallest details, as has been sometimes done,* but at bottom is of force only as regards the organization of single congregations, the office thus of presbyters and deacons, and even here too those differences must not be overlooked which grew necessarily out of the essential distinction between the Christian and the Jewish principle.

In settling the number and division of the Church-offices, the passage Eph. iv, 11 seqq., is especially to be kept in view: "And he (Christ) gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." It is true that in this place (and more particularly in the

* For example, by *Campegius Vitringa*, who first brought out this analogy under a thorough and full view in his celebrated work: *De Synagoga Vetere Libri III.* 1696. Against him, the objections of *Mosheim* in his *Institutiones Majores*, p. 168–171, are in part not without ground. Compare on this point particularly also the work of Dr. *Richard Rothe*, (now in Bonn,) on the Commencement of the Christian Church, vol. i, 1847, p. 147 seqq. This is undoubtedly the most learned and acute work of modern times on the constitution of the Primitive Church, and in spite of its peculiar, almost universally disapproved, views with regard to the relation of the Church to the State, and the rise of episcopacy, it is a work of permanent value.

parallel passage 1 Cor. xii, 28–30, where the evangelists are left out, and, in their stead, the power of miracles and several other functions are mentioned, along with apostles, prophets and teachers) Paul speaks immediately and primarily of the so-called *charismata* or spiritual gifts, as the connexion clearly shows; but still these have a close relation to the offices, inasmuch as they form the Divine qualification and outfit for such trust, as it were the interior side of the offices, although they might appear also beyond these bounds. He does not propose besides a *complete* catalogue, since he passes over the deacons,* of whose existence other parts of the New Testament leave no doubt. If now we add these, and then take pastors and teachers to mean the same persons, those† namely who are elsewhere usually styled presbyters, or it may be also bishops, we get five classes of officers: *apostles, prophets, evangelists, presbyter-bishops,* (with the double function of teaching and government,) and *deacons.* These offices are so related to one another, that the higher still include in them such as are lower, but not the reverse. The apostles (as for example John, the writer of the Gospel, the Epistles and the Apocalypse) were at the same time prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, and had charge at first even of the business of the deacons. (Acts iv, 35, 37; vi, 2.) In the highest sense was this universal character true of Christ, who is expressly called apostle, (Heb. iii, 1,) prophet, (John iv, 19; vi, 14; vii, 40; Luke vii, 16; xxiv, 19; Acts iii, 22, seq.; vii, 37,) evangelist, (εὐηγγελίσατο, Eph. ii, 17,) styles himself the good shepherd, (John x, 11,) and condescends even, notwithstanding his participation in the Divine government of the world, to take the title minister or servant. (Luke xxii, 27; compare Matt. xx, 28; John xiii, 14; Philip. ii, 7.) In general, the different branches of the spiritual office are the organs through which Christ himself continues to exercise and carry forward upon the earth, by the Holy Ghost, his prophetical, priestly, and kingly work.

In the next place, however, these offices differ among themselves in this,—that the first three have reference to the general Church, while the presbyterate and diaconate look to single congregations.

* Allusion is had to them 1 Cor. xii, 28, in the word ἀντιλήψεις, which denotes the spiritual gift answerable to the office of the deacons.

† As may be inferred lawfully even from the circumstance, that the Apostle does not place τοὺς δὲ again before διδασκάλους but simply καὶ. This is noted strikingly by *Jerome:* "Non enim ait, alios pastores et *alios* magistros, sed alios pastores *et* magistros, ut qui pastor est, esse debeat et magister." So *Bengel* on the passage: "Pastores et doctores hic junguntur, nam *pascunt docendo* maxime, tum admonendo, corripiendo, etc."

This gives us the distinction of *ecclesiastical* and *congregational* systems, which *Rothe* especially brings into view; only that he is wrong in placing the last before the first. The entire organization has formed itself downwards from above, or from the general to the particular, and not in the contrary order. Even under the Old Testament the kingdom of God stood not in any local assembly or single tribe; rather, the tribes collectively formed the theocracy. This conception then passed forward directly to the Christian communion, as the true spiritual Israel and proper succession of the old faith. (Rom. ii, 28, seq.; iv. 11, seq.; 26, 17; ix, 6, seq.; 24, seqq.; xi, 1–7; Gal. iii, 7, 26–29; iv. 26; Col. iii, 11.) This consisted of all, of every nation, who were separated from the world by God's grace and called to eternal life; (the *ἐκλεκτοὶ, κλητοὶ θεοῦ*;) and such society of the elect (*ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*) distinguished itself from the ungodly world (the *κόσμος*,) as did the chosen people of the ancient covenant from the גוים, the *ἔθνη*, the nations with which they were surrounded. (Compare Acts ii, 47; xiii, 48; 1 Pet. i, 1, 2; Jude 1; Rom. i, 6, 7; 1 Cor. i, 2; Tit. i, 1, etc.) The apostles accordingly are always named first, (Eph. ii, 20; iv, 11; 1 Cor. xii, 28; *πρῶτον ἀποστόλους*, ver. 29, etc.,) and from their office all others have grown, like branches from a common stock. The broader sense of the Church, as being the totality of believers, the whole kingdom of Christ upon earth,* is the original sense; that by which it is taken to mean a particular local congregation, such as Corinth or Rome, is secondary and derived.† This is shown even by the passage where the term *ἐκκλησία* first meets us, and this, too, from the lips of the Lord himself. When he says of his Church, (namely, Matt. xvi, 18,) that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it, it refers necessarily to the Church in the complex view, since it is only this which is indestructible; while single congregations, and even large districts of country, where Christianity once flourished, have become spiritually dead or have been overwhelmed by the power of a false religion, such as Mohammedanism. In the first stadium of Christianity both conceptions properly fell together, as the Church was confined to the congregation at Jerusalem, and the apostles consequently were at the same time congregational officers. Still their mission and vocation looked from the beginning to the whole human family, the evangelization of all nations. (Matt. xxviii, 19; Mark xvi, 15.)

* Compare Matt. xvi, 18; Acts ix, 31; xx, 28; 1 Cor. x, 32; xii, 28; Eph. i, 22, seq.; iii, 10; v, 25 27, 32; 1 Tim. iii, 15, etc.

† *Rothe* himself allows this, p. 285.

§ 3. *Election and Ordination of Officers.*

The inward call to the Christian ministry, with the necessary furniture of gifts, can proceed only from the Holy Ghost; as Paul accordingly reminds the elders of Ephesus, that they were made overseers or bishops by the Holy Ghost, to feed the Church of God. (Acts xx, 28.) This, however, does not exclude the co-operation of the congregation. True, the apostles were chosen directly by Christ, as instruments for laying the first foundations of the Church. But as soon as there was any society of believers, nothing further took place without their active participation. This was shown even in the measure of supplying the vacant place of the traitor, after our Lord's ascension, Acts i, 15–26. Peter lays before the whole congregation here, consisting of about one hundred and twenty souls, the necessity of a choice to complete the sacred number of twelve; whereupon not only the apostles, but the disciples generally, designate (ἔστησαν, ver. 23,) Barsabas and Matthias as candidates; all pray for the discovery of the Divine will, (ver, 24,) and all give forth their lots;* (ver. 26;) and so a decision is reached finally in favour of Matthias. Much more must we expect such a regard to general rights in the choice of the ordinary congregational officers. At the first appointment of deacons, Acts vi, 1–6, the twelve call together the multitude of the disciples, (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, ver. 2,) and require them to make a choice; they fall in with the proposal, go into the election themselves, (ἐξελέξαντο, ver. 5, which refers to the immediately preceding πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος,) and then present the candidates to the apostles, not for confirmation, but only for ordination, (ver. 6.) As regards the presbyter-bishops, Luke informs us (Acts xiv, 23) that Paul and Barnabas appointed them to office in the newly-established congregations by taking the *vote* of the people, merely presiding thus over their choice. Such at least is the original and usual sense of the word χειροτονεῖν,† (compare 2 Cor. viii, 19.) But even taking it more generally, (as we find προχειροτονεῖν used of God, Acts x, 41,) the co-operation of the congregations is thus just as little excluded as it is by the charge

* Either dice, or more probably small tablets, which were inscribed with the name of a candidate and put into some sort of box or vessel. By this mode of choice, which as is well known the Moravians imitate in their marriages, (though of late less generally than in former times,) it was sought to place the decision, out of man's pleasure, and wholly in the hands of Divine Providence.

† From χείρ and τείνειν, *to stretch out the hand*, and hence *manum porrigendo suffragia dare, suffragiis creare.*

of Paul to Titus, Tit. i, 5.* For in the nature of the case, of course, the apostles and their delegates had the best judgment in such elections, and exercised the most influence; probably in young, inexperienced congregations they themselves nominated the candidates, so that it was only necessary for the new converts to concur in their favour. Assuredly, however, they had regard in this always to the wishes of the people, as may be seen from the direction in the Pastoral Epistles that only men of blameless reputation should be chosen to these dignities.† (1 Tim. iii, 2, 7, 10; Tit. i, 6, 7.) The formal right of the congregations to a living participation in all their affairs ought not to be called in question, though the actual exercise of it be conditioned by the measure of their spiritual maturity. All authority and power came indeed always from God, who is alone supreme, and from the Holy Ghost, who animates and rules the Church; but still the conveyance of it to a particular individual must, even for order's sake, be in some way humanly mediated, and why should not the Divine will be able to make itself known through the body of the people in the service of Christ, full as well as through one or more persons acting in their name? The democratic principle no doubt has its dangers; which, however, have their full counterpart again in other dangers belonging to the monarchical and aristocratic principle, while they disappear in proportion as the spirit of Christianity prevails in its true form.

The view now given of the way in which appointments to Church-offices took place, is confirmed by the testimony of the apostolical father, *Clement* of Rome, who in his first epistle to the Corinthians says expressly that the apostles appointed bishops and deacons "with the concurrence of the whole Church."‡

After the election followed the ordination, or a solemn induction into office by prayer and the imposition of hands, (a ceremony derived from Judaism, compare Numbers xxvii, 18, seq.) the symbol and medium of that communication of grace which the case was felt so urgently to require. So at the ordination of deacons, (Acts vi, 6,

* Compare *Rothe*, Die Anfänge, etc., s. 150, and *Neander*, A. G. I, s. 268.

† The course was similar in the choice of synagogue rulers, whose solemn introduction into office followed only after the consent of the congregation.

‡ *Συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*—Epist. ad Corinth., I. c., 44. Even Cyprian himself, in the third century, who marks an epoch we know in the development of hierarchical principle, says of election to the priesthood: "Quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos *plebe præsente sub omnium oculis* deligatur et dignus atque idoneus *publico* judicio ac testimonio comprobetur... ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata." (Ep. 68, p. 118, ed. Bened., I. p. 118, seq., ed. Tauchn.)

καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας.) It was natural, that the apostles themselves should perform this act, where they were present. In their absence it was performed by their delegates, such as Timothy and Titus; compare Tit. i, 5, and 1 Tim. v, 22, where Timothy is cautioned against *hasty* ordination (*χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει,*) so as not to make himself a partaker of other men's sins. From 1 Tim. iv, 14, however, it appears, that the presbyter-bishops also might ordain, or at least assist in the transaction; for Paul exhorts his disciple not to neglect the gift which was given to him by prophecy, (compare 1 Tim. i, 18, and Acts xvi, 2,) with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery or college of elders. From 2 Tim. i, 6, we learn indeed that Paul himself was present on the occasion; (*διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου*;) unless we assume two different cases,* which is very questionable. At all events, however, the part taken by the presbyters can have been no mere empty ceremony, as little as this was the case with the part taken by the congregations in the choice of their different officers, (compare also Acts ix, 17 and xiii, 3.)

§ 4. *Support of the Ministry.*

As to the *maintenance* of the different ecclesiastical and congregational officers, the Lord himself had already uttered the principle, "The labourer is worthy of his hire," (Matt. x, 11; Luke x, 7, seq.; compare Levit. xix, 13; Deut. xxiv, 14.) Yet he had previously warned his followers not to turn the work of the Gospel into a common trade, (Matt. x, 8, seq.;) for disinterestedness is one of the most needful and becoming accomplishments in one who proclaims the free and unmerited grace of God; and exhorts men to seek first of all the everlasting blessings of the kingdom of heaven. The same principle is proclaimed by Paul, in connexion with various apt illustrations: the soldier has his charges paid, the farmer partakes of the produce of his field, the shepherd lives from the milk of his flock; and so the minister of Christ, whose office is often represented under these images, has a just claim also to his own support from the Church in whose service he labours, (1 Cor. ix, 6–10,) the more especially as carnal or outward gifts are only a small recompense for spiritual and eternal benefits offered in exchange, (ver. 11). "Know ye not," he goes on to say, enforcing on his readers from another

* As is done for instance by *Rothe*. This passage is handled at some length, with reference to the views of English divines, by Dr. *Samuel Miller*, "Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry." Phil. 1830, 2d ed., p. 31, seqq.

quarter this self-evident but too often sadly-neglected duty, "that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel," (ver. 13, seq.) When he writes to Timothy, 1st Epis. v, 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour," the idea of remuneration is at least included;* as the immediately following verse shows, where he quotes the declaration of Christ already noticed, along with the Mosaic precept, (Deut. xxv, 4,) enjoining mercy to animals: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,"—that is, in this application, show thyself grateful towards those with whose hard work thou art served. According to the usual interpretation, the passage Gal. vi, 6, also, "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things," must be taken as an injunction to liberality towards the teachers of the Gospel. Just as earnestly, however, does the same apostle warn ministers, on the other hand, against the love of filthy lucre, which is for them especially unseemly, and goes completely to destroy their religious influence; exhorting them at the same time to contentment, hospitality and forgetfulness of self. (Tit. i, 11; 1 Tim. iii, 3, seq.; vi, 6–10; Acts xx, 34, seq.) He himself exhibited in his life an exalted pattern of disinterestedness, inasmuch as he earned his own support, mostly by his trade of tent-making, often labouring day and night, so as not to be burdensome to the congregations, which were composed generally, no doubt, of persons without property, to procure the more ready access for the Gospel, and to stop the mouths of Jewish adversaries, who tried to place his motives in a false light. (1 Thess. ii, 5–10; 2 Thess. iii, 7–9; 1 Cor. ix, 12, 15; 2 Cor. xi, 7–10; xii, 14–18; Acts xviii, 3; xx, 34, seq.) Paul could indeed say without any exaggeration, that through the power of Christ strengthening him, he was able to do all things, being instructed both to be abased and to be exalted, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. (Phil. iv, 11–13.) Yet he made an exception with the congregation at Philippi, whose relation to him was one of special confidence and affection, and received from it at times free presents. (Phil. iv, 16; 2 Cor. xi, 8.) For even if the labour of his hands might have been sufficient to cover the cost of his own living, it could not well meet the expenses he incurred by his frequent and long journeys, in which he had with him commonly a number of attendants, once as many as seven.

* Many expositors make τιμῆς refer here *wholly* to remuneration, and translate it, *reward*.

(Acts xx, 3, 4.) When we take into view these numerous and expensive journeys of the apostles and their delegates, who could all say with Peter no doubt, "Silver and gold have I none," (Acts iii, 6,) for the furtherance of the Gospel, and to preserve and promote the unity of the Churches; and when we bear in mind besides, with what great zeal the Christians of Macedonia, for instance, in spite of their own poverty, raised collections for their needy brethren in Palestine—we cannot fail to form a high opinion of the liberality and self-sacrificing love of these apostolical congregations.

We are not to suppose, however, that there was any *regular* and *fixed* salary for ministers in this period. Many, like Paul, and in conformity with Rabbinical usage, may have continued their previous trades in connexion with their new calling, so as in this way to earn either in whole or in part their own subsistence. Those who were animated with the right spirit looked not, at all events, beyond what was absolutely needful. So long as Christianity remained without sanction from the State, the Churches, as such, could hold no property. Many Christians, especially converts from Judaism, might adhere to the old custom of paying tithes (*decimæ*) and first-fruits (*primitiæ*) to the service of religion. As yet, however, there was no law on the subject.* All contributions for religious and benevolent purposes were *voluntary* gifts, and regulated according to ability and need. Thus we read, Acts xi, 29, on the occasion of a great dearth in Palestine, "The disciples, (at Antioch,) every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea." Just so we find it again in the case of the later collections for the poor saints in that country, Rom. xv, 26; 1 Cor. xvi, 1, seqq.; and a similar course would be taken no doubt with any salary which was to be paid to ministers.† Clearly too the voluntary system, where it really deserves this name, (for many of our so-called voluntary donations are at bottom most involuntary, and proceed from interested motives far more than from any true love towards God and the Church,) corresponds most fully with the spirit of the Gospel, and is best fitted to advance the interests of the kingdom of God; inasmuch as it calls into exercise a large amount of

* Legal enactments in regard to the payment of tithes are not met with in the Church before the sixth century. Long before this, however, we have the opinion of *Irenæus*, (Adv. Haer. iv, 8, 13, 18, etc.,) that Christians also should pay tithes, in order not to fall behind the Jews in liberality and piety. The same view was entertained by *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Augustine*, and other Church fathers. See *Augusti*, Handbuch der Christl. Archäol. I. s. 314.

† *Tertullian* holds up this spontaneous giving as still the order in his day, when he says: "Nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert." (Apol. c. 39.)

individual and personal activity in the affairs of the Church, whilst the support of religion by the State tends naturally to turn the Church into a creature of mere civil law, to make its ministers servants of the government, to prevent the virtue of liberality from coming to its full growth, and to degrade the value of the Gospel in the eyes of the people.

But where the Church is thrown for her support so entirely on the free love and gratitude of her members, as was the case during the first three centuries, it becomes so much the more necessary, if her operations are not to come to a dead stand, that she should recommend some certain system or method in giving, by which every one may impose a law on himself corresponding with his means and resources. Such was the simple yet most judicious regulation, by which Paul provided for collections in the Churches of Galatia and Greece; namely, that every one, on the first day of the week, the holyday of Christians, (compare Acts xx, 7; Rev. i, 10,) should lay by him in store a part of his earnings,* and so keep a separate treasury for the Lord according to his best ability and conscience. 1 Cor. xvi, 1, 2.†

§ 5. *Relation of the Officers to the Congregations. The Universal Priesthood.*

Notwithstanding the Divine origin, the greatness and the dignity of the sacred ministry, its institution was not designed to form a chasm between it and the people—the opposition of clergy and laity in the modern sense. True, this office is not the creation or product of the Church, but rather its productive commencement, the Divinely-appointed organ by which it was to be founded and built. The apostles go before the Church, and not the contrary. Hence they are styled (not merely their doctrine and confession, but themselves as living persons in their union with Christ and as organs of the Holy Ghost) the foundation of this spiritual edifice, of which Jesus Christ is the architect and at the same time the chief corner-stone, binding and holding together the single parts, and representing at once the whole, (Eph. ii, 20; compare Matt. xvi, 18; Rev. xxi, 14.) But so soon as the Gospel had taken root, and a Christian

* *ὅ τι ἂν εὐοδῶται*, as he may be prospered, according to his gain and success, or as far as his means may allow. Compare Rom. i, 10; Acts 11, 29, *καθὼς ηὐπορεῖτό τις*; 2 Cor. viii, 12, *καθὸ ἐὰν ἔχῃ*.

† On this rule the venerable *Bengel* well remarks: "Consilium facile. Semel, non tam multum datur. Si quis singulis diebus dominicis aliquid seorsum posuit, plus collectum fuit, quam quis semel dedisset."

community was formed, there followed a relation of living reciprocity between the pastors and the people; in which, though the first took the lead, yet was it always in the spirit of brotherly love, and with the feeling that the members of the flock stand in the same relation essentially to the common Head and chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ, are sanctified by the same Spirit, and participate alike in all the privileges and benefits of the Christian salvation. Hence all believers who have been separated from the world and set apart to the service of the Triune God are styled, without exception, "brethren," and "saints." (Acts ix, 32; xxvi, 18; Rom. i, 7; viii, 27; xii, 13; xvi, 15; 1 Cor. i, 2; vi, 2; 2 Cor. i, 1; xiii, 12; Eph. i, 1; ii, 19; v, 3; vi, 18; Col. iii, 12; Phil. i, 1; iv, 21, 22; Titus ii, 14; 1 Pet. ii, 9, 10; Heb. xiii, 24; Rev. xiii, 10, etc.) Whilst on the one side the congregations were far from the assumption of authority over their leaders, and were exhorted rather to yield them affectionate obedience, (Heb. xiii, 17; 1 Cor. xvi, 16,) so on the other side also, the leaders imposed no laws and ordinances on the congregations that were not first sanctioned by their own free approbation. The officers formed no priestly corporation or caste, standing intermediately between God and the people. The New Testament owns indeed the idea of the priesthood; but extends it expressly to *all* true Christians, who have direct access to Christ by faith and should come before Him every day with sacrifices of praise and intercession. In virtue of their union with Christ (*πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι,*) Peter styles his readers "a spiritual temple, a holy priesthood, (*ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον,*) to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ," (1 Pet. ii, 4, 5; compare Rom. xii, 1;) and directly after (ver. 9,) addresses them with the salutation: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, (*βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα,*) a holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." It is true indeed that the same high character was assigned to the people of Israel under the old economy, where with the general distinction, we know was joined also the special Aaronic priesthood, Exod. xix, 6: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." In the old Testament, however, this was mainly prophecy and purpose; while in the New, on the contrary, it is the same thing fulfilled and made real. It is Christ first, "who hath washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father." Rev. i, 5, 6. In the same measure in which Christianity generally throws Judaism into the shade, does the New Testament priesthood also excel that of the Old Testament, as is well shown particularly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (compare chap.

vii–x; xiii, 10, 15, 16.) The term clergy, (κλῆρος,) which in ecclesiastical usage distinguishes the spiritual order from the laity, is applied by Peter (1 Pet. v, 3) to the congregations; so that every Christian society is regarded as set apart, like the Levites of the Old Testament, for the peculiar ownership of God.* Paul calls upon his readers, in virtue of their priestly character, to make supplication for himself and for all men, (2 Cor. i, 10, 11; 1 Tim. ii, 1;) after the pattern of Christ, the eternal High Priest, (Heb. vii, 25; compare Luke xxii, 32; John xvii, 9, 20.)

This universal priesthood will serve to explain the *liberty* of *teaching* and the *share* of the people in Church *government*, which present themselves to our notice in the apostolical age.

The general liberty of teaching was an anticipatory fulfilment of the propheey, according to which in the time of the Messiah the Spirit should be poured out upon all flesh, even down to servants and maids, and all would be taught of God, (Joel iii, 1, seq.; Isaiah liv, 13; Jer. xxxi, 34; Acts ii, 17, 18; John vi, 45; compare 1 Thess. iv, 9; 1 John ii, 20, 21, 27.) According to this any one might come forward, speaking in an unknown tongue, praying, teaching or prophesying in the congregation, if only he possessed the requisite gift for it, without being an officer of the Church; for the gifts of the Spirit were by no means confined to official station. This liberty of teaching appears very plainly from the representation, which Paul gives us, of the meetings for public worship among the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xiv, 23–36.† Nay, from ver. 34, and 1 Cor. xi, 5, it is plain that even women, forgetting their natural position and mistaking the true idea of religious equality, (Gal. iii, 28,) prayed and prophesied in public. But here came in also the proper restriction. For in the first place Paul rebukes in general all abuse of the liberty of teaching, and reminds the Corinthians that God is a God of order and not of confusion: hence they should make use of their gifts,

* Others take τῶν κλήρων, which at all events refers to the people, in the sense of the congregations committed by *lot* or election to the presbyters.

† This was still understood by an ecclesiastical writer belonging to the close of the fourth century, the author of the Commentary on Paul's Epistles, which is found among the works of *St. Ambrose*, (probably the Roman deacon *Hilary*.) Thus he says on Eph. iv, 11: "In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps est sacerdotum et propheta et evangelista caetera ad implenda officia ecclesiae in ministerio fidelium. Tamen postquam omnibus locis ecclesiae sunt constitutae et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est, quam coeperat. *Primum enim omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant*, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio .... Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, *omnibus* inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare, etc."

not all at once but one after another, with becoming regard always to the edification of the congregation, (1 Cor. xiv, 5, 12, 23–33.) James also chides the mania with which many in his Jewish-Christian congregations (where doing was so often lost sight of in talking) put themselves forward as teachers, out of pure vanity and without any inward call, adding his powerful admonition on the sins of the tongue, chap. iii, 1, seqq. The exercise of teaching thus was not to be restricted indeed to any office, but it must be joined still with the possession of the necessary gifts of the Spirit, and these were to be used with humble feeling and a sense of increased responsibility. In the next place, as regards the female sex, Paul goes still farther and directly requires that it shall take no part in the public services of the Church, 1 Cor. xiv, 33, 34; 1 Tim. ii, 12.* With this indeed 1 Cor. xi, 5 seems to stand in contradiction: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head;" and to this passage accordingly the Montanists, Quakers, and other sects, have been accustomed to appeal in justification of their practice. But the apostle here simply quotes the fact, which no doubt had place, without approving or condemning it, reserving his censure for a subsequent connexion; (chapter xiv;) for in chapter xi, he is not treating at all of public worship, but only of the custom of covering the head, which some Christian females in Corinth affected to disregard, in opposition to the prevailing notions of decency, as though all outward difference between the sexes had been abolished by Christ. Nor will it answer, to make a distinction here between public *teaching* and public *praying* and *prophesying;* and to say that Paul's prohibition regards only the first function, (the proper διδάσκειν, 1 Tim. ii, 12,) but not the last two, in which there is more of the inspiration of feeling. For to say nothing of his placing prophets above teachers, (Eph. iv, 11; 1 Cor. xii, 28,) his injunction is altogether general, 1 Cor. xiv, 34, that women must be silent (σιγάτωσαν) in the Church and not speak, (λαλεῖν,) and this whole chapter besides treats, not of didactic discourses, but directly of speaking with tongues and prophesying. Every public act of the sort implies, while it lasts, a superiority of the speaker over the hearers, and is contrary also to true feminine delicacy. Christianity has indeed improved vastly the condition of woman, and brings all heavenly blessings within her reach;† but all this without prejudice

° In the synagogue also women were not permitted to speak. Compare *Wetstein* on 1 Cor. xiv, 34, and *Vitringa*, Synag. p. 725.

† Gal. iii, 28: οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; whereas on the contrary even Aristotle says directly: χεῖρον ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, Magn. Ethic. I, 34.

still to the Divine order of nature, by which she is formed to be in subjection to man, (Gen. iii, 16; Eph. v, 22,) and for the sphere of private life. Here, in the quiet domestic circle, she has full room for the exercise of the fairest virtues; here too she is clothed with a certain right to rule; and here she is not only to pray diligently herself, but also to teach her children to pray and to lead them in early life to the Lord.*

With this liberty of teaching corresponded in a great measure the conduct of Church government. The presbyters were indeed the regular pastors and managers of congregational business, but in such way that the people took part with them directly and indirectly in the work, and so bore also their share of its responsibility. In the first place the officers, and also the delegates for particular services, (compare 2 Cor. viii, 18, 19; Acts xv, 3,) were taken from the midst of the congregation itself, by its own election or at least consent, as we have already shown in a previous section. And then again, after they were thus in office, they were not to lord it over God's heritage, but rather to be ensamples to the flock in the way of a holy life; and to serve it, taking the oversight thereof not with constraint and force, but on the ground of its own free compliance and with due respect everywhere for its rights, (compare 1 Pet. v, 1–5.) The apostles themselves proceeded in this way. Almost all their epistles, containing instructions, exhortations, and decisions in regard to the most weighty questions, are addressed not to the Church rulers merely but to the whole congregation. In cases of controversy it appears to have been customary, according to 1 Cor. vi, 5, to choose a session of arbitrators from the body of the people, (compare Matt. xviii, 15–18.) Paul indeed excommunicated the incestuous person at Corinth, but only as united in spirit with the Corinthian congregation, (*συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος*, 1 Cor. v, 4,) so that his act was at the same time theirs. Nay, even in controversies that concerned the whole Church, the apostles did not decide by their own right merely, but drew the congregations also at least frequently into consultation. A striking proof of this is furnished by the council at Jerusalem, called to settle the great question concerning the binding authority of the Mosaic law, and the terms on which the Gentiles were to be admitted to the privileges of the Gospel. Here the apostles, elders, and brethren, come

* Probably the prophesying of the daughters of the evangelist Philip in Cesarea, (Acts xxi, 9,) occurred also in family worship; unless we assume that something took place here that Paul would not have approved (compare *Neander* s. 257); for Luke simply narrates the fact, without pronouncing upon it any judgment.

together; the transactions go forward before the whole congregation; Peter urges his clear Divine vision in regard to Gentile baptism not as a command but only as a motive or reason, (Acts xv, 7, seqq.; compare xi, 2, seqq.;) the whole assembly joins in passing the final resolution;* and the written decision of the council goes forth, not in the name of the apostles and presbyters only, but in the name of the brethren generally, and is addressed to the collective body of the Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia.†

This relation between the rulers and their congregations, to which the name *democratic* is sometimes applied,‡ though not altogether aptly, stands closely connected with the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost in the apostolic age, and was secured by this against the abuses which must necessarily attend such a form of government, where the mass of the people is under the dominion of ignorance and wild passion. We see mirrored in it to a certain extent the ideal state, which will come in when the prophecy of the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh shall have its absolute fulfilment.

We must now go over the several offices of the apostolical Church more in detail, taking up first those that look towards the Church as a whole; since this idea is older than that of a single congregation, although both fall together as to extent originally in the mother-Church at Jerusalem. But, as space fails us, this discussion must be reserved for another article.

° Chapter xv, 22: *τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

† Ver. 23: *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς*, etc.

‡ For example, by *Rothe* in his work before quoted, (p. 148 and frequently.) We disapprove of this title, because it is derived from a foreign sphere, that of politics, and may be easily misunderstood. In the Church strictly there is no kind of dominion, neither democracy, nor aristocracy, nor monarchy, but only service (*διακονία*). The very Saviour of sinners himself came into the world, not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many, Matt. xx, 28; Luke xxii, 27; John xiii. 14, 15, seq.; Phil. ii, 6–8. *Rothe* at the same time asserts this so-called democratic character in favour only of the congregational order, the government of congregations singly taken, and not in favour of the polity of the Church as a whole, which he styles rather (p. 310) *autocratic*, and which, in his view, even before the close of the apostolical age, immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem and under the auspices mainly of St. John, became episcopal. As regards the first point, however, he goes evidently too far, when he says, (for instance, p. 153) of the congregational officers: "They were *purely society functionaries*, the mere magistracy of the people, *whose authority flowed from no other source but the will of the congregation itself*, to which they owed their election." Compare against this what we have already said on the divine origin of all Church-offices; in part also the tract of the Rev. *Charles Rothe*, (since gone over to the Irvingites,) entitled: "Die wahren Grundlagen der Christlichen Kirchenverfassung." 1844, s. 3–33.

Art. V.—PROGRESS OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

Liberal principles lie at the foundation of man's real good. Without freedom of thought, belief, speech, and action, there can be little or no human improvement: hence the anxiety always felt by Christians and philanthropists for the progress of liberty. Often has it appeared that the power of tyranny was about to be broken, never more to have the ascendency, but almost as often have these encouraging prospects been blasted. Many—in contemplating the long-protracted bondage of the masses of mankind, in considering how often they fail in striking for their rights, and the little progress consequently made in human amelioration—have been led to conclude, that, on the whole, the cause of freedom gains no ground, and the world grows no better. We know that while there is progress in some things there is retrogression in others—that while mankind have improved in some periods or places, they have deteriorated in others; but a careful review in history will show, we think, that in the main *liberal principles* have ever been advancing, and the world steadily improving. Though the standard of freedom has been struck down in every nation of Europe, France excepted, (if, indeed, we may except that nation,) where it has been so hopefully unfurled within the last few years, yet the philanthropist has no cause for despair. History, as well as reason and revelation, teaches that right must eventually triumph. While the present holds up so gloomy a picture in respect to freedom and progress, let us examine the past, and see if we cannot find in its annals ground to hope for the future.

In times previous to the advent of the Saviour, hardly anything appears but wrongs, violence, and oppression. All is one dismal Sahara with but here and there an oasis. Egypt is thought to have enjoyed, to some extent, the blessings of liberty in some parts of her existence. But that Egypt ever had a government under which the people were free, or a government such as a limited monarchy is generally understood to be, does not appear from history. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the mass of the Egyptians, in any age, were qualified, in point of intelligence, for such a government. It appears from some things in Xenophon, that Persia, before it was united with the Median kingdom, had a government similar to a limited monarchy. But in reference to most Oriental nations of antiquity, we gather nothing from history but what leads us to suppose that they were incessantly subjected to tyranny. We find it different, however, when we turn our attention to the more Western nations.

Greece and Rome were not unmindful of liberty. A portion of the people were really free in some periods of the history of these nations, but in other periods the same was not true of any of the people, and at all times a considerable portion of the inhabitants were doomed to slavery. The Greeks and Romans acted upon principles most destructive of liberty. These principles taught that the prisoner taken in war had forfeited his life—that the conqueror had absolute control of it, and might take it at pleasure. If the victor chose to preserve the life of the captive, the latter became the slave, the absolute property of the former. From the result of these principles, Greece and Rome teemed with a population deprived of every right, and subjected to every species of indignity and cruelty. Italy in particular abounded with the victims of oppression; almost every nation and tribe of Europe contributed to their supply. The fair-skinned Angles, as well as the swarthy Iberians, were sold in the shambles of Rome. Captives taken in war were not alone the articles of this commerce; but so general had the traffic become, and so hardened and darkened was the ancient European mind in regard to it, that even parents sold their own children into bondage.

Thus we see that the Greeks and Romans, so eager for liberty themselves, were ever ready to set their iron feet upon others. But the day of reckoning at length came—the enslavers became enslaved. If we may learn of their history, it teaches, in the plainest manner, that those who wrest freedom from others must themselves lose it; and from the maledictions of Scripture against oppression, we should be led to conclude, that they are destined to lose it as a just judgment from Heaven. But if we seek for a philosophical solution of this truth, it will be found in the fact that slavery, if permitted to exist for successive generations, is sure to work moral corruption among the governing portions of the people, that must necessarily lead to national ruin.

The freest government of antiquity, nay doubtless the freest that ever existed, our own not excepted, was that which God gave to his chosen people. Under that government the Israelites had unparalleled prosperity for some three hundred years. They attained to distinguished greatness, notwithstanding their territory was quite limited. Solomon, their third king, was able to accomplish the wonders which distinguished his reign, only in consequence of the prosperity of the nation during its democracy. Samuel, the prophet of the Lord, made known to the people the evils that would come upon them if they established a monarchy, (1 Samuel viii, 11–18;) but evil counsels prevailed, and their republic was changed to a

kingdom. Their glory then departed. Ever after they continued to decline, till finally their land became "a perpetual hissing," and they "an astonishment, a proverb and a byword among all nations."

The Christian era may be regarded as the true time when liberal principles began to gain ascendency and permanence. But human nature was the same before that it was afterwards. Mankind had always sighed for liberty, and occasionally some ineffectual, spasmodic efforts were made to obtain it. Whenever the blow was struck for freedom, myriads were found who were not only ready to pour out their blood for so great a boon, but readily chose to die rather than submit to the will of a conqueror. When Julius Cæsar was staining the soil of Europe with the blood of her inhabitants, that he might have the glory of conquering and enslaving them, such was the resistance he encountered, that he exclaimed in his Commentaries, "Omnes homines natura libertati studere, et conditionem servitutis odisse."* *All men naturally love liberty and hate the condition of servitude.* But though all men loved liberty, and thought, and said, and did much in reference to this great good for which they instinctively longed, its benefits were but indifferently realized till the inspired apostles opened their message to mankind. Then, and not till then, did liberal principles begin to be so clearly understood, and so generally embraced, as to render it impossible for tyrants to extinguish or suppress them.

At the commencement of the Christian era, despotism was holding universal sway. The glory of Greece's freer days had long before departed. The liberal government of the Roman republic had been changed to a military despotism, or to what was well nigh such. The Roman emperor, whose power was then felt by almost every nation, stood ready with his mailed legions to suppress the first risings of liberty. Still human nature was the same: all men loved liberty and hated servitude. What mankind needed was something to call out and direct the inherent principles of their nature; something that would hold up to their view their true interests, and direct in pursuit of them. Christianity supplied this stupendous desideratum. The Roman power seems to have descried this inevitable tendency of the system established by Jesus of Nazareth, and became at once jealous of the rising Church. Hence persecution followed upon persecution. But the noblest spirits were found in the Christian Church; their blood was poured out like water, not on the field of battle in murderous conflict, but calmly and passively in testimony, and we may say in defence of their faith. In spite of the allied powers of earth and hell, Christianity extended through

* Cæsar's Com., lib. 3, cap. 10.

the west of Asia, the north of Africa, and the south and west of Europe, instructing mankind as to their destinies, duties, and relations, laying down and enforcing the most important principles. One fact connected with the establishment of Christianity should have our particular attention—that is, it gave rise to the representative principle in the formation of its councils, which were often made up of delegates that represented different sections of the Church, in different and distant countries. State legislative bodies, similarly formed, had their exemplar in the Christian Church, and it need not be affirmed how much this principle has done, and is destined still to do, to harmonize, free, and elevate the human race. Finally, in tracing the progress of Christianity we trace the progress of liberal principles.

It is greatly to the praise of the Christian religion that it contributed, as some historians represent, to the fall of the Roman empire, and thereby to the destruction of despotism. At the time the Roman empire ceased to be, the principles of liberty were better understood and more widely diffused than ever before; but the Roman hierarchy had already gained powerful ascendency. Having engrafted upon itself the essential features of the ancient paganism, it became an engine for darkening, rather than enlightening mankind. Popes and bishops allied themselves to emperors and kings, and gained such power over them, and made their selfish interests so mutually dependent, that they all took advantage of the people's ignorance to lay upon them the chains of slavery.

In surveying historical facts that relate directly to our subject, we may notice some that are well known; but by following events through the middle ages, we shall be afforded the pleasure—notwithstanding there was so much of darkness and gloom—of contemplating the steady progress of light, truth, and liberty. We see the people during these periods beginning to enjoy some of the benefits of liberty; but there was mingled with those benefits much of anarchy and confusion. Principally out of this state of things, historians suppose, grew the feudal system—a system fraught with oppression and cruelty. But chivalry now arose amid the mass of adverse influences, and struck for "the right and the true." It must be acknowledged that there was much to be condemned in its votaries, and that it was sometimes turned to the account of despotism is true; but it is equally true that the spirit of chivalry, embracing as it did the principles of valour, generosity, and charity, exerted an important influence throughout Europe, in behalf of liberty.

The world, however, is principally and primarily indebted to

Christianity for the blessings of liberty. While the Roman hierarchy was darkening, degrading, and enslaving the people, the pure principles of the Christian religion were not extinct, but were preserved in great purity among the Waldenses, and doubtless elsewhere, and were exerting their power. While papacy and the feudal system, while spiritual and temporal princes, were all combined to exterminate the liberties of the people, the principles of freedom were operating, the people were restless, active, and moving for their rights. But we see no very rapid advance made in liberal principles, at any one time, for the long period of a thousand years subsequent to the fall of the Roman despotism. But during those long and dismal ages, tyranny with all its aids was never able to gain entire ascendency—it could never entirely subdue the spirit of liberty. In the latter part of this protracted period, in the times of Wiclif and of Huss, we see some signal promotions of those momentous reforms that commenced in the beginning of the sixteenth century. When these reforms commenced, there arose a tremendous struggle between oppression and freedom, between light and darkness.

This great era dates not simply a reformation in religion, as it is sometimes regarded, but a reformation in the whole system of social order. Martin Luther was not, as he is commonly considered, simply a reformer in ecclesiastical affairs. He was, to be sure, the first among the great ecclesiastical reformers of that memorable age; but his influence rested not alone with the Church—it reached the state. Though his movements were aimed at the corruptions of the Church, they told against all oppression. His giant blows drove "his Saxon steel" to the very vitals of the tyranny of state. He taught civil as well as religious liberty. He showed the people to what extent they had been robbed of their rights, and called their attention to revealed truth, as the only sure guarantee of their liberties. "The word of God" he declared to be "the true source whence all liberty flows." Having rescued this invaluable treasure from monastic seclusion, and having given it to the people in their own language, and copies of it being indefinitely multiplied through the facilities of printing, a blow was struck, from the effects of which all oppression must eventually die. A more rapid progress was then made in liberal principles than ever before. We see them gaining substantial vantage ground, from which they never can be driven. The settlement of our country followed close upon the establishment of the principles of the Reformation. Enlightened and guided by them, she enjoyed a great measure of liberty, and in reality governed herself, even during her colonial

existence;* and to these principles is she mainly indebted for independence.

In examining the course of events, we should not leave Holland unnoticed, so conspicuous does she stand forth in the annals of liberty, and so remarkable and peculiar is her history in that respect. The people occupying the lowlands about the mouths of the Rhine, and to the north of that river, the ancestors of the modern Dutch, were never subjected to the Roman rule. We believe that principles taught and practised, whether good or bad, are far-reaching in their influence. But whether the principles of liberty, so successfully maintained by the original occupants of Holland, were or were not handed down from generation to generation to the times of the Reformation, certain it is, that the people of that country better understood and more fully enjoyed their rights in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than those of any other country of Europe. Thither freedom's advocates were wont to flee and find refuge from persecution and death. It is thought that the pilgrim ancestors of New-England gained some additional knowledge of human rights during their sojourn among the Dutch, previously to their departure from the Old World, which enabled them the better to establish those rights on their settlement in the New.

But more of instruction and interest is to be acquired in a survey of the progress of liberal principles in the British empire. Macaulay remarks that, "the sources of the noblest rivers, which spread fertility over continents, and bear richly-laden fleets to the sea, are to be sought in wild and barren mountain-tracts, incorrectly laid down on maps, and rarely explored by travellers. To such a tract the history of our country during the thirteenth century may not unaptly be compared. Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory." It will hardly do to controvert Macaulay, but we may prolong his imagery. "The sources" of these rivers are supplied by water from rains and snows that percolates through the mountains; and we must look far back of the thirteenth century for those things that contributed to the "origin" of Britain's freedom, prosperity,

* The advantages accruing to the colonies from being under the protection of the mother country, were more than counterbalanced by her encroachments. Their history not only shows that they governed themselves, but presents the singular spectacle of a people ever engaged in the two-fold work of governing themselves and of repelling a power constantly seeking to govern them *contrary to their wishes and interests.*

and glory. It has been held* that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors descended from the Scythians, who so signally defended their liberties against all invasions, in times prior to the Christian era: particularly, that the Saxons in the north of Germany were a tribe of that people; and hence their love of liberty, and their knowledge, valour, and success in preserving it. Some may think this theory as unworthy of credence, as the notion of the Romans, that they originated from the Trojans. However all this may be, the Anglo-Saxons, from their earliest history, have been more successful in maintaining their rights than most other portions of the human race: not, probably, because they were constitutionally more attached to freedom, better able to defend it, or more valorous than the rest of mankind; but because they have been more favourably circumstanced, perhaps, for the defence of their rights than other nations. As a people they have been greatly distinguished for intelligence, valour, and independence. Nevertheless, very many of them have been sunk to the lowest depths of slavery. It is interesting to go over their history, from the time that many of them were held as absolute property by masters of the same Anglo-Saxon blood,—from the time that the ancestors of such men as Locke, Blackstone, and Peel were villains, adscripts to the soil, or absolute slaves,—and see them emerging from such a state, and steadily rising to all the advantages and glories of freedom.

A writer in the Biblical Repository of January, 1836, in an article entitled, Slavery in the Middle Ages, remarks:—"There seems to have been no general law for the emancipation of slaves in the statute book of England. Though the genius of the English constitution favoured personal liberty, yet servitude continued long in England, in particular places. In the year 1514, we find a charter of Henry VIII. enfranchising two slaves belonging to one of his manors. As late as 1547, there is a commission from Elizabeth with respect to the manumission of certain slaves belonging to her." Macaulay informs us, that "some faint traces of the institution of villanage were detected by the curious so late as the days of the Stuarts; nor has that institution ever, to this hour, been abolished by statute." The important fact then appears, that *the extinction of slavery in England did not result from statutory law, but from the noiseless action of the liberal principles of the British constitution.* Though the slavery of the Anglo-Saxons came to an end along in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, slaves continued to be introduced into England, and held as such, down to 1772, when the well-known case of Somerset took place. The last

* Sharon Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons.

of slavery in the British foreign possessions, ceased in 1844. Thus we see the power of Britain and the principles of her constitution simultaneously and co-extensively extending, till eventually, when the sun sets not on her dominions it shines not upon a British slave.

The primary principles which have led to these most auspicious results, and the leading events in this advancement, ought to be carefully studied. These principles are few and simple. The events are not numerous, but stand boldly and proudly out in English history. By the Norman conquest the laws and usages by which the people of England had been previously governed were overthrown, and the feudal system established. For one hundred and fifty years from that time the English groaned under intolerable oppression. That oppression was broken, or very materially diminished, by Magna Charta. Among the important provisions of that instrument the 46th article stands pre-eminent. It reads as follows:*—"*No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, disseized or outlawed, or banished, or any way destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.*" This was leaven in the meal. According to this provision, no freeman could be deprived of his liberties, except by legal process, and no legal process could do it but in case of debt or crime. This principle operating in connexion with other important principles of the British constitution, rendered the liberties of the English people safe, so long as they were at all vigilant. The provision in question remained for nearly five hundred years, without any law or regulation to give it any definite application, or to secure its action in all cases of unlawful violence. Still it had its place in the sure foundations of English law, and could at any time be appealed to with effect. But it came into more thorough and efficient action after the enactment of the law of the writ of Habeas Corpus, which took place in the reign of Charles the Second. This law is justly called the great bulwark and second Magna Charta of English liberty. After it had been in existence about one hundred years, it was most effectually used in the highly important case of Somerset, already mentioned, which was brought before Lord Mansfield by Granville Sharpe. So strong were the prejudices that existed against the race to which Somerset belonged, so long had the world been accustomed to behold their degradation, and so great were the monied interests involved in the case, that even the stern and lofty Mansfield seemed to be warped against the plaintiff. He

* Tindal's Rapin.

delayed judgment, and twice threw out the suggestion, "that the master might put an end to the present litigation by manumitting the slave;" but the suggestion was providentially not attended to. The matter was pending for nearly five months, in consequence of pleadings and postponements; but the great principles of English law at length prevailed, and Mansfield gave his ever-memorable decision, that secured so important a triumph to justice, humanity, and liberty.* It was, comparatively, a very small matter that Somerset was liberated. This decision—to use the appropriate and expressive words of a certain writer—"revolutioned the jurisprudence of the realm; overthrew ancient precedents; reversed venerated decisions; and inscribed beneath the cross of St. George, on the royal flag, '*Slaves cannot breathe in England.*'"

The cause of liberty then received a new and powerful impulse, and a somewhat different direction. Soon commenced those movements that led to the abolition of the slave-trade, and the ultimate entire extinction of slavery in the British dominions.

The contest for the abolition of the slave-trade shows how difficult it is for right to gain ascendency over wrong, or liberty over tyranny, where prejudice and power, connected with monied interests, are to be overcome. For twenty years the contest incessantly went on, sometimes to the personal danger of those in favour of the measure. Every inch of ground was disputed; but the enterprise steadily won upon the sentiments of the nation, and gained favour in parliament, till finally the legality of the cruel traffic terminated in 1807. Next commenced those operations that resulted in the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, and the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. These movements continued; and on the first of April, 1844, no less than twelve millions of hereditary slaves in the British East Indies, became free by act of parliament; since which time, no slaves have been legally held in the dominions of the English.

In thus looking over the course of events, we see how a few well-apprehended, leading principles have operated to raise the great body of the English people from slavery to liberty, and to strike off the shackles of oppression wherever the British power has extended. During five hundred years, from the time that Magna Charta was wrested from King John, we see no very marked advances made, at any one time, towards the attainment of human right. The mass of the people had not become sufficiently enlightened for any special advancement, although they were steadily increasing in intelligence

* A full account of this interesting case is found in the life of Granville Sharpe.

and becoming more and more possessed of their rights. Though not successful in their attempts to establish a republic in the times of Cromwell, the convulsions of that period prepared the way for the revolution of 1688, and for the subsequent universal establishment of liberty in the English dominions. There is still, it is well known, much of oppression and suffering in Great Britain and Ireland; but it would be unjust to charge it all upon the British government, or any of it upon the real principles of the British constitution. Popery and the vices of portions of the people, contribute largely to it. The debt of Great Britain incurred by wars, gives rise to burdensome taxation;* the remains of the Feudal system, in the existence of extensive manors, worked by tenants; the legal support of the established Church, so utterly inconsistent with liberty,—these things dispose many to give but little credit to England's professions of regard for freedom, or for what she has actually done in its behalf. Nevertheless, wherever it is clearly apprehended that England grants liberty, it should be allowed. We apologize not for England's faults. We have simply traced the real progress of liberty in her dominions, from which we can draw lessons of valuable instruction even in this Republic.

We should be glad to speak of the progress of liberty in other portions of Europe, but this we have neither time nor limits to do at present. Of our own country we need not speak at length, though a word or two we cannot withhold. Freedom has been her watchword through all the periods of her history, yet her history tells not of freedom only. Her Declaration of Independence is a text-book of liberty; but what a commentary do we write upon it in the slavery allowed to exist! Her constitution is such, that only by assuming that its framers attached certain meaning to certain words, can it be made to shield oppression in case of a single human being, and yet one-seventh of the people are slaves. But amid all this inconsistency and gloom, there is ground for hope. The principles on which our government is based, together with the prevalence of Christianity, will in time, it is believed, work out the entire enfranchisement of all in our land; and to similar causes are we to look for the ultimate triumph of freedom throughout the world.

From the investigation of this subject it appears plain that no substantial success can be made in this work, unless principles be

* It is ascertained from a late statistical work, entitled, "Porter's Progress of the Nation," vol. ii, that full ninety per cent. of all that is paid into the British Treasury goes to liquidate the interest on the war debt.

clearly defined and understood. The people may depose kings and terminate dynasties; but if they have no clear ideas of human rights, they may be compared to a ship at sea without rudder, the sport of winds and waves. We have seen that the English people have been chiefly indebted to well-apprehended principle. In this country, the people have always had the most definite ideas of what belonged to their rights. Success is not to be expected in the declamation of demagogues, the stormy debates of the legislative hall, or in the force of arms, but in the silent leaven-working of enlightened principle.

Still more than all this is necessary. *There must be virtue in all classes.* There may be eloquence and ability in the Senate; there may be skill and bravery in war; there may be intelligence among the populace; but if virtue does not generally prevail, the cause of liberty can make no abiding progress. When the love of glory, of power, of self-aggrandizement, prevails to the seclusion of integrity, patriotism, and philanthropy, the people will find themselves still bowing under the yoke of oppression, however long they may labour or eagerly look for freedom.

It is also indispensable that the views of mankind should be corrected in respect to war. In some rare instances men have taken up arms in defence of their rights, and have been successful. But for the most part, war is a grand generator of vice, ignorance, and slavery. M. Bouvet, in a late speech in the French Assembly, well remarked: —"War, founded on force and restraint, is contrary to *liberty.* War, enabling the strong to triumph over the weak, is contrary to *equality.* War, shattering the law of love, which unites individuals and communities, is contrary to *fraternity.* Thus the Republic, to be consistent with its own constitution, ought henceforth to endeavour to suppress the military system, and to substitute for it an *international jurisdiction.* Such an object is so honest, so generous, so important to the public welfare, that France need not blush to make it the principal aim of its political existence." Happy would it be for France to follow the lead of such a champion.

If we look for the true reasons why liberty has made no more progress in Europe since the commencement of the great movements near the close of the last century, it will be found in the lack of intelligence in the people, and of virtue in those who led—especially in the latter particular. There are junctures when the cause of freedom depends on a single individual. Might not integrity in Bonaparte have established the liberties of France, and led to the enfranchisement of Europe? Does not truth forbid the concession that circumstances compelled him to grasp the sceptre? Might

not Washington, in a particular period* of the Revolution, with as much or more propriety, and perhaps as much success, have seated himself on a throne? Patriotism in Washington saved the cause of freedom in America; ambition in Bonaparte ruined it, for a time, in Europe.

But notwithstanding the European movements at the close of the last century and the commencement of the present, terminated so disastrously, liberal principles did make no inconsiderable advancement during those times. Light was disseminated and aspirations kindled up among the masses, that contributed largely to the late commotions of continental Europe, in which we see decidedly more intelligence and virtue, and more progress made in the establishment of the rights of man, than in those former movements; and we look for intelligence, virtue, and liberty, to go forward in time to come, as Christianity advances in its purity, simplicity, and power.

Art. VI.—PLUTARCH'S MORALIA.

The writings of Plutarch are partly historical and partly moral. Most of his treatises admit of a ready and distinctive reference to the one or the other of these classes. Some, however, lie on the dividing line between them, and all partake more or less of both the historical and the moral element. His history always teaches lessons of ethical and practical wisdom; and his ethics are always illustrated and embellished by the facts of history. Endowed with large powers both of observation and reflection, disciplined alike in the study and the practice of the virtues, taught scarcely more by communion with books than by intercourse with men and things, he is everywhere at once the historian and the moralist, tracing events back to their causes and forward to their results, linking duty with its reward and wrong-doing with its punishment, developing theory in practice and illustrating principles by facts, interested in facts by themselves and loving principles for their own sake, but supremely delighting to unite them in a harmonious, living form, in which the soul shall animate and inform the body, while the body shall give utterance and expression to the soul. Plutarch revels in concrete forms, in actual existence, in real life—he has no eye and no heart for barren abstractions. He is not at home in speculative

* The time alluded to is, when Washington and his men lay at Valley Forge, suffering from neglect, and chafed with criminations for their want of success.

philosophy. Though usually classed as an Academic philosopher, his real master was Socrates, like whom he sought fruits more practically than Plato and more spiritually than Bacon. His Ethics are virtually Lives, as his Lives are essentially Ethics.

Plutarch is said to have been the author of about three hundred historical and philosophical treatises, of which less than half are extant. The principal historical pieces are the Parallel Lives, in which he has written the biographies of forty-six Greeks and Romans, and arranged them in pairs, each pair containing the life of a Greek and a Roman, between whose character and history there are usually some striking points of resemblance. Each pair is also followed by a comparison of the two men, in which the parallel features, whether of likeness or contrast, are grouped together or summed up in studied antithesis: in a few pairs, however, the comparison is omitted or lost. There are also four separate lives, which are usually placed, in the editions, after the forty-six parallels.* Besides these, fourteen biographies by the hand of Plutarch are known to have been lost, in compensation for which several others, such as the lives of Homer and the Ten Orators, have been attributed to him, whose authorship, we think, he would not be ambitious to claim. If the same author wrote the life of Demosthenes in the Parallels and the life of Demosthenes in the Ten Orators, he must have written the latter when he was asleep.

There are some ten or twelve treatises, usually placed under the head of Moralia and printed indiscriminately with the moral essays, which are strictly historical or anecdotical in their contents. Among these are the essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, which needs no refutation and scarcely deserves mention; the Parallels from Grecian and Roman History, designed to confirm the credibility of certain improbable events in Roman history by the analogy of similar events in Grecian; and the Apophthegms or sayings of distinguished kings and commanders, dedicated to the Emperor Trajan and intended to be a kind of supplement to the *doings* of illustrious men recorded in the Lives,—all of which some critics have pronounced supposititious, and we would cheerfully relinquish as adding little, especially the first, to our author's credit, though candour obliges us to add that they bear strong internal evidence, especially the last two of having proceeded from the pen of Plutarch. To the same category belong also the pieces entitled, The Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander the Great, the Fortune of the Romans, and Whether the Athenians were more renowned for their Warlike Achievements

* In the Leipsic edition, the Life of Artaxerxes is placed between those of Cicero and Demetrius.

or for their Learning,—three splendid declamations, in which the author imputes the conquests of Alexander chiefly to virtue, the empire of Rome pre-eminently to fortune, and the glory of Athens not more to literature than to military prowess. The first two of these pieces, when compared with each other, have been received by some critics as a demonstration of Plutarch's partiality for the Greeks over the Romans, and even as a key to the whole design of the author in writing his Parallel Lives. We have already declared* our inability to accept such a conclusion; and the very pieces, on which the argument chiefly rests, furnish a sufficient refutation of it. How any one can read the introduction to the treatise on the Fortune of the Romans, and still accuse the writer of an envious or bigoted prejudice against the Roman Empire, passes our comprehension. "Nature herself," he says, "who produces all things, is by some reputed to be fortune, by others to be wisdom. The present discussion, therefore, attaches great honour and an enviable distinction to Rome; since she is thought worthy of the same question which is wont to be argued respecting the earth and seas, the heavens and the stars, viz., whether she owes her being to chance or to providence. And I think it may be truly affirmed, that notwithstanding the fierce and lasting wars which have ever been going on between Fortune and Virtue, they both amicably conspired to rear the structure of her vast power and dominion, and harmoniously co-operated in the execution and perfection of that most beautiful of human works." Fortune and Virtue are then introduced and painted in lively colours, as entering the lists of controversy. Fortune, as a goddess firmly seated at Rome and worshipped by the Romans above all the Virtues, boasts at great length of all the miracles in the early mythical and poetical history of Rome; of the unexpected and marvellous deliverances of the city and its armies in the wars of the Gauls, the Carthaginians, the Cimbri and the Teutones; of the want of union and co-operation among the enemies of the State, who might easily have crushed it by their combined forces, but divided fell one after another under its dominion; and finally she vaunts, as her crowning favour, the early death of Alexander, before he had completed his conquests in the East and turned his victorious arms, as he would have done, against Italy and the West. The argument, however, appears to terminate abruptly in the midst of the sketch of Alexander's ambitious schemes. And the reply, which the reader is prepared to expect from Virtue, if it was ever written, is no longer extant. Whether such a piece affords a sufficient ground for charg-

* Methodist Quarterly for January, 1850, pp. 20, 21.

ing a great historian with Grecian partialities and anti-Roman prejudices, let each one judge for himself.

The Moralia properly so-called, or rather the philosophical works of Plutarch as contradistinguished from the historical, are over sixty in number. They treat of a great variety of subjects, and might properly be subdivided into social, political, physical, metaphysical, ethical and religious treatises.

To the sphere of *social* or private life belong the Conjugal Precepts and the Education of Children, of the excellence of which we spoke in a former paper,* and upon which we cannot now dwell. Here belong also the treatises on Love of Offspring, Fraternal Love, and the Virtues of Woman; the first two quite creditable to the author's head and heart, but the last, a one-sided view of woman as exhibiting in similar circumstances the same stern and masculine virtues with the other sex. They who would turn the sex into Amazons and viragos, will find in this treatise of Plutarch some thirty examples adduced from as many different States of antiquity, and to their purpose quite. The Consolation to Apollonius on the loss of a son, and that to his own wife on the death of a daughter, present the author in quite another—aspect as alive to all the peculiar relations and all the tender sensibilities of the family-circle. Nor can we refrain from mentioning in this connexion those fine educational tracts on Hearing (that is, Reading) the Poets, and on Hearing in General, that is, on Listening to Instruction and Advice; the former designed particularly as a guide to the teacher of youth, the latter addressed to the young man himself and adapted to aid him in the work of self-education. We have often admired the grand principle which is inculcated at the beginning of this latter treatise as revealing in a single short sentence the whole secret of virtue and happiness: "They only who have learned to desire what they ought, live as they desire." So also the sweet singer and king of Israel says: "Delight thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart." Passing out from the family and the school into the wider social relations, we meet with tracts on the Distinction between a Flatterer and a Friend, on a Multitude of Friends, and on Deriving Benefit from Enemies. In all these treatises on the domestic and social relations, as in all matters pertaining to ordinary life, the good sense and kind heart of the author shine conspicuous. The Essay on Love, and the Love Stories, (a collection of five short historical novels, or tragical histories as they have been sometimes called,) disclose a depravation of sentiment and a corruption of morals on this subject, which no nation but those who were guilty of

* Methodist Quarterly for January, 1850, p. 24.

it—the æsthetic but unchaste Greeks—has ever been able to contemplate without a blush, which their best philosophers, not excepting Plutarch and Socrates, did not stamp with deserved infamy; though Socrates reprobated it, and Plutarch wrote well in praise of pure and wedded love, and, with that full belief in the justice of an overruling Providence which is so characteristic of his writings, recorded in repeated instances the righteous retribution that sooner or later followed an unrestrained and unnatural indulgence of the passions.

The principal *political* essays bear the following titles: That Philosophers ought especially to Associate with Rulers; To an Unlearned Prince; Whether an Aged Man should be permitted to Govern the State; Political Precepts or Rules for Government; Monarchy, Democracy and Oligarchy; The Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians. In common with most of the Greek philosophers, Plutarch admires the political virtues, if not also the political system, of the Spartans. He prefers monarchy to either of the other *simple* forms of government, alleging Plato for his authority; yet he dissuades from violent changes and insists on the good of the people as the only proper chief end and aim of rulers, for the attainment of which he lays down some very patriotic and upright as well as politic precepts. On the whole, however, we are struck with the inferiority of his political works to those on the common affairs of private life. The day was already past for enlightened and liberal views of government. We must go back several centuries, to Aristotle's Politics, if we would study the master-piece of Grecian wisdom in political science.

The following are the titles of the *physical* treatises: Physical Questions; the First Principle of Cold; the Face seen in the Disc of the Moon; Whether Fire or Water is the more Useful; Whether Land Animals or Aquatics are the more Intelligent; that Brutes possess Reason; on Eating Animal Food.

Plutarch argues strenuously, that the lower animals have not only rational souls, but reasoning powers, even to the practical comprehension of the syllogism; and he utterly repudiates eating flesh, as of a piece with cannibalism,—nay, with devouring our own kindred. His repugnance to animal food is greatly increased by a cordial belief in the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which makes beasts not only kindred, but, by possibility, identical with men. He also adduces in opposition to the practice the anatomical structure of the human frame, which is so unlike that of the carnivorous animals, as to demonstrate that he was intended to subsist on other food. The debate on the relative intelligence of land and sea animals—or, as it might properly be styled, the treatise on the sagacity of ani-

mals,—is an exceedingly entertaining and instructive synopsis of the most remarkable manifestations of animal instinct, which can hardly be exceeded in interest, though it may doubtless be surpassed in accuracy and extent, by the natural histories of our day. It is the unfailing mine, from which modern editors and compilers have translated or copied anecdotes on that subject for their Greek readers, as well as for story-books in other languages.

The Man in the Moon Plutarch explains as we do, by the elevations and depressions on the Moon's surface, though not without suggesting several other theories; and he develops incidentally the true doctrine of the Moon's light as well as of its relation to tides and eclipses; though of the physical causes of these phenomena he cannot form even an approximate conception, and he ridicules the doctrine of antipodes and a centre of gravity with a serious earnestness that throws the comic character of Deacon Homespun quite into the shade. Cold, in Plutarch's Physics, is not the mere absence of heat, but a positive substance referable to one of the four primary elements (fire, air, water and earth,) he does not know which, except that it is not fire. In reading the Physical Questions, we hardly know which are the most laughable—the questions themselves, or the answers to the questions, or the reasons for the answers. For example: "What is the reason that sea-water does not nourish trees? Is it not for the same reason, that it does not nourish land animals? For Plato, Anaxagoras and Democritus think, that plants *are* land animals. Nor, though sea-water is aliment to marine plants, will it therefore nourish plants on the land, since it can neither penetrate the roots because of its grossness, nor ascend by reason of its weight. Or is it, because drought is a great enemy to trees, and sea-water is of a drying faculty? Or is it, because oil is destructive to plants and kills things anointed with it? But sea-water partakes much of the nature of oil, for it burns with it. Or is it, because sea-water is not fit to drink?" etc., etc. So the discussion on the comparative utility of fire and water quite disturbs our gravity by its striking resemblance to the declamations and debates of school-boys and sophomores; only it perpetuates absurdities which no child would now be guilty of. But the Greek schools of philosophy—nay, the Greek agoras and porticos—were all so many debating-clubs, and their senates and popular assemblies were, far more than ours, schools of rhetoric. The Physics of Aristotle himself are a wide *meta*-physical battle-field, in which entities and non-entities, qualities and quiddities jostle and annihilate each other, to the no small amusement of the English and Baconian reader. And if Plutarch in his physical researches inquired what must be and

ought to be, not what is—if he not unfrequently mistook an illustration for an argument, an analogy for a demonstration, a hasty generalization for a sound induction,—it was only in imitation of the master of the Academy, who never wanted any stronger proof of a doctrine or theory, than that it pleased his imagination as beautiful, or commended itself to his judgment as fit.

The Platonic Questions, the Doctrines of Philosophers, the Procreation of the Soul, and even the piece on Music, may well enough be classified as *metaphysical* treatises, though the subjects discussed are many of them physical or ethical. Their chief value to us consists in the history of ancient opinions,* which they embody. Plutarch was not a metaphysician. When he undertook to play that part, he did it *invita Minerva*. Yet he sometimes attempts to follow the earlier philosophers, particularly Plato, into the realm of ideas, causes, and the like abstractions, and loses himself, even more hopelessly than his leader, in a chaos of mathematical and musical, physical and metaphysical subtleties, where none but a Greek or a German, or perchance some such erratic spirit as Milton sings of, can live and breathe. His doctrine as to the origin of body and soul was this: "Whereas the world consists of two parts, body and soul, God did not create the body; but, matter eternally existing, he formed and fitted it, binding it up and confining what was infinite within limits and figures. But the soul, partaking of understanding reason and harmony, was not merely the work of God but part of him, not only made but begotten by him." The following extract is a fuller development of his ideas on the subject, and may serve as a specimen of the Platonic Questions:—

"Why is it that while Plato always represents the soul as more ancient than the body and the cause and principle of its production, yet again he says, that soul is not produced without body, nor intellect without soul, but soul in body and intellect in the soul;† for so it will follow that the body both is and is not, at once coexisting with and produced by the soul. Perhaps that we have often said is true, viz: that the soul without intellect and the body without form always coexisted, and neither of them had generation or beginning. But when the soul partook of intellect and harmony, and by symphony having became intelligent, became a cause of change to matter, and having overpowered the motions of matter by its own motion, drew and converted them to itself, then and thus the body of the world had its generation from the soul, being both conformed and assimilated to it. For the soul did not create the nature of the body from itself nor out of nothing, but out of a disorderly and formless body it made one orderly and obedient to law."

* The Doctrines of Philosophers especially is invaluable as a history of ancient Physics, which, it will be remembered, embraced many topics that we refer to metaphysics. We observe, that in the Encyclopædia Americana the genuineness of this treatise is questioned; on what ground it does not appear.

† The reader will observe the three-fold division, answering somewhat to the body, soul and spirit of Paul.

In short, as we understand him, matter and spirit are both eternal, but order in the world and reason in the soul are both from God, and the former through the medium of the latter.

The following are the *ethical* pieces:—Anger, Bashfulness, Tranquillity, Envy and Hatred, Curiosity, Talkativeness, Love of Wealth, Borrowing and Running in Debt, Banishment, Virtue and Vice, Moral Virtue, That Virtue may be Taught, How a man may be Sensible of his Progress in Virtue, Whether Vice is sufficient to render a man unhappy, Whether the Passions of the Mind or the Diseases of the Body are the worse, Whether it was rightly said, Live Concealed, How a man may inoffensively praise himself, Against Colotes the Epicurean, That according to the doctrine of Epicurus it is impossible to live pleasurably, That the Stoics speak greater Paradoxes than the Poets, Contradictions of the Stoics, Common Sense against the Stoics. We propose to give a brief analysis of each of these pieces in their order, very much abridged and condensed of course, (for the originals fill volumes,) and yet not a mere abstract of dry doctrines, not here and there a brick taken at random from the pile, but, if we succeed in our object, an exhibition in miniature of not only the matter but the manner in which Plutarch has constructed his ethical works.

1. On Anger.—This begins as a dialogue between Sylla and Fundanus; but soon loses itself, as Plutarch's dialogues are prone to do, in a continuous discourse or argument by one of the interlocutors. Sylla speaks only twice, when Fundanus proceeds, at his request, to relate, how he subdued a naturally irascible temper, and turned it into a spring of useful and fruitful action. Anger, he says, is not to be cured by a single prescription as it were of a drug, but by a gradual and constant imbibing of the precepts of reason as of wholesome daily food and drink, which must be taken in not when the mind is already heated by passion, but laid up beforehand, like a stock of provisions for a siege. We must set out with the conviction, that it is not incurable; must check it in its first beginnings, and repress its outward manifestations, as Socrates did, by speaking in a low tone of voice and assuming a placid countenance. We should withdraw from the exciting causes or objects of anger; nay, if need be, retire into complete seclusion from the company of friends as well as foes. We should observe and reflect, how disgusting, how disgraceful it appears in others, as the Spartans were taught to loathe drunkenness by seeing it in the Helots; how ignoble and unmanly a thing it is—characteristic not of man, but of women and children. On the other hand, we do well to contemplate the numerous examples, which observation or history may furnish, of

magnanimity and self-control under the highest provocation. With this view, the author relates several striking instances, not only of philosophers, who are sometimes thought to have no gall in them, but of kings, who are peculiarly tempted to vent their rage on slight offences. Delay is wise even under provocations that excite just indignation—nay, under offences that demand severe punishment: for if the provocation is just and real to day, it will be no less just and real to-morrow; and the punishment, which is inflicted not in anger but in calmness, is received not as a cruel misfortune, but as a merited penalty. As anger is peculiarly liable to be excited at home, among familiar persons and about little things, where we are less on our guard and less studious to apply the precepts of reason, we should carefully avoid setting our hearts on such trifles as dress and food and drink, and should sedulously watch our feelings and conduct towards our wives, children, friends, and domestics. In all our intercourse with men, we should remember, that we also are men; and should not expect that perfection in others which we know does not exist in ourselves. Finally, vows and prayers for Divine assistance, and sacred days of fasting and meditation are important helps to a complete victory. Such in substance were the principal means by which Fundanus subdued a singularly irascible temper, and learned by happy experience, that a meek, cheerful, and benevolent disposition is to none so acceptable, obliging, and delightful, as it is to those who possess it.

2. On Bashfulness, or False Modesty.—This might well be denominated an essay on the art of learning to say, no! The spirit of the whole piece is embodied in a quotation from the Medea of Euripides:—

> "'Tis better now to brave the direst hate,
> Than curse a foolish easiness too late."

And the grand precept is to accustom ourselves to obey the dictates of our own reason and conscience, even in little things, that it may be easier for us to carry out the principle, where property, life, and even greater interests are at stake. In illustration, a story is told of Xenophanes, who, when called a coward because he refused to play at dice, replied:—"Yes, I confess myself a coward, for I dare not do a base or unworthy action."

3. On Tranquillity of Mind.—This piece is in the form of a letter, addressed to Paccius, a friend, who lived at Rome.* We learn from it, what we might have presumed from the characteristics of his writings, that the author was in the habit of keeping something

* Of course the essay was not written at Rome, as some have supposed that all the Moralia were.—*Vide* Methodist Quarterly for January, 1850, p. 16.

like a common-place book, since he apologizes for having hastily transcribed this piece, (in order that he might avail himself of an unexpected opportunity of sending to the imperial city,) chiefly from memoranda which he had casually made on the subject. Tranquillity, he teaches, must be sought, not in outward circumstances, but in a well-regulated mind. The silver slipper will not cure the gout, nor the imperial diadem ease the head-ache. A sound mind makes all situations easy and all changes pleasant, as a healthy body relishes and digests all kinds of food. Alexander wept, when he heard from Anaxarchus, that there was an infinity of worlds, while he had not yet completed the conquest of one. On the other hand, Crates, with nothing but his scrip and tattered cloak, laughed his life out, as if he had always been at a wedding-banquet. We should blunt the edge of troubles by expecting them; and when they come, learn to bring good out of evil, as bees extract honey from bitter herbs, as philosophers have often found necessity the mother of wisdom. We should meditate less on what we have not, and more on what we have, not forgetting those common blessings, whose value we usually appreciate only when they are lost, though the loss adds nothing to their real worth. Do you ask, what it is that we have? Rather, what have we not? Life, health, the pleasant light of the sun, peace, plenty, liberty, that we can talk and be silent when we please. If we must needs look beyond ourselves, let us look at those who are less fortunate than we are; or, if we will fix our admiring eyes on the great, let us not forget their peculiar trials and misfortunes. We must moderate our expectations and desires. Even the gods do not each excel in everything; but one in wisdom, another in beauty, some in war, others in peace. Thou hast a province of thine own,—adorn this, and be content. Pain and sickness, sorrow and misfortune may come upon you; but there is a limit, beyond which the severest calamities and death itself cannot pass—they can overcome the body, but they cannot conquer the will, they cannot destroy the soul. If the storm rises too high, it may sink the ship, but it will not bring the man the sooner to the haven. The urns that contain real good and evil, are not placed, as poets say, at Jove's threshold, but in our own breasts. Innocence is an unfailing treasure; virtue is an impregnable fortress. No power, no choice can make a good man wicked, a brave man a coward: it lies within the scope of every man's own will to say, that some things shall not befall him—that he will not be guilty of falsehood, treachery, or any baseness. In conclusion, the author declares, that to the good man every day is a festival, and all the world a goodly spectacle, which the gods have provided for his entertainment.

4. On Envy and Hatred.—An analysis of envy and hatred in order to an exposition of their characteristic differences. The proper object of envy is the felicity of others; that of hatred is evil, real or supposed, intrinsic or relative. Brutes are susceptible of hatred, but incapable of envy. Envy is always unjust, whereas hatred may be founded in justice. Hence many will acknowledge they hate, but none will confess they envy. Envy usually increases, as its object rises higher, and hatred as its object grows greater. Yet there is such a thing as rising above envy, whereas none is too great to be hated; no one envied Alexander, but he had many enemies. Hatred ceases, when the man is persuaded that he is not injured; but not so envy. Hatred may often be overcome by goodness and kindness, but virtues and benefits only exasperate envy.

5. On Curiosity, or Meddlesomeness.—This essay is chiefly taken up with a humorous and satirical description of the busybody in other men's matters. The character is acknowledged to spring from a proper constitutional element. But it is grossly perverted. Our curiosity should rather be directed to a close scrutiny into our own character and affairs. Become an eavesdropper to thine own house, listen to the whispers of thine own heart; survey the wonders of nature in the heavens and the earth, the air and sea; pry into her most secret recesses: but as to your neighbours, say, as Philippides the comedian did, when asked by king Lysimachus, what he wished might be imparted to him, "Anything but a secret." Or, if you must needs wallow in pollution, like the swine in the mire, ransack the history of the world, and there revel in folly, wickedness and misery, to thy heart's content. Impertinent inquisitiveness, like many other vices, becomes its own punishment by filling the mind with a noisome heap of other men's vanities, follies, and vices—a treasure much resembling the city Poneropolis, so called by Philip, after he had peopled it with rogues and vagabonds. Moreover, it leads to tattling calumny and espionage.*

By way of remedy, the author recommends, that we begin with repressing curiosity in minor and indifferent matters, pass handbills and showboards unheeded by, avoid looking into windows and shops with open doors, turn away from the knots in the streets and crowds in the market-places, and accustom ourselves to receive letters, messengers, and exciting news without precipitancy,—nay, with calmness and self-imposed delay,—as Rusticus, while listening

* In this connexion, Plutarch explains the etymology of the Greek συκοφάντης, or fig-babbler; *i. e.*, originally, one who informed against those who, contrary to law, exported figs.

to one of Plutarch's lectures at Rome, received an express from the emperor, and did not so much as open it till the lecture was closed, though he had no small reason to apprehend that his life might be suspended on its contents.

6. On Garrulity.—This essay, like the preceding, to which it is nearly related, begins with an exceedingly lively and graphic description of the talkative person—a description quite immethodical, but full to overflowing of anecdote, humour, satire, and invective. Whatever is said to him runs through him, as through a colander; he hurries about from place to place, like an empty vessel, void of wit or sense, but making a hideous noise; while all he meets flee from him, as seamen scud before a rising storm; himself meanwhile a greater wonder than anything he tells, and those who stop to hear him the greatest wonder of all, if they have legs to run away. The babbler is always and everywhere drunk, by day and by night, in the market-place, at the theatre, in the streets, in the porticos. If a physician, he is worse than the disease; if a companion in a voyage, he is more insupportable than the qualms of sea-sickness. Of other passions, some are dangerous, others hateful, and others ridiculous; but in garrulity all these evils are united. The merciless sacking of Athens by Sylla resulted from the silly prattle of a barber's shop. The tongue of one man prevented Rome from regaining her freedom by the destruction of Nero. Pittacus therefore did well, who, when the king of Egypt sent him an animal for sacrifice, and ordered him to take out and set aside the best and the worst piece, pulled out the tongue, and sent it to him as being at once the instrument of the greatest good and the greatest evils in the world. Nature herself enjoins silence or reserve in speaking, since she has given us two ears but only one tongue, and that, enclosed more strongly than any other organ, within a double fortification; Homer gives to words the epithet winged, for he that lets go a bird out of his hand, does not easily catch her again. Neither is it possible for a man to recall and cage again in his own breast a word let slip from his mouth. A unit by itself always remains a unit, but two contains in itself the principle or power of endless multiplication. So thought is a secret, but speech grows at once into common rumour. If he to whom thou hast communicated a secret, be like thyself, thou art deservedly lost; if better than thyself, then thou art miraculously saved, by having met with one who is more faithful, than thou art, to thine own interests. But thou wilt say, he is my friend? Very well: this friend of thine had another as worthy of his confidence, as he was of thine; and in like manner, his friend another, till the lengthened chain encloses the whole community. The essay con-

cludes, as usual, with prescribing remedies, which, however, are not particularly striking, or worthy of repetition.

7. On the Love of Riches.—The mass of rich men, according to our author, may be divided into two classes—those who do not use their wealth, and those who abuse it. The former resemble the bathkeeper's ass, that carries fuel for the fire, and is always smothered with the smoke and ashes of the furnace, but is never bathed nor warmed for all his pains. The latter may be likened, especially when they draw near the close of life, as Antipater likened the pleasure-loving, but eloquent Demades in his old age, to a sacrifice, when all is over and nothing is left but the tongue and the stomach. Do you seek riches only for the supply of your wants? The rich man only gets what he can eat and drink and wear, for the care and trouble of all his riches; and you can have just as much without that trouble. Do you covet them for the sake of display? Then all your happiness hangs on the eyes and lips of others. Do you hoard them up for the sake of your children? They will be of no more service to them than to you; but each successive generation seems only, like the successive pipes of an aqueduct, to transmit its contents to the next. The piece is short, and most of the thoughts and illustrations, though sensible and sprightly, have become stale by frequent repetition.

8. Against Borrowing or Running in Debt.—A vehement philippic against usurers as the worst of tyrants, and an impassioned expostulation with debtors as the meanest of slaves, and as in danger of becoming the worst of sinners. The Persians considered debt as the greatest of crimes, because it is the parent of every other crime. Usury begets lying and fraud, both in the borrower and the lender. They say, that hares at the same time suckle one leveret, are ready to bring forth another, and conceive a third. But the usuries of these wicked men, bring forth before they conceive. For at the very delivery of their money, they immediately demand it back, taking it up at the same moment they lay it down, and letting out that again at interest, which they receive for the use of what they had lent: so that they laugh at those natural philosophers, who hold that nothing can be made of nothing; for they make usury of what neither is nor ever was. No coach bought with borrowed money will run so fast, but they will outrun and overtake you. Take rather the first ass thou shalt meet, or the first packhorse that shall come in thy way, and flee from this most cruel enemy, into the debtor's only refuge—the sanctuary of economy and moderation. If thou hast of thine own, borrow not, since thou hast no need of it; and if thou hast nothing, borrow not, because thou

wilt not have any means to pay. But you will say, perhaps, how am I then to get a living? Is this a question for thee to ask, who hast hands, and feet, and a tongue—who art a *man*, capable of loving and being loved, of doing and receiving benefits? Teach grammar, educate children, be a gatekeeper, turn sailor—anything, rather than be saluted with duns for the payment of borrowed money. No employment is servile, which earns for us liberty or wisdom. Cleanthes ground by night, that he might study by day; and Crates and Anaxagoras, even forsook their patrimony, that they might not be enslaved by the care and management of it.

9. On Banishment.—A stone is hard, and ice is cold, by nature; but banishment and loss of powers are light or heavy, easy or hard to be borne, according to the opinion which each man entertains of them. The greatest and best of men have been exiled, and cared little for it: it was not they, but their country, that suffered the loss and the disgrace. Who would not rather be Themistocles the banished, than Leobates, who signed his condemnation? or be Cicero in exile, than Clodius, that drove him from Rome? Multitudes leave their native land from choice; and many have done their greatest works, and won their proudest honours, in voluntary or involuntary exile. Thucydides and Xenophon both wrote their histories when banished from Athens. No place can deprive a man of his happiness unless he choose, any more than it can rob him of his virtue or his wisdom. Anaxagoras wrote his book on the squaring of the circle, in prison; and Socrates still discoursed of philosophy, and was not the pity, but the envy and admiration of his disciples, when he was about to drink the hemlock. Nature gives us no country, as also no house or field. We are all born, as Socrates said of himself, not Athenians, not Greeks, but citizens of the world, with no narrower boundaries to our country than the sky, with the same elements to minister to our comfort, with the same heavenly bodies to preside over our sphere, under the government of the same Supreme Ruler, and under the administration of the same just and good, eternal and immutable laws: or rather, we are all strangers and exiles in this world. Heaven is the birthplace of our souls, heaven the proper country of our spirits; and it is a matter of comparative indifference in what spot of earth we sojourn, till we return thither again. Such are some of the lofty sentiments in which, incidentally, as it were, this piece abounds.

10. On Virtue and Vice.—Plutarch is never weary of insisting on the superiority of character to fortune, of the soul to outward circumstances. The little piece which we have just named, like the foregoing, is from beginning to end an illustration of this truth.

Happiness, like the vital heat, must come from within. As no amount of clothing can of itself warm the body, so no array of external trappings can gladden the soul. The light and life of the soul is virtue; and it is inextinguishable. Vice, on the other hand, shrouds the soul in perpetual darkness. You cannot flee from it at any moment, as from a disagreeable companion, nor give it a bill of divorce at pleasure, as a cross-grained wife. It will be your fellow-traveller wherever you go by day, and it will lie down with you as your bed-fellow, wherever you are at night, till by philosophy you gain a complete victory over your unholy appetites and passions. Then you will learn to be pleased everywhere, and with everything: with wealth, as a means of usefulness, and with poverty, as freedom from care; with fame for being honoured, and with obscurity for being unenvied.

11. On Moral Virtue.—This treatise is more metaphysical and controversial, than most of our author's moral essays. It is an extended discussion of the distinction between moral or practical, and intellectual or contemplative virtue. Plutarch, in common with Plato and Aristotle, but in opposition to Zeno and Chrysippus, maintains, that these two virtues, or kinds of virtue, are essentially distinct, having their seats in different parts or faculties of the soul. For man is not only of a two-fold nature as being compounded of body and soul; but the soul itself is two-fold, comprising a sensual and irrational, as well as an intellectual and rational part—the latter possessing reason in itself, and having a natural power or adaptation to subject the sensual, the bodily, and even the inanimate to its own dominion; the former destitute of reason, and yet having a natural susceptibility or aptitude to be governed by it. The due exercise or cultivation of the intellectual part in itself, and in the study of the universe, or of absolute existence, gives rise to contemplative virtue or science. The proper employment of the intellectual and rational powers in guiding and governing the irrational and sensual part, and in the regulation and use of all such things as exist relative to us, is the source of moral virtue or prudence. Contemplative virtue, therefore, is not subject to chance or change, whereas moral virtue is dependent on circumstances and liable to fluctuation. Contemplative virtue is incapable of excess, and consists in the highest possible exercise of reason in the highest attainable perfection of knowledge. Moral virtue is liable both to excess and defect, and consists in a proper medium between these extremes. Thus courage is the medium between cowardice and rashness; liberality between parsimony and prodigality; and so every moral virtue is a medium between the vices of too little and

too much. The rational and irrational elements co-exist and co-operate in the moral virtues—the irrational to communicate impulse and motion; the rational to regulate, moderate, and confine within proper limits. Extinguish reason and there will no regulator; eradicate the passions, as the Stoics teach, and there will be nothing to regulate. Adjust the balance duly between them, and all the appetites and passions, not less than the dictates of reason and conscience, are useful in their proper places. But neither of them can, in fact, be annihilated, or identified with the other. They always do and always will co-exist in every man's breast, more or less consciously distinct—nay, opposed to each other—the one commanding or forbidding, approving or disapproving, and remonstrating, even when it can no longer command; the other obeying or disobeying, complying or rebelling, and reluctating, or too tardily following, when it submits to be led. Even in matters of opinion which are connected with practice, and wherein the passions are concerned, the judgment is disturbed and a conflict ensues; whereas, in those questions with which the passions have nothing to do—such, namely, as pertain only to the contemplative part of the soul—there is either an immediate decision, or there is at all events no conflict—only a suspense of the judgment. This proves the essential distinctness of the rational and irrational parts of the soul. And we see this distinctness, not only in the conflict, but also when they concur; since in this case they are not simultaneous in their impulses, but the one usually takes the lead, and the other follows—as when, for instance, the affections follow and obey the judgment, or the judgment on the other hand yields and submits to the affections. Moreover, we see conclusive evidence, that reason and passion reside in different seats or inhere in different parts of the soul, in that the appetites and passions so agitate and thrill the body, as in the excitements of hope and fear, joy and sorrow, pride and shame; while the operations of pure intellect, as in the solution of a mathematical problem, or the contemplation of the heavens, leave the body in a state of undisturbed tranquillity; thus evincing, that the appetites and passions are in some way more closely connected with the body than reason is.

12. That Virtue may be Taught.—This short and apparently unfinished piece, is an argument chiefly analogical and *a fortiori*, in proof of the proposition, that virtue does not come spontaneously, without reason and without art, but that it may and should be made a matter of instruction and discipline. When all else that is valuable for the body or the mind is taught, it were absurd to suppose that virtue, the highest excellence and felicity of our nature,

must be left to the development of blind nature, or still blinder chance.

13. How a Man may be sensible of his Progress in Virtue.—This admirable essay, full of the author's characteristic good sense and practical wisdom, is addressed, as are also several of Plutarch's Lives, to Sosius Senecio, thrice consul under the Emperor Trajan. At its commencement an assault is made upon the extravagant dogmas of the Stoics, which concede no medium between absolute folly and perfect wisdom, and, therefore, preclude the very idea of progress in virtue. Some of the indications of progress, which compose the remainder and the principal part of the treatise, are such as these:—Constancy in endeavours after virtue and in struggles with vice is a certain means as well as a sure sign of progress; as the traveller who makes no stops or halts, but toils on at however slow a pace, is sure at no distant day to arrive at his journey's end. Another measure of proficiency is found in the increasing firmness of our resolutions, and the growing intensity of our application to all good culture, as well as in the lover-like pain we feel at any diversion or distraction which separates us for a season from the beloved object of our pursuit. Again: the proficient in wisdom, as he will not be daunted by difficulties, drawn aside by avocations, shamed by ridicule, or deterred by danger, so will he not be allured by the superior pleasures, honours or rewards, that attend another mode of life, to abandon the prosecution of the highest good. On the contrary, he will be conscious of a growing indifference to all such outward circumstances in comparison with the excellence of virtue, till at length he estimates himself and others solely by their moral worth; as Agesilaus, when he heard the king of Persia styled the Great King, asked, How is he greater than I, if he be not more just? Another proof of proficiency in virtue is the alteration of one's style of writing and way of managing an argument or discourse,—learning to write in a more chastened style, attending to things rather than mere words, and seeking not so much to win present admiration as to leave a permanent and useful impression—learning also to argue for truth rather than victory, and to maintain equanimity whether the auditors be fewer or more in numbers and of greater or less distinction. True virtue needs not auditors or applauders, but sits down contented with self-approbation. Still less will she become her own herald, and trumpet her own good deeds. Such men show, that they look beyond themselves for satisfaction, that they thirst for praise, that they never were admitted near spectators of virtue, never saw her real person and presence, but only her image and shadow in a transient dream. Modesty and

serenity are marks of distinguished excellence. Candidates for initiation into the mysteries run together with rude clamours and boisterous vociferations; but, when admitted to the presence of the sacred rites, they attend with holy awe and religious silence. And those who frequent the schools at Athens, are first σοφοί, (sages,) then φιλόσοφοι, (lovers of wisdom,) then ῥήτορες, (rhetoricians,) and finally ἰδιῶται, (ordinary men.) Progress in virtue appears in a willingness to be admonished of our faults,—nay, an eager desire to discover them, and a frank acknowledgment of them when discovered. Diogenes said, that whoever wished to be constantly and certainly right, must get either a faithful friend or a bitter enemy to be his monitor; and Hippocrates published to the world a mistake he had made in anatomy, adding, that it ill became him whose business it was to cure others not to be able or willing to correct himself.

14. Whether Vice is sufficient to render a Man miserable.—This is manifestly a fragment, dismembered both at the beginning and the end. The question is of course answered in the affirmative. Men have laughed at racks and tortures, at losses and calamities, at all the engines of tyrants and all the storms of fortune. But Vice is an absolute and self-sufficient worker of misery, and stands in need of neither instruments nor executioners. Anger, fear, remorse and despair, have stretched tyrants themselves and the favourites of fortune upon a rack, from which there is no deliverance.

15. Whether are worse, the Passions of the Soul, or those (that is, the Diseases) of the Body.—Man is here declared, after the authority of Homer, to be the most miserable of creatures, and chiefly miserable because his better part, his soul, is subject to so many and so cruel maladies. The diseases of the soul are worse than those of the body:—1, because they are self-caused and inherent; 2, because they are less open to the view whether of the patient or his friends; 3, because he is always more or less deranged or bereft of reason; 4, because, being unconscious of his condition, he shuns the remedy and seeks that which aggravates the disease; and 5, because he is not only miserable but usually guilty, and suffers only the consequences of his own follies and sins.

16. How a Man may inoffensively Praise himself.—Offensive as self-commendation usually is, there are occasions when a man may and should make himself the subject of his own discourse—not for the sake of courting flattery, still less to obscure the merit of others, but in self-defence, or as a means of usefulness. For instance, calumny may compel us to glory in our praiseworthy actions. Thus Epaminondas, when he was arraigned before the Thebans for having prolonged his command beyond his lawful term of office, declared

that he would willingly be put to death, if they would set up this accusation against him: "Epaminondas has wasted Laconia, an enemy's country, prosperously settled the affairs of Messene, and happily secured an alliance with Arcadia, against our will." Whereupon the people, smitten with admiration at his magnanimity, dismissed him with honour, without so much as putting the question to vote. Phocion also showed his greatness of mind under the unjust sentence which was pronounced upon him, when he said to one of his fellow-sufferers: "What, is it not a pleasure to thee to die with Phocion?" And Themistocles, experiencing the neglect of the populace whom he had saved, said to them: "Upon every storm, you fly to the same tree for shelter; yet when fair weather returns, you strip it of its leaves and fruit, as you go away." If in apologizing for ourselves, we can delicately interweave with our own the praises of our auditors, we are doubly secure from envy; as we see many admirable illustrations in the oration of Demosthenes for the Crown. Orators often commend themselves indirectly by lavishing encomiums on others, whose character, or conduct, or sentiments resemble their own. Those who are forced to dwell upon their own praises, are more readily excused, if they do not arrogate the merit wholly to themselves, but ascribe it partly to fortune, and partly to God. So Achilles attributed his conquests to the gods, and Zaleucus referred his laws to the wisdom of Minerva. It may seem to forestall envy, if, when we are extolled by others, we wave the credit imputed to us, while at the same time we acknowledge our claim to some less envied, yet perhaps more truly meritorious action. Thus, when Pericles, on his death-bed, was reminded by his friends of his many honours and victories, he checked them with the assurance, that his chief satisfaction was derived from the consciousness that he had never been the occasion of any of the Athenians wearing black. Nay, it may even be expedient for us sometimes to charge ourselves with some minor faults by way of obscuring a splendour that might otherwise be painful to envious eyes. Self-praise is justifiable, especially in the aged and the truly great, as a means of exciting others to a virtuous emulation, as old Nestor, by relating the achievments of his youth, inflamed ten Grecian chieftains with a burning eagerness for single combat with Hector; or for the sake of repressing an ill-grounded pride in others, as Aristotle wrote to Alexander, that not only those who have mighty empires, may think highly of themselves, but they also who have worthy thoughts and notions of the Deity; or to inspire our friends and fellow-citizens with courage amid danger, as Cyrus, though far from boastful at ordinary times, talked largely in the midst of battles and perils; or

to offset false encomiums and recommend a more excellent way, as Phocion, while Leosthenes yet prospered, being asked, what good he had done the city, replied, "Nothing but this, that, during my administration, there have been no funeral orations, though all who have died have been buried in the sepulchres of their fathers." In conclusion, the author cautions his readers to look well to themselves, lest, in the belief that self-commendation is sometimes justifiable, they should be betrayed into an unseasonable and offensive indulgence in it, for the mere gratification of their own pride, vanity or self-love. This treatise illustrates the ease and felicity with which a trifling theme grew in our author's fruitful mind into a copious and beautiful essay.

17. Whether it was rightly said, Live concealed.—Live concealed, was a saying of Epicurus; and Plutarch thinks, if the precept were applicable to any, it would apply with emphasis to him and his demoralizing sect. Yet Epicurus himself did not believe his own doctrine; else why did he *publish* it? Was it not for the very purpose of being noticed? Like watermen, who look astern while they row the boat ahead, so Epicurus and his followers row hard after fame with their face another way. To recommend this precept to the ignorant and vicious, were like bidding the sick man take care lest the physician find him. On the other hand, to urge it on the virtuous and wise, were to rob the world of their influence—to bid Epaminondas lay down his arms, and Lycurgus rescind his laws, and Socrates forbear his discourses. Virtue becomes practical, operative, useful, only as it is seen and known, as light is in its own nature glorious and at the same time beneficial to the world. Concealment, like the night, induces drowsiness and torpor, while publicity, like the day, wakes all the dormant energies to life and action. Or, if concealment is favourable to any kind of activity, like darkness it favours only the wicked; and if publicity represses action, it is only the vicious that shrink from it, as from the light of the morning. Life is in its very nature a manifestation. The soul existed before, but it was *concealed* in the womb of the universe. At birth, it came forth to be seen and known, conspicuous and illustrious. Accordingly, the king of the lower world is called Hades, (that is, the unseen or invisible,) while Apollo, or the Sun, bears the name of Delian and Pythian, (that is, the manifest and known.) And the ancients called man φώς, (*quasi* φῶς, light,) because of his innate desire of knowing and being known. Nay, some philosophers think, that the soul itself is in its essence light, since, of all things being, the soul most dreads ignorance, obscurity and darkness. To conclude the whole: at death pious souls go to a world of unending day

and unclouded glory; while the wicked sink to an abode of perpetual darkness and oblivion, where they are punished, not, as poets sing, by vultures gnawing at their livers, and heavy burdens or fruitless labours oppressing their weary bodies, but by ignorance and ignominy, plunging their souls in a bottomless abyss of inactivity, uselessness, and obscurity.

18. The two treatises which we have named next in order,* may well be mentioned together, since the one is a supplement to the other, and both are directed against the doctrines of Epicurus.

Colotes, the disciple and particular friend of Epicurus, wrote a book with this doctrine and title: "That according to the tenets of the other philosophers, it is impossible to live." In his treatise "Against Colotes," Plutarch turns the weapons of the Epicurean against himself, and shows that, according to the same manner of reasoning, Epicurus may be far more justly charged with annihilating all life, since he denied the objective reality of sensations and qualities, maintained the immutability of atoms, and hence by fair implication (especially if no qualities really exist to combine with them) the impossibility of their becoming living beings, confounded the distinction between essential being and merely accidental existence, taught that the soul is partly composed of aërial and fiery particles, and partly of some nameless and unknown but equally perishable material substance, annulled the justice and providence and virtually the existence of the gods, and incited mankind to seek the supreme goal not in "vain and empty virtues which have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncertain fruits," but, like the brutes that perish, in the mere gratification of their bodily appetites and passions.

In the other treatise, our author again carries the war into the enemy's country, and argues, that, according to the doctrine of Epicurus, it is impossible to live *pleasurably;* for if pleasure is to be sought in the body, it is liable to more pains than pleasures, and those more acute and of longer duration—the pleasure of eating and drinking, for example, being momentary, while the intervals of hunger and thirst, or at least of privation, are prolonged; and if pleasure is to be found in the mind, Epicurus cuts off the mind from the widest field of the highest and purest pleasure, when he annihilates the hopes and virtues we should derive from the gods, and extinguishes, both in our speculative faculties the desire of knowledge, and in our active powers the ambition to do good and win immortality.

There is a fine passage, in the former of these pieces, on the

* See p. 464.

universality of the belief among men in the existence and providence of God, and the absolute necessity of such a belief to the prosperity and perpetuity of nations. "Travel through the world," he says, "and you will find towns and cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without theatres, without gymnasia, without money, without houses. But there never was and never will be a city without temples and gods, or without prayers, oaths, prophecies and sacrifices for the averting of calamities and curses—for the obtaining of benefits and blessings. Nay, I am of the opinion, that a city might better be built without any ground to stand upon, than a commonwealth be established, or, being established, be preserved, without religion and the fear and worship of the gods." Plutarch has no complacency, nay, no patience with the Epicureans. He looks on them as the enemies of society and of mankind—as he writes, his indignation gathers, and he pours a storm of hard words and hard arguments upon the rabble rout.

19. The Stoics, at whom the three remaining ethical pieces* are levelled, are treated with more respect. Indignation gives place to humour, and playful satire stands instead of bitter invective. He ridicules the paradoxes of the Stoics, as more extravagant than the wildest dreams of the poets. For the fables of the poets maintain consistency and decorum—they never leave a Hercules destitute of necessaries: but supplies spring up, as from some hidden fountain, for himself and his companions. But the vaunted Sage of the Stoics is a rich man, and yet begs his bread—a king, but resolves syllogisms for hire—has all things, and yet pays rent for the house in which he lives. Again, our author turns the logic of the Stoics against themselves, and shows, that, while they make their boast of following nature and reason as the standard of life, their system is so unnatural and absurd, that they cannot but contradict each other and themselves as often as they pass from one treatise to another, nay, often in the same treatise—that their conduct gives the lie to their theory, and the very laws and necessities of the language they use falsify the doctrines they teach—and that they do violence to the common sentiments, the native instincts, and even the senses of mankind. He argues with special earnestness against the doctrine of Chrysippus, that Vice is not wholly useless to the universe, since without evil there would not be any good. "Is there then no good among the gods," he asks, "where there is no evil? And when Jupiter, having resolved all things into himself, (another doctrine of the Stoics,) exists alone, will there then be no good, because there will then be no evil? Can there be no harmony in a choir unless some one

* See p. 464.

sings badly, and no health in the body unless some member is diseased? Could not Socrates have been just, if Melitus had not been wicked? Could not the Deity have found means to bring a Hercules and a Lycurgus into the world, if he had not also introduced a Phalaris and a Sardanapalus? They will next teach us, that the consumption was intended for the sound constitution of men's bodies, and the gout for the swiftness of their feet, and that Achilles could not have had a good head of hair, if Thersites had not been bald. To say, that vice was made by the providence of God—like a wanton epigram by the will of the poet, to give grace or spice to the whole poem—transcends in absurdity all imagination. For, this being granted, how will the gods be givers of good rather than evil, and how will wickedness appear to be displeasing and hateful to them? Pray, tell us, wherein is vice profitable to the universe? In heavenly things? Would the sun cease to rise and set, if men did not lie and steal and murder? For earthly things? Are we then more healthy for being vicious, or do we enjoy more plentifully the comforts of life? Does vice contribute to beauty or strength? Or is vice favourable to virtue, hatred to friendship, and light to darkness? But prudence, they say, consists in a knowledge of good and evil, and without evil would be wholly precluded. As if there could be no sight, unless there were such a colour as black for it to distinguish! When, as they hold, the world shall be set on fire, there will then be no evil left; but all will then be prudent and wise. There may therefore be prudence without evil. But granting, that prudence must always be a knowledge of good and evil, what would be the loss or inconvenience of parting with such a virtue, if, instead of it, we might have another and kindred virtue, which should be, not the knowledge of good and evil, but the knowledge of good only?"

But we must bring these notices to a close? The religious or theological treatises of Plutarch must be the subject of another paper, for which they afford richer materials than we have been able to appropriate to our present use.

We only allude, in conclusion, to the Banquet of the Seven Sages, and the Symposiaca—two pieces, which are of so miscellaneous a nature, that they can hardly be referred to either of our heads of classification. The former is comparatively brief, and records with great conciseness the answers which the seven sages are imagined to have given, each in turn, to a succession of curious questions, which arise spontaneously and quite immethodically, while at the same time they discuss the merits of the successive dishes at a feast. The other is the longest of all Plutarch's treatises, addressed,

like several of his best works, to Sosius Senecio, and divided into nine books, (the number of the muses,) each of which contains a discussion of ten questions. The questions are of every kind, actual, possible or conceivable, in history and archæology, in physics and metaphysics, in politics and ethics, in science and religion, in poetry and music, in literature and art, in dietetics and dancing, pertaining to body, soul and spirit, extending to things in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth; and the work is no unfit symbol of the multifarious and miscellaneous mind of its author.

Art. VII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just issued "*Religion, the Weal of the Church and the Need of the Times*, by George Steward," (12mo., pp. 256.) It consists of a series of essays, twelve in number, upon topics so connected with each other that the work has a remarkable unity of design and of thought, in spite of its fragmentary form. The first Essay, entitled "The Speech of God," exhibits the nature of God's revelation to man—first, as closed and ended in the Bible; second, as perpetually going on in the development of God's Providence. The second chapter, on "The Work of God," sets forth the Church as the great organ and centre of the Divine activity for the renewal of mankind; and the third, shows the necessity of "Evangelism"—a constant *zeal* for the revival of religion—for the extension of the Divine kingdom. In chapter IV. the "Characteristics of the Present Age," and their relations to the progress of religion, are exhibited; while chapter V. ("Unbelief") dwells upon the grounds and aspects of the modern sceptical theories. Having thus considered the relations of modern society to the Church, Mr. Steward next devotes his attention to the present relations of society to the Church. The need of a pure and scientific theology, as well as of able teachers thereof, is strongly indicated in the chapter on "Church Requisites." Chapters VII. and VIII., on "Church Provision" and on "Methodism," take up the questions of the Church's duty to provide for the culture of the masses; and how far Methodism is suited, in her doctrines, polity, and spirit, for this aggressive work. These chapters, which are at once thoughtful, suggestive, and bold, are perhaps the best in the book. The following remarks upon religious divisions are applicable to Methodism at this day on both sides of the Atlantic. Speaking of the difficulty of preserving the union of religious bodies of great magnitude, the author proceeds:—

"The modes of relief, open to unwieldy and incoherent bodies, are less theoretically than historically manifest. Amendment, or partial reconstruction, is one; the emission of intractable material is another; and a third is a division into several communities, either independent or federally related only. All these, however, have their drawbacks. The primary and true policy is *conservation combined with movement*,—and the one in order to the other.

"The currents of society must not be thwarted, or dammed up; but easy channels should be formed for their undisturbed flow, and they should be made tributary to Church strength, instead of draining off its life. The happy art undoubtedly is, that of a musician who combines various, and even discordant, notes into harmony; or, to ascend higher, of the Divine Mind, which combines conflicting powers into glorious unities, by the interposition of such affinities and balances as best serve his ends.

"Periodic convulsions, in a body, though they relieve from disturbance, abstract its energies. The residuary becomes effete, while the birth of agitation, for the moment preternaturally active, subsides into permanent torpor. When the separated portion is comparatively fractional only, it is almost as liable to wither and die, as a branch riven from its parent stem; there is the loss of just so much salutary agency to society in general, with a proportionate defalcation from the residuary Church. This is all but an unmixed evil. It is only when the seceding mass approximates to the residuary, that the chances of life and growth are increased by the breadth of counter-array and energetic competition. *Character and reputation* are frightfully deteriorated by the struggles of schisms —incomparably the most intense of human collisions, as they issue from the very depths of our moral nature. It is obvious that frequent internal convulsion and separation must consume much of the life and resources of any community. Their effect must be a *moral* as well as *statistical* retrogression: the results of former toil are squandered; the harvest of years strewn to the winds. Considering the terrifically Antinomian exhibitions of such seasons, and the stimulus they give to the infidel and profane, the wonder is, that religion itself in any particular form of it where this happens, survives the blow,—not that it should, for a time, languish, or its recovery be slow. Such a fact seems to declare its divinity as a thing separable from the worst possible accidents, and that its resurrectional energies are as the reflection of that of Christ himself, from the tomb; a type, too, of its final triumph alike over the treachery of friends and the insults of foes."

We should be glad to quote further; but our limits forbid. Our readers will find Mr. Steward a *thoughtful* and *suggestive* writer, as we have said: and we are sure that, if he lives, the Church will hear more from him—and even better—than the excellent book before us contains.

(2.) No history, ecclesiastical or other, abounds more in materials of attractive and even romantic interest, than the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has had its heroes and its martyrs of the noblest stamp; their *memorabilia* are worth the world's reading. We welcome, then, with a singular and peculiar delight, every history, however partial or local, every biography, however humble, and every record, however fragmentary, that may tend to embalm and preserve the memoirs of the heroic age of our Church. Our readers will remember, as one of the pleasantest books of this class, the "Sketches and Incidents from the Saddle-bags of a Superannuated Itinerant," and we now with pleasure note the appearance, from the same pen, of "*Sketches from the Study of a Superannuated Itinerant.*" (Boston: C. H. Peirce & Co., 12mo., pp. 257.) The book gives sketches of Zadok Priest, Hezekiah Calvin Wooster, Enoch Mudge, and John Collins, with a beautiful memorial of the Garrettson family, their homestead on the Hudson, and its chief light and ornament, Catharine Garrettson. Several essays on Methodism, education, and other topics are interspersed among the personal sketches. The writer of these sketches wields the most versatile and graphic pen known in our Church—and it fails in none of its qualities in these pages. We trust the book will find its way into the extensive circulation it deserves.

(3.) "*Memorials of Missionary Labours in Africa and the West Indies, with Historical and Descriptive Observations*, by WILLIAM MOISTER." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1851; 12mo., pp. 348.) Mr. Moister spent two years in Africa, and ten in the West Indies and Demerara, in the service of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and this volume contains a record of his labours and observations in both those interesting fields. Prefixed to the first part is a very satisfactory account of Western Africa and its people, conveying, in brief compass, a large amount of information with regard to a country but little known. The record here given is enough to vindicate the policy of the Church in sending her missionaries to those inhospitable and insalubrious shores. Mr. Moister landed on the coast of Africa, at St. Mary's, on the 15th of March, 1831, and immediately commenced his labours.

"The first Sabbath we spent in Africa was a day never to be forgotten. At morning-dawn the native prayer-meeting was held, and many thanks were offered to Almighty God for our safe arrival. In the forenoon I read prayers, and opened my commission by preaching from that delightful text, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." 1 Tim. i, 15. The people heard with marked attention, and the whole appearance of the congregation was truly pleasing. It afforded an interesting proof that the labours of my revered predecessors had not been in vain, though some of them had been called hence at an early period after their arrival. The negroes who had been brought to a knowledge of the truth, both male and female, together with their children, appeared in the house of God neatly clothed, and, in their general aspect, presented a striking contrast to their sable brethren who still remained in heathen darkness. They sang the praises of God most delightfully, and the impression made upon our minds was of a very pleasing character. Another service in the evening, conducted partly in the language of the natives, and partly in English, closed the exercises of this blessed day."

In March, 1832, Mr. Moister ascended the Gambia to M'Carthy's Island, two hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the river, founded a school and mission, and left John Cupidon, a native convert, in charge of it. Twelve months afterwards, the missionary returned again to M'Carthy's island, and thus describes the change that had been wrought meanwhile:—

"At ten o'clock, A. M., the people assembled for Divine worship, evidently anticipating something more than usual. As I entered the chapel, I could not but observe the change which had taken place in the appearance and manners of the people since I last addressed them. They presented themselves in the house of God clean and neat in their apparel; and conducted themselves with a reverence and propriety becoming the solemnity of the occasion. I preached with freedom and comfort to a deeply-attentive congregation, after which I baptized seven adults and sixteen children. The adults had been carefully instructed and prepared for this sacred ordinance, by the native teacher; and the children were the offspring of parents who had avowed their determination to give themselves to the Lord. In the afternoon I examined the Sunday school, which consisted chiefly of young men and women, and I was delighted to observe the eagerness with which they were endeavouring to make out the meaning of the words of Him who 'spake as never man spake.' We held another service in the evening, which proved to be a season of 'refreshing from the presence of the Lord.' This holy Sabbath was, indeed, a day long to be remembered; and had I not actually beheld it, I could scarcely have believed that such a change could take place in so short a space of time, through the simple teaching of a converted African,—for several gave pleasing evidence that a work of grace had commenced in their hearts; and the whole congregation engaged in the singing, and other devotional exercises, with a life and energy truly pleasing."

Soon after, a missionary was sent out from England to take charge of the work at M'Carthy's Island, and it has been carried on successfully, from that day to this. Hundreds of natives have been brought under the sound of the Gospel at that station; and one of its missionaries has translated part of the Bible into the Mandingo language. The school, at the latest dates, numbered ninety scholars; and there were one hundred and fifty natives in Church-fellowship. This is but a single specimen of the fruits of recent missionary labour in Africa.

Mr. Moister's account of his residence in Demerara and the West Indies is, if possible, still more interesting. We should be glad to give some extracts from it, did our limits allow; but must content ourselves with urging our ministers to read this book and to cause its circulation among their people.

(4.) Of popular works on the subject of Geology and its relations to Scripture there is no lack. A new and valuable one is now added to the list in "*The Course of Creation*, by John Anderson, D.D." (Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co., 1851; 12mo., pp. 384.) The work is divided into four parts—of which the first treats of the geology of Scotland; the second, the geology of England; the third, that of France and Switzerland; while the fourth discusses general principles. Dr. Anderson is evidently well skilled in geology, and writes with a freedom and vivacity rivalled by no writer on the subject except Hugh Miller. The Conclusion states, with great clearness and force, the bearing of the geological evidences upon the character and attributes of God. The book is admirably got up by the Cincinnati publishers.

(5.) "*The Sabbath School and Bible Teaching*, by James Inglis." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 12mo., pp. 224.) The aim of the author of this timely work, is, according to his preface, to supply Sunday-school teachers with a practical guide. The work is divided into two parts:—I. On Teaching: II. On the School. After disclaiming any attempt to set forth a new *system* of teaching, the author unfolds, with great judgment and sense, the different steps which he deems essential to successful instruction, viz:—The preparation of the lesson, its explanation, suitable illustration, apt application, and abundant revision. The subject of catechetical instruction is very fully examined. Under the head of "The School," the qualifications, duties, &c., of the superintendent and teachers are carefully discussed, and the details of school-management entered into at considerable length. Believing that the Sunday school is, next to the pulpit, the great instrument of the Church for the spread of religion in this and future generations, we welcome every new work likely to add to the efficiency and value of the system; and we cordially commend Mr. Inglis's book to all who are engaged or interested in the work of Sunday-school instruction.

(6.) "*The Harmony of Prophecy, or Scripture Illustrations of the Apocalypse*, by Rev. Alexander Keith, D.D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851, 12mo., pp. 439.) Dr. Keith is an obscure and prolix writer—and the present work is not clearer nor more satisfactory than his "Evidence of Prophecy."

(7.) "*The Works of Horace; with English Notes, for the Use of Schools and Colleges*, by J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of Latin in Brown University." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851; 12mo., pp. 575.) Orelli's second edition is adopted by Professor Lincoln as the basis of his text of Horace; and he could not have done better. The prolegomena contain a neat and carefully prepared Life of Horace; a chronological table; a statement of the lyric metres of Horace; and an Index to the metres. The text itself, which is printed in a large, bold, and beautiful type, occupies 309 pages, while the notes occupy 237; thus reversing the proportion of some modern text-books, in which the text seems only to be a scaffolding for the notes. Mr. Lincoln's plan of annotation aims to explain only *real* difficulties: "to give such and so much aid, only, as may at once stimulate and reward the pupil's industrious efforts; and also not to supersede or interfere with the course of direct instruction and illustration which every good teacher is accustomed to follow with his classes." That this is the true theory on which College text-books should be prepared, we are well assured; and we thank Professor Lincoln for the admirable example of it he has offered us in this excellent edition of Horace. Were we now engaged in teaching, as of old, we should certainly make use of the book —and we cordially commend it to the notice of all instructors.

(8.) "*Nature and Blessedness of Christian Purity*, by Rev. R. S. FOSTER." (Lane & Scott, for the Author: 12mo., pp. 226.) This belongs to the class of practical and devotional books; and yet rests on a basis of sound theological inquiry. That Holiness is attainable on earth, and how it may be obtained and kept—these are its topics, and they are treated with earnestness, clearness, and vivacity, so that the book is attractive as well as substantial. The author shows the extravagances into which some modern writers on the subject have fallen; and makes the calm, sound, and rational views of Wesley, founded on the Scriptures, the foundation of his own. We are particularly pleased with his urgent exhortations to all who *profess* holiness to illustrate it in their conduct. The Church needs EXAMPLES of holiness more than professors of it. But we cannot dwell upon this book now: a more extended review is in preparation for a future number of our journal.

(9.) WE have noticed "*Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*" several times during its issue in numbers, and have now before us the first bound volume (8vo., pp. 576; Harper & Brothers, New-York); and feel it a duty to recommend it, especially as a family book, worthy of the patronage of the whole American people. It is at once a series of pictures of our country and of its history, as the ingenious plan on which the work is prepared combines these two objects. The various localities made famous by the events of the Revolution are noticed in the order in which they were visited by the eminent artist who prepares the book, and from whose drawings, taken on each spot, the whole is profusely illustrated. "To delineate with pen and pencil what is left of the physical features of that period, and thus to rescue from oblivion, before it should be too late, the mementoes which another generation will appreciate," has been Mr. Lossing's employment for many

months—and the result of these genial labours is now placed in a permanent form before the American public. As for the mechanical execution of the work, it is, perhaps, taking paper, printing, illustrations, and all into the account, the very best specimen of a purely American book that we have yet seen.

(10.) THE "Positive Philosophy" of Auguste Comte is distinguished as well for its exceeding comprehensiveness, with regard to material phenomena, as for its poverty with regard to all others. It is, in effect, a negation of all philosophy, as such; and its final triumph would be the restriction of the efforts of the human mind to the apprehension and classification of material phenomena and their relations. That such a philosophy (or no-philosophy) is necessarily destructive and atheistical, is too obvious to require any argument. Indeed, M. Comte does not hesitate to admit this issue: in fact, he glories in it as the emancipation of humanity from the reign of superstition and of metaphysics.

This stand-point of M. Comte has unhappily prevented the English mind, to a great extent, from appreciating and employing the really sublime results to which his penetrating acuteness and severe logic have led him within the domain to which his method is strictly applicable. But the time, we think, is not far distant, in which all that is valuable in the "Cours de Philosophie Positive" will become the common property of literature—the evil residuum being eliminated and rejected. An indication of this tendency is shown in the translation of a part of his great work, under the title of "*The Philosophy of Mathematics, translated from the Philosophic Positive of Auguste Comte*, by W. M. GILLESPIE, Professor in Union College." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 8vo., pp. 260.) This is certainly the best part of Comte's whole work: for in its execution he was aided not merely by his general acuteness of mind, but also by his special experience as a mathematician. M. Arago, indeed, gave *his* opinion of Comte's mathematical skill very intelligibly in the declaration, "Chez M. Comte je ne voyais de titres mathematiques d' aucune sorte:" but there must have been a little personal pique, we judge, at the bottom of this judgment. Be that as it may, there is nowhere to be found so complete a survey of the field of mathematical science as a whole, nor so skilful an exhibition of the relations of the several parts, as in this work; and we cordially thank Professor Gillespie for laying it before us in English. It is rather to be regretted, we judge, that the portion relating to Rational Mechanics has been left out in the translation.

(11.) HENRY MAYHEW has opened a new vein in his "*London Labour and the London Poor*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers,) of which we have six of the serial parts. The novelists have often enough sought for characters and "scenes" in the abodes of poverty and crime; but this is the first instance, so far as we know, in which a professed man of letters has undertaken to seek out statistics for himself—and such statistics—and make out of them a book that the *public* would read. He has succeeded most admirably: and his work will not only arrest the eye, but we trust also the heart of that great "public" for which it was written. We shall return to the work when the series is completed.

(12.) We have seldom read a more touching memorial of early piety and of Christian fortitude than "*A Discourse preached on the occasion of the death of William Edgar Baker*, by C. K. IMBRIE, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Rahway, N. J." (Carter & Brothers, 1851, 18mo.) The subject of this memoir breathed the atmosphere of a pious household from his infancy, and was converted at an early age. Attacked in opening manhood by a fearful malady, he bore the most terrible operation in surgery with a degree of endurance which extorted from the surgeon a tribute of unusual admiration for his more than heroic fortitude. The operation was vain: but his *faith* was not:—he passed through the valley of the shadow of death without trembling. The parents of such a son may rejoice in the "treasure" they have "in Heaven." The edition before us appears to have been printed solely for private circulation; but we are sure the book would do great good if scattered through a wider circle.

(13.) "*The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*" is a work so well known as to need no new notice. We have only to announce a new and neat edition. (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 12mo., pp. 239.)

(14.) "*Dealings with the Inquisition; or, Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits*, by Rev. GIACINTO ACHILLI, D. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 351.) We are disappointed in this book. The title is a misnomer, as the "dealings" of Dr. Achilli with the Inquisition make up but a small part of the work. It is also a far more rambling, irregular, and disjointed production than we should have expected from an ex-professor of Theology, even though his training had been acquired in that poorest of all schools for training the human mind wholesomely—a Roman Catholic College. It is a pity that some of Dr. Achilli's judicious friends in England did not revise his work before publication.

But with all these drawbacks, the book is full of interest. It bears the marks of truthfulness on every page, even in the naive self-conceit of the author which is sometimes perfectly amusing. It is clear that Dr. Achilli is an honest and earnest man; and one must forgive a little "self-consciousness" in a man who has passed through so many stirring scenes. The interest of the book does not really begin until the fifth chapter—the remaining fifteen chapters form a sort of auto-biography which throws a flood of light upon many of the ways of Papal Rome, her priests and her Jesuits. The following extract contains part of a long conversation between Dr. Achilli and a Jesuit friend of his—a conversation held long before Dr. A.'s abandonment of Popery:

"'But tell me,' I asked, 'what do the Jesuits do out of Italy; in France, for example, or in England? I do not suppose they employ themselves in the duties of education, the principal object of their foundation. For my part, I never could understand what business they could have either in England or in the United States.'

"'Still,' replied he, 'there are many in both those countries, and many more will follow. It is our desire and our hope to obtain the same influence in England that we have in Italy. Protestantism in that country already inclines greatly toward Catholicism, and will do so still more in proportion as the Jesuits gain ground there.

" 'Our success is much impeded by other priests and monks, who, in their ignorant fanaticism, imprudently attack the Protestants, and thus only strengthen their opposition to the Church of Rome. We, on the other hand, have the art of introducing ourselves among them without exciting attention; consequently, without creating suspicion or alarm. Apparently occupied with our own affairs, we appear to take no notice of those of other people. We readily associate with them, sit at their tables, and converse on general topics; we never oppose or contradict what they may advance. Do they talk of the Bible? we are ready to talk on the same subject. We always, however, have some strong arguments in reserve, for which most of them are not prepared—scholastic doctrines, which the Bible does not disavow, and which are received with great willingness; so that while, on the one hand, we lament that there should be an episcopacy separate from Rome, we talk largely, on the other, on the important doctrine that the bishops are the successors of the apostles, and thus prepare the way for the conclusion that the pope is the successor of St. Peter. In fact, you will find that, in consequence of this doctrine of apostolic succession, the Episcopalians generally entertain a respect for the chair of St. Peter, in which the chief of the bishops is seated.

" 'The principle being admitted, the consequence naturally follows. And it is to be noted, that if any one speaks slightingly of the Roman episcopacy, the Bishop of London is the first person to reprove him; and, moreover, the English episcopacy calls that of Rome her sister. It is not so, however, with the Presbyterians and other sects. The Church of England retains the two sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper, both of which, according to their belief, and according to ours also, confer sanctifying grace (*gratiam sanctificantem*), not only *ex opere operato*, but also *ex opere operantis*, and thus the minister becomes an advocate, *sine quo non*, for justification in Baptism, and for the real presence in the Eucharist. Should a doubt be expressed as to the sacred character of the minister, or as to the efficacy of the consecration of a bishop, as practised in their Church; should their white robes or their Book of Prayer be criticised, the same outcry is raised by them as would be raised by the sandalled friar if you ridiculed his tunic or his legends of St. Francis.

" 'Observe now,' he continued, 'our method of proceeding in England. We get acquainted with the Episcopalians—our time would be lost with others; and while we praise their doctrines, we endeavour to show how near they are to our own. We compare the respective Churches, their bishops with ours, the canons with the laws of discipline, the Mass-book with the Prayer-book, the robe with the surplice, and so on. The only point on which we cannot assimilate is our celibacy and their matrimony. And here we argue that as it is a matter of discipline, the Church might alter it, should it be deemed expedient to do so, the pope having the power to dispense with the observance.' "

The story of Dr. Achilli's imprisonment in the Inquisition under the French authorities at Rome, for the crime of circulating the word of God in that city, is familiar to our readers. In the concluding chapters of this work, however, they will find the account of his labours, his imprisonment and his escape, given more at length than it has been recited before. The whole book tends to illustrate what cannot be too strongly impressed upon the American mind—that Romanism remains unchanged in its essential features of violence, fraud, and imposture.

(15.) THE American Baptist Publication Society, (Philadelphia,) has issued a volume under the title of "*Bunyan's Devotional Works*," which will be welcome to all Christian souls, in spite of the eccentricity and error which now and then disfigure all the religious writings of the "glorious tinker." The volume contains five distinct works—the Spirit of Prayer; the Saints' Privilege and Profit; the Desire of the Righteous granted; the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; and Paul's Departure and Crown. But one of these (the first) has been before printed in this country.

(16.) Dr. Robinson's translation of Buttmann's Greek Grammar, of which the second edition was published in 1839, has long been out of print. We can well remember the joy with which, in our own early studies of the language, we turned for the first time over the leaves of the book—a book which for many years was never off our study-table. Since that period the original work has passed through many editions and undergone many changes. The more recent editions edited by Alexander Buttmann, have been very largely revised and extended; indeed, the "Syntax, in particular, has been expanded and re-written, with the aid of all the various theories and extensive investigations of the last twenty years." All this is now rendered accessible to American students in a "*Greek Grammar for the Use of High Schools and Universities*, by Philip Buttmann; *revised and enlarged by his son Alexander Buttmann, translated from the Eighteenth German edition*, by Edward Robinson," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 8vo., pp. 517.) Amid the multitude of Greek Grammars that has appeared in this country since 1839, Buttmann's still stands pre-eminent in one particular, viz., *clearness of statement*. Thiersch is more analytical and original; Kühner more profound and philosophical; Rost more acute and comprehensive; but in transparent clearness of statement Buttmann leaves them all far behind. We do not think an obscure passage can be found in this book from beginning to end, while in Kühner, still more in his translators, they abound in almost every section, especially of the Syntax. As an available and useful record of the present state of Greek Grammar, if a student can have but one large treatise, we advise him by all means to buy Buttmann. At the same time, we think it much to be regretted that the Editor has not seen fit to adopt the more scientific arrangement of the third declension of nouns which can be found in Kühner and Rost, or to employ Becker's admirable scheme of Syntax, the applicability of which to the Greek has been so fully shown by Kühner. These results of modern scholarship should not remain hidden from University students, for whose use the present volume is intended. Dr. Robinson will secure anew the thanks of American scholars for this translation: indeed, no year passes in which he does not place the fraternity under new obligations to him. The Publishers have got up the book in very excellent style.

(17.) "*The Square-rigged Cruiser: or, Sea Sermons*, by Alfred M. Lorraine." (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 18mo., pp. 252.) Mr. Lorraine was formerly a sailor, and is now a minister of the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The work contains ten sermons, intended particularly for seamen, and abounding in illustrations drawn from nautical sources. We trust the "Cruiser" will make a successful and useful voyage.

(18.) Though the Germans have done more to elucidate the details of Grecian history and life than any other nation, it has been reserved for English writers to combine the *disjecta membra* of history furnished by their more industrious neighbours, into a complete and harmonious whole. Such histories as Thirlwall's and Grote's have no rival in German, or in any other language. It was a happy thought of Dr. Schmitz to make use of these great works in the

preparation of a text-book for schools and for general reading, which now lies before us under the title of "*A History of Greece, from the earliest times to the destruction of Corinth, B. C.* 146," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 541.) The work is in great part an abridgment of Thirlwall—and we could give it no higher recommendation. It is, for this reason, far better written than Dr. Schmitz's History of Rome; which is not by any means a readable book, or one suited to be placed in the hands of young students. The present work might have been made much more available for class instruction by a judicious division into periods, and by placing the dates and divisions at the top and on the margin of the page. But in spite of these, and other defects, it is better than any summary history of Greece extant in our language, with the exception of that published by the Religious Tract Society.

(19.) "*The Guiding-Star, or the Bible God's Message*, by LOUISA PAYSON HOPKINS," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 18mo., pp. 260,) is a series of skilfully-prepared conversations, designed to present the evidences of Christianity in a form sufficiently simple and attractive to meet the wants of children.

(20.) No subject needs to be more urgently pressed upon the attention of the Church of this generation than the religious training of children; and we rejoice to see so many evidences of a renewed attention to it. We have now before us a very valuable treatise, entitled "*A Discourse on Domestic Piety and Family Government, in Four Parts*, by JOHN H. POWER." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Power. New-York: Lane & Scott, 1851; 18mo., pp. 191.) Part I. treats of the domestic relation, and of the parties to it; Part II. of the duty of a *household* service of the Lord; Part III. of the motives to domestic piety; and Part IV. of the momentous interests involved in the duty. Each of these topics is treated with great fulness and force: and the book abounds, throughout, not merely with excellent principles of family government and training, but with practical suggestions of the highest value. We wish the book could be placed in the hands of every Christian parent in the land.

(21.) MESSRS. GOULD & LINCOLN have reprinted "*First Impressions of England and its People*, by HUGH MILLER," (12mo., pp. 430,) containing a record of observations made during a short tour in England by the author of the "Old Red Sandstone." It abounds in pleasant glimpses of the rural life of England, of illustrations of the character of its lower classes, and in sharply-drawn contrasts between English and Scottish national character. These, and its geological notes, constitute, so far as we can see, its whole merit. Mr. Miller is too little of a traveller to judge, from any high point of observation, either of national character or national monuments as such; and his Scottish one-sidedness shows itself on almost every page. But the book abounds in pleasant reading.

(22.) MR. CHARLES PHILLIPS is well-known as the "Irish Barrister," and as the author of a number of very bombastic speeches. The best thing he has ever written is "*Curran and his Contemporaries*." (New-York: Harper & Bro-

thers, 1851; 12mo., pp., 451.) The present issue is a revision of a book printed many years ago and now considerably enlarged. It is full of interesting anecdotes of a class of men such as no country but Ireland, and no age but their own, could have produced. Curran is the central light of a whole system of lesser orbs who sparkle in these pages. There is much in the book that could well be spared; but with all its gossipping prolixity, it is full of interest.

(23.) "*The Irish Confederates and the Rebellion of* 1798, by HENRY M. FIELD," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 369,) is really the first attempt at anything like a fair and full history of a period which has been much written *about* but never rightly treated. Mr. Field aims at impartiality: his style, though a little too ambitious for our taste, is well-adapted to the subject and the times—and the book is really an accession to our stores of knowledge on the subject.

(24.) "*A Treatise on Political Economy*, by GEORGE OPDYKE," (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 339,) is an able exposition of the doctrine of free trade. Mr. Opdyke is not a practised writer, but he is evidently a laborious thinker. We do not accept his arguments as valid, but we cannot hesitate to recognise their ability. One of the novelties of the book is its advocacy of an *inconvertible* paper currency—a theory, however, not so original as Mr. Opdyke appears to think it.

(25.) "*The Young Ladies' Guide to French Composition*, by GUSTAVE CHOUQUET," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 12mo., pp. 297,) contains two parts: first, a treatise on Rhetoric, (in French;) and second, a series of exercises, reading-lessons, conversations, &c. We should think it likely to be useful in the hands of a good teacher.

(26.) IN Church History we have to rely, as yet, almost entirely upon German writers. It is, indeed, a disgrace to English and American theology that no Church History, worthy of the name, has yet appeared originally in the English tongue. We have now before us the first volume of a truly-scientific work on the subject, produced on our own soil, but by a German scholar and in the German language, viz:—"*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche von ihrer Gründung bis auf die Gegenwart, dargestellt von Philipp Schaff*, Professor zu Mercersburg." Vol. I. (Mercersburg, Pa.; and New-York: Rudolph Garrigue, 8vo., pp. 576.) This work is meant to be a comprehensive and complete Church History, exhibited in a free Christian spirit, entirely apart from sectarian interests and views: not, to be sure, apart from directly Christian and ecclesiastical interests, but from anything like *partisan* aims. It will also, if completed in the spirit of the present volume, have this great advantage over the richest works of the kind prepared in Europe—that the author combines the pains-taking accuracy and scientific insight of the German, with the practical religious life of the American mind. We should be glad to give a full outline of the work, but our limits forbid it now—we shall return to it in a more extended review

hereafter. In the meantime, however, we advise all our readers who are acquainted with the German language, to procure this volume, which, as containing the history of the "Apostolical Church," is complete in itself.

(27.) Mr. KIDDER continues his work of supplying the Church with suitable books for the use of children and youth, with unwearied industry and increasing success. The latest volumes laid before us are "*Frontier Sketches, selected and arranged by the author of 'Dying Hours,'*" (18mo., pp. 142,) containing illustrations of Western life, with sketches of the adventures of Bishops Roberts and Morris in some of their Western tours. It is "more interesting than fiction, and yet may be relied on as matter of fact." From the West and its new life, we pass to the Old World and its places of the dead, in "*A Visit to the Catacombs, or first Christian Cemeteries at Rome.*" (18mo., pp. 108.) A pleasant biographical sketch is furnished in "*The Farmer Boy; or a Child of Providence led from the Plough to the Pulpit.*" (18mo., pp. 160.) Of a better class of books is "*Nature's Wonders; or God's care over all his Works,*" (18mo., pp. 226,) containing illustrations of natural objects and descriptions in easy dialogue, admirably adapted to interest young children.

(28.) We have received another of Mr. JACOB ABBOTT's delightful series, viz:—"*The History of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 18mo., pp. 318.) It is enough to say that the spirit of the series is amply maintained in this new volume, the subject of which, in fact, is one that is eminently adapted to draw forth Mr. Abbott's peculiar powers of graphic and distinct delineation.

(29.) We have again to notice a volume in the sphere of practical religion from the prolific pen of Rev. CHARLES ADAMS, entitled "*Women of the Bible.*" (New-York: Lane & Scott, 12mo., pp. 225.) The female characters of Scripture are here sketched—briefly and rapidly, it is true, yet with a truthfulness of outline, and, often, a depth of colouring that marks the hand of the genuine artist. "Sober and faithful," indeed, the book is, as the author tells us in his preface he has sought to make it: but it is at the same time graphic and attractive. It cannot but tend to edifying; and will, we trust, be largely circulated.

(30.) We have received, at the latest moment, a copy of the "*Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" A more valuable and interesting document has not issued from the press for many years. It is just what such a Report ought to be,—a full outline of the Missionary field, clearly and distinctly drawn, with plain and complete statements of what the Church is doing in that field, and suggestions as to her duty for the future. Several illustrative maps accompany the text. We shall take occasion to give a fuller analysis of the Report hereafter.

Art. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

We mentioned in a former number that Dr. S. P. Tregelles had in preparation a new edition of the Greek Testament. We have now received the prospectus issued by the editor, in the hope of obtaining a sufficient number of subscribers to defray the expenses of publication; and we would gladly second his wishes. Every well-wisher of Biblical literature who can by any means afford to subscribe for this great work, should send in his name at once. The *Text* is formed on the authority of the oldest Greek MSS. and versions, (aided by early citations,) so as to present, as far as practicable, the readings which were commonly received at the earliest period to which we can revert to obtain critical evidence. The *various readings* are those, 1st, of *all* the more ancient Greek MSS.; most of these the editor has himself collated in libraries at Rome, Paris, Basle, Munich, Modena, Venice, London, Cambridge, and Hamburg; and almost all the others he has collated with published facsimile editions; 2d, of all the ancient versions, most of which have required re-examination; and 3d, of the citations found in the earlier ecclesiastical writers. These are given very fully as far as the end of the third century, (and so as to include Eusebius,) and in cases of importance considerably later. The Latin version of Jerome is given mostly on the authority of the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century, as collated by the editor himself. The Latin version of Jerome is given in parallel columns with the Greek text; and the Latin readings, in which the commonly printed *Clementine* Vulgate differs from the Codex Amiatinus, or in which the Codex Amiatinus contains a reading which has not been followed, are given below. The work is to be published in one volume 4to., price £3 3s. Subscribers can send their names (with proper references) to Dr. S. P. Tregelles, care of J. Wertheimer & Co., Circus Place, Finsbury Circus, London. Or, if they prefer it, the editor of this Review will receive and forward their subscriptions.

The first volume of Clark's Foreign Theological Library for 1851 is Olshausen's Commentary on Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, translated from the German. This volume will complete all of this commentary written by Olshausen himself: the remaining books of the New Testament, however, are to be treated by other able men in the same spirit as far as possible. Of these supplementary volumes, we have received two from Germany, viz:—"*Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die Philipper, an Titus, Timotheus, und Philemon*, erklärt von J. C. A. Wiesinger," (Königsberg, 1850: 8vo., pp. 720); and "*Der Brief an die Hebraer*, erklärt von Dr. J. H. A. Ebeard." (8vo., pp. 483.) These, we hope, will also be translated for Clark's Library, which we again commend to our theological readers.

We mentioned some time since that the choice of a successor to Neander lay between Niedner, Ullmann, and Lehneedt, of Königsberg. The latter has been chosen. He is in the prime of life, and is said to be one of the most attractive lecturers and pulpit orators in Prussia.

The second volume of the Rev. James Thomson's "Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke, in a series of Lectures," has appeared in Edinburgh. This work, which is the only extended exposition of St. Luke in the language, is highly spoken of by English and Scottish authorities.

A prospectus has been issued for the publication of Neander's Theological Lectures. They will be issued by Wiegandt and Grieben, in Leipzig, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Julius Müller. The work will fall into three divisions: 1. Exegesis of the New Testament; 2. Historico-theological Lectures, embracing Church History, the History of Christian Doctrines and Morals, and Protestantism and Romanism; 3. Theological Lectures on Christian Doctrines and Ethics. We shall be happy to receive and forward subscribers' names. The terms of publication are not yet an-

nounced, further than that the work will be issued in separate volumes, at a cheap rate.

Messrs. Longmans have published the ninth volume of their new edition of Jeremy Taylor's works. This edition will be completed in ten volumes.

The May number of the Prospective Review (which is the organ of liberal Christianity—indeed, of scepticism—in England) has an able article on Mr. Atkinson and Miss Martineau's "*Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*," in which the utter atheism of that work is severely exposed. The Review remarks, that "Mr. Atkinson is not a Lucretius; nor even an Helvetius; no, nor a Baron d'Holbach; but a rhetorical dilution of Robert Owen;—whose tiresome propositions, scattered by some process of logical explosion, and wildly lying about without any semblance of cohesion, constitute the theoretic elements of this work. We should not have supposed it possible to write so inorganic a book upon organization. We defy the most methodizing intellect to construct the author's doctrine into a presentable whole, or to do more than pile it up as a set of loose and shapeless assertions, serving perhaps to mark, but not to protect, the territory they open as an asylum for all the black sheep of unbelief."

Two small volumes, entitled "Scripture Revelations respecting Angels," and "Lectures on the Apostles," which have recently appeared in England, are attributed to Archbishop Whately. The Christian Remembrancer (a journal not very well disposed to praise anything from Whately's pen) remarks that "in vigour, precision, and life, they maintain the writer's reputation for style, while for practical and religious purposes, they far exceed anything which we remember from the same pen."

"Is Saul also among the Prophets?" one might well ask, in reading such a title as "*De la Célébration du Dimanche, considérée sous les Rapports de L'Hygiene, de la Morale, des relations de famille et de Cité*," par P. J. Proudhon. (Paris, 1850, 12mo., pp. 84.) The Mosaic law of the Sabbath has never found a higher eulogist, either among Pharisees, Rabbins, or Christian doctors, than it here has in Proudhon, the great high-priest, as he is *said* to be, of socialism and infidelity. He pleads that every means of raising and establishing modern society will be vain and futile that does not include the *Sabbath* among its chief agencies; and he urges a renewal of Sabbath worship and observance upon the French nation with great eloquence and force. We must reserve this remarkable book for more extended notice.

A striking specimen of the pains-taking perseverance so characteristic of German literature, is afforded by a new book entitled "*Bibliotheca Biographica Lutherana: Uebersicht der gedruckten Dr. M. Luther betreffenden biographischen Schriften, zusammengestellt von E. S. Vogel*," (Halle, 1851. 8vo., pp. 145, New-York, Westermann, Brothers.) The titles of no less than *thirteen hundred and twenty-one* works illustrative of the life of Luther are here collected and set forth under appropriate heads.

We have received the first volume of "*Untersuchungen über Inhalt und Alter des Alttestamentlichen Pentateuch*, von Dr. T. Sörensen, Privat docent in der Universität Kiel," (8vo., pp. 343.) This volume is occupied with a historico-critical Commentary on Genesis, the whole aim of which is to prove that the book was written at a much later period than is commonly assigned to it. The author means to make the same attempt upon the other books of the Pentateuch.

We have been often asked to give some account of the writings of Julius Charles Hare. A critical estimate of their value may, perhaps, be furnished hereafter: in the meantime, the following list includes all, or nearly all, his writings, viz:—The Mission of the Comforter, 8vo.:—The Victory of Faith, 8vo.:—Parish Sermons, two series, 8vo:—Life of John Sterling, with the edition of Sterling's Essays, &c., 2 vols. 8vo.; besides a number of sermons, charges, &c., with "Guesses at Truth," 2 vols., edited by J. C. Hare, and written by himself and his brother Augustus.

Professor F. D. Maurice, of King's College, belongs to the same school of theologians (so to speak) with Arnold, Hare, and Trench. His writings are tolerably numerous, embracing, among others, the following, viz:—The Kingdom of Christ, 8vo.:—The New Testament, the History of the Church, and the Romish Apostasy, Joint Witnesses to the Reality of the Divine Kingdom upon Earth:—The Church a Family; Sermons on the Occasional Services of the Prayer-Book:—The Prayer-

Book, specially considered as a Protection against Romanism; nineteen Sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn:—The Lord's Prayer, nine Sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn:—The Religions of the World, and their Relations to Christianity; Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a Review of Newman's Theory of Development, 8vo.:—Christmas Day and other Sermons, 8vo.

It is said that Archdeacon Hare's Memoir of John Sterling does not give a truthful—or at least a complete—account of the religious (or irreligious) condition of mind into which Sterling settled before he died. The London Leader says that he "had emancipated himself from all religious dogmas;" and that, whereas the Archdeacon exhibits him as a Rationalist simply, he was, in fact, "no *ist* at all." Thomas Carlyle is now engaged upon a biography of Sterling, in which "this and other points are to be set in their true light."

Those of our readers who have perused Sir Charles Lyell's "Second Visit to the United States," may remember a charge brought by him against the late Pope in the following terms:—"It is well known by those who have of late years frequented the literary circles of Rome, that the learned Cardinal Mai was prevented, in 1838, from publishing his edition of the *Codex Vaticanus*, because he could not obtain leave from the late Pope (Gregory XVI.) to omit the interpolated passages, and had satisfied himself that they were wanting in all the most ancient MSS. at Rome and Paris. The Pontiff refused, because he was bound by the decrees of the Council of Trent, and of a Church pretending to infallibility, which had solemnly sanctioned the Vulgate; and the Cardinal had too much good faith to give the authority of his name to what he regarded as a forgery." A writer in the London *Tablet* endeavours to refute this charge, and makes the following remarks among others:—"Both from Leo XII. and Gregory XVI., Cardinal Mai received permission to publish the celebrated copy of the Bible which is preserved in the Vatican library, and is marked 1209. This manuscript is justly considered the most ancient copy of the Scriptures in existence, even by those who vaunt the superior age of the *text* of the Cambridge MS. This permission has never been revoked—never limited. The *Codex* is already printed, and this we affirm from our own personal knowledge and inspection of the sheets; it will be published as soon as the extensive critical apparatus which is to accompany it will be completed. The Cardinal received permission from two Pontiffs to publish the manuscript as it stands; every facility has been afforded him in furthering his undertaking; this permission was never revoked: the manuscript is even now *actually printed*, and it will be published when the critical notes destined to illustrate it, will be finished. It is, we aver, a faithful transcript of the original—nothing has been added by the Pope, nothing taken away by the Cardinal."

Mr. Faber, in his *Letters on Tractarian Secession to Popery*, proves very satisfactorily that Mr. Newman was a *concealed Papist*, by his own confession, as far back as the year 1833. Says Mr. Faber:—

"Were I an infidel, and did I possess the species of intellect which Mr. Newman possesses, the mode which, in the present day, I should select for the most effectual propagation of infidelity, would be the precise mode adopted by that gentleman in his recent work, *(Essay on Development.)* Far am I from asserting that he is himself an infidel; yet he alone can tell what his own sentiments really are. In the year 1833, (the very year in which the imposture of Tractarianism commenced,) Mr. Newman, as he now confesses, said of the Romanists:—'Their communion is infected with heresy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed.' Declarations to the same effect he confesses himself to have been making at various times in various successive years; and now, at length, he winds up the whole disgraceful management by the infatuated, though providentially ordered, statement, that he had been deliberately asserting what he himself at the very time totally disbelieved. His plea is, that 'he was not speaking *his own* words, but was only following almost a *consensus* of the divines of his Church.' And the reason which he assigns for the fraud, is that 'such views were necessary for our position'—the position, tow it, of himself and his associates; and that the language so strongly vituperative of Popery, which he then employed as veritably exhibiting his own real sentiments, must be ascribed to a hope of approving himself to persons whom he respected, and to a wish to repel the charge of Romanism. Now when a man has thus openly told us that he scruples not to deliver as his own, sentiments which are not his own, if such a deception should be thought necessary for his position, he has so totally destroyed his own credibility, that in future we can

entertain no certain belief of any exposition which he may please to make of his opinions. He *may*, no doubt, tell us the truth; but since he has also told us that he scruples not to utter untruths, when he deems them necessary to his existing position, we never in any particular instance can be certain that he is honestly declaring his real sentiments. Hence, at present, he *may* be truly a Romanist; but no assertion of his can *now* carry with it any reasonable conviction to that effect, simply because he has suicidally destroyed all claim to our confidence and belief."

THE *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for April contains the following articles:—I. Wherein consists the Forgiveness of Sin, by J. F. K. Gurlitt: II. Rome and Cologne, or the Development of Germano-Christian Art, by Dr. Stark: III. On the importance of the Study of Christian Ethics at the present time, an Introductory Lecture by Professor Schöberlein, of Heidelberg: IV. The Principle of Protestantism, a letter to Dr. Ullmann, by C. Beck: V. A Review of Lücke on the Apocalypse, by Tischendorf: VI. A long and genial article on the personal life, character, &c., of Neander, by Dr. Kling, of Ebersbach.

THE *British Quarterly* for May contains the following articles:—I. Grote's History of Greece: II. French, Germans, and English: III. Volcanoes and Earthquakes: IV. The European Difficulty: V. German Protestantism: VI. Ruskin's Stones of Venice: VII. Jesuitism as it is: VIII. Dixon's Mairwara—Civilization in India: IX. Dr. Brown—Biblical Expositors: X. Modern French Literature: XI. Criticisms on Books, &c., &c.

THE *Journal of Sacred Literature* for April contains the following articles:—I. Egypt; being a review of the late discoveries in Egypt as elucidating and confirming the Scriptures: II. On the words which Paul heard in Paradise, (translated badly enough, from the Latin of Vitringa): III. Inspiration—maintaining the verbal theory: IV. Carl Ritter's Discourse before the Scientific Society of Berlin, on the explorations of the River Jordan and the Dead Sea: V. Modern Spiritualism—a review of Newman's Phases of Faith: VI. Parallelistic Poetry: VII. On the Demoniacal Possessions of the New Testament: VIII. On the Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles: IX. Tischendorf's Septuagint: X. Gilfillan's Bards of the Bible: with the usual book notices, correspondence, &c. Prof. Ritter's Discourse on the Dead Sea and the Jordan gives the best view of the whole subject, in a condensed form, that we have yet seen. After sketching the partially successful labours of Symonds and Molyneux, he gives full credit to the American Exploring Expedition, as follows:—

"In 1848 the third attempt was made on that stubborn lake-field, and this time the victory over those powers of nature and their perils was a complete one. The honour of that victory was, however, wrested from the Old World by the New. The United States of North America sent from the other side of the Atlantic a vessel fitted out for the purpose. It was well provided with stores and instruments, and had a competent crew, under the command and scientific direction of two officers, Lieutenants Lynch and Dale. To be prepared for every sort of danger, it had on board two metallic boats, one of iron, the other of copper, which, being made in sections for transportation, were carried or drawn on trucks by camels from the seaport of Acre to the Lake of Tiberias. From thence the expedition of discovery was to proceed again by water, through the deepest and hottest crevice of the earth; and, truly, to go through that undertaking under a tropical sky, there was required as much circumspection as for those expeditions which were about the same time completed or begun, respectively, by the Britons in the antartic and artic regions, amidst the icefields of the two poles. Man feels an inward impulse to break through the limits that nature draws round him in every direction; because complete truth and liberty of mind can only become his portion, in so far as he is able to attain to the fulness of knowledge."

WE have received the first number of the "*Theological Critic*," a quarterly journal, edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, and published by Rivingtons. (London, price four shillings sterling.) It is intended to embrace theology in the widest acceptation of the term, and admitting even classical literature, from its importance to Biblical criticism. The first number contains the following articles:—I. Newman's Ninth Lecture: II. Galatians iii, 13: III. Cardinal Bessarion: IV. Lepsius on Biblical Chronology: V. The Ministry of the Body: VI. Romans xiv: VII. Is the Beast from the Sea the Papacy? VIII. Modern Infidelity—Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson: IX. St. Columban and the early Irish Missionaries: X. Dr. Bloomfield and Mr. Alford: XI. "Things Old and New." The article on Newman's Ninth Lecture is a very pungent illustration of Mr. Newman's own principles by facts from Romanist sources. The

following story is from a Romanist *book of devotion*, published in Paris in 1835:—

"Father Razzi, of the order of the Camaldules, tells us, that a young man who had lost his father, was sent by his mother to be the page of a certain prince. But before they parted, his mother, who had a great devotion for the Holy Virgin, made her son promise that he would repeat every day the *Angelic Salutation*, and with it this short ejaculatory supplication, *Blessed Virgin, assist me at the hour of my death!* The young man was no sooner arrived at the court, than he plunged into every kind of vice; and his bad conduct lost him entirely the favour of his master, who at last dismissed him from his service. In despair, and without any means of subsistence, he became a *highwayman*; but even whilst he was robbing and murdering on the king's highway, he remained faithful to the *practice of piety* which his mother had enjoined him. At length his crimes met with their reward; he fell into the hands of justice, and was condemned to death. He was thrown into prison, there to remain till he should be summoned to undergo the penalty of the law. On the evening before the day that was fixed for his execution, his disgrace, his approaching death, and the grief of his poor mother, presented themselves so vividly to his mind, that he was buried in sad thoughts, and his tears flowed abundantly; when, all at once, he beheld before him a young man, who, addressing him, offered to deliver him from prison and death, if he would bind himself to obey him. The prisoner gave the promise, when the young man disclosed to him that he was the devil; and commanded him, in the first place, to renounce Jesus Christ and the sacraments, *to which the prisoner consented.* That is not enough, added the evil spirit; you must also deny the Holy Virgin, and renounce her protection. *That I will never do*, replied the criminal, and, addressing the Mother of God, he repeated the prayer which he was in the habit of making to her, *Blessed Virgin, succour me in the hour of death.* These words put the devil to flight; but the poor young man remained inconsolable for having denied his Saviour: in his affliction, he had recourse to Mary, and prayed to her with such fervour, that she obtained for him a sincere contrition for his sins, under the influence of which he confessed with a deep feeling of penitence. On the next day, as the officers were leading him to the place of execution, he had to pass by an image of the Mother of God; he saluted it, and said, *Blessed Virgin, succour me in the hour of death.* The image, in the sight of all who were present, inclined its head, and returned the salutation. Penetrated by this mark of favour, he asked permission to kiss the feet of the image. The soldiers, who were conducting him, did not at all like this; but as the people murmured, they did not venture to refuse his request. The young man stooped down, and the image, extending its arms, took him by the hand, and held him so tight, that it was impossible to get him away again. At this miracle, but one cry was heard,—*Pardon! Pardon!* and the pardon was granted. He returned to his country, and ever after led an exemplary life, retaining the most tender gratitude to Mary, who had saved him from two deaths—a temporal and an eternal one."

Is it not terrible to think that such teaching as *this* is given in the name of Christianity in the nineteenth century?

THE distinguished New Testament critic, LACHMANN, died at Berlin, on the 13th of March, in his 59th year.

THE late Rev. Edward Bickersteth was not less remarkable for his diligence as a writer, than for his zeal and fidelity as a preacher. The following list contains the titles of his principal works:—A Treatise on Prayer, designed to promote the Spirit of Devotion (seventeenth edition):—A Scripture Help, designed to assist in Reading the Bible profitably (nineteenth edition):—A Treatise on the Lord's Supper, in two parts (twelfth edition):—Christian Truth, a Family Guide to the Chief Truths of the Gospel, with Prayers for each Day in the Week, and Private Devotions for various Occasions (third edition):—The Christian Student, designed to assist Christians in general in acquiring Religious Knowledge, with lists of Books adapted to various Classes (fourth edition):—Practical Reflections on the Four Gospels, arranged on the plan of a Harmony, selected from various Expositions (second edition):—Family Expositions of the Epistles of St. John and St. Jude:—A Treatise on Baptism, designed as a Help to the due Improvement of that Holy Sacrament:—The Chief Concerns of Man for Time and for Eternity (fifth edition):—Family Prayers, a Complete Course for Eight Weeks, with Additional Prayers for various Occasions:—The Signs of the Times in the East, a Warning to the West:—The Promised Glory of the Church of Christ:—The Restoration of the Jews to their own Land, in Connexion with their future Conversion and the final Blessedness of our Earth (second edition):—A Practical Guide to the Prophecies (seventh edition.)

SCOTLAND has produced bold divines as well as warriors; and the race is not extinct yet. The Rev. JAMES COCHRANE has written a book entitled "*Discourses on some*

of the most difficult Texts of Scripture," in which the following subjects are discussed:—The Church's Foundation Rock and the Gates of Hell; The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; Irretrievable Apostasy; Salted with Fire; Christ went and preached to the Spirits in Prison; Baptized for the Dead; General View of the Doctrine of God's Eternal Decrees; Sovereignty of God in Predestination; Sovereignty of God in Election; Doctrine of Election practically considered; Sovereignty of God in Reprobation; On the Difficulties in the Ninth Chapter of Romans; The two Genealogies of Christ compared; The Title on the Saviour's Cross; The Election of Matthias; and the Sin against the Holy Ghost. Not having read the book, we cannot judge whether Mr. Cochrane's success is equal to his courage.

An important work of Origen's, hitherto believed to be lost, has been discovered in Paris, by M. Miller, librarian of the National Assembly, among the Greek manuscripts brought to that capital by M. Mynas about ten years ago. The *Journal des Débats* describes the original work as being in ten books:—the first of which is already known to the world under the title of "Philosophumena." The last seven books are now, it is said, recovered, and about to be published. The French journal describes the work as "a refutation of heresies, in which the author endeavours to prove that the heresiarchs have all taken their doctrines from the ancient philosophers:"—a very curious task for Origen to perform, since he was himself chiefly remarkable for the mixture of Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle which he compounded with his Christianity. But apart from its controversial interest, the recovered manuscript will throw new light on the opinions and practices of the Neo-Platonists, and on the manners and customs of ancient times. Discoveries like this point out the necessity for a larger and more combined action of learned societies in the search for ancient manuscripts. Origeu's "Stromata" might even yet be completed,—and it is not to be supposed that all the existing fragments of his "Hexapla" were collected by Montfaucon. There are vast stores of old manuscripts in Europe not yet examined. The library of the Vatican would not only yield to the cause of letters some of the unknown or incomplete works of the early fathers, but would probably furnish some valuable manuscripts of classic writers. There are several libraries in France and Germany, of which the contents are not perfectly known; and among the Arabic transcripts at Constantinople and in other Eastern cities, a copy of the "Republic" and of the lost books of Livy might possibly be found Learned bodies should take this matter up in earnest—more especially the great universities which have, so to say, charge of the interests of learning. The successful mission of M. Mynas is an instance of what may be done with a little earnestness and energy for the recovery of lost treasures. The remainder of Tacitus and Aristotle might not impossibly be recovered at a tithe of the trouble which has been bestowed on the search after the supposed buried wealth of the buccaneers.

Another volume of infidelity has issued from that laboratory of scepticism, John Chapman's book-shop in the Strand, London. It is entitled, ambitiously enough, "*The Creed of Christendom; its Foundations and Superstructure,* by W. R. Greg:" and lest any of our readers should be induced by its title to purchase it, we state the leading objects of the work, which are to prove—I. That "the tenet of the inspiration of the Scriptures is baseless and untenable under any form or modification which leaves to it a dogmatic value:"—II. That "the Gospels are not textually faithful records of the sayings and actions of Jesus, but ascribe to him words which he never uttered, and deeds which he never did:"—III. That "the apostles only partially comprehended and imperfectly transmitted the teaching of their great Master." The infection of half-learned arrogance and of blasphemy under the guise of spiritualism, seems to be spreading in England.

Dr. John Pye Smith died, as we stated in our last, on the 5th of February, 1851. A brief sketch of his life and labours is due to his memory and to our readers. He was born in Sheffield in 1775. His father was a bookseller, and in his shop the son learned to read books as well as to bind them. As he showed early signs of talent, he was sent to Rotherham College, and so distinguished himself by his diligence and success in study, that when his academial course was finished, he was made at once a tutor in the College. At twenty-five he was invited to become principal of Homerton College, the oldest theological school of the Independents in England. He held this office,

with ever-increasing popularity and usefulness, for fifty years; and during nearly all this time he was also pastor of a Church in the neighbourhood.

"The chief labour of Dr. Pye Smith's life, and his most enduring monument, was the work entitled 'The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah: an Inquiry with a view to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Person of Christ.' This work is admitted by the greatest scholars to be the first of its kind. It is marked by profound and accurate learning, candid criticism, and by that reverential and Christian spirit which ought to govern every theological inquiry. It has received the rare honour of being admitted, though the work of a Dissenter, as an authority in the English universities. His work on Scripture and Geology added to his theological and scientific reputation, and established his claim to a place in the Royal Society. He also published a considerable number of separate sermons and lectures, with some volumes of controversy. Should his course of divinity be given to the world, as many competent persons have expressed the opinion that it ought, we believe it will greatly add to his fame and his usefulness. It is stated that he was never satisfied to go through his divinity lectures unimproved, but constantly amended them as new lights were thrown on Scripture."

The following estimate of the quality of his mind is given in the funeral sermon pronounced by Dr. John Harris:—

"Those who could best appreciate him will, I think, join with me in the opinion that his mind was not distinguished by any splendid or showy attributes. The daring in imagination, the metaphysical in reasoning, and the inventive in theory, were unknown to him. But if his mental qualities were not marked by breadth and brilliance, they were characterized by strength and intensity. He united quickness of apprehension with great power of application and patient inquiry. Remarkable retentiveness of memory, and the orderly distribution of his knowledge, placed the results of his immense reading at his ready disposal. His mind was a well-arranged library, in which he could easily lay his hand on whatever he wanted. And to these qualities he added—what is rarely found in so eminent a degree in this connexion—true originality. Not that which aims at the striking, or produces the singular; but that which denotes mental independence. Whatever he produced, brought with it, both in form and in style, the stamp of his own mind.

"But more particularly; his course was marked by unintermitting mental activity. The range of reading and study which he sketched for himself and his pupils on his first coming to Homerton, showed a determination to circumnavigate, if possible, the entire globe of knowledge. Departments of science which were then only just beginning to attract attention, were already familiar to him. The German, French, and other modern languages, unlocked their stores of literature to him, at a time when the first of these especially was, in this country, almost an 'unknown tongue.' Every new book of importance, however costly, was eagerly obtained, and laid under contribution in the cause of truth. And even when his growing infirmities compelled him to retire from official life, his thirst for knowledge remained unappeased. When he retired to Guildford, he entertained the hope of entering on an extensive course of reading in the ancient and modern languages.

"Nor was this intellectual activity a life of mere abstraction, or of mental luxury. Dr. Smith valued knowledge for its useful applications. It has been said that 'to write is to act.' Each of his books was an act; and an act designed to meet a want. Whether he architecturally built up the 'Scripture Testimony to the Messiah,' like the ancient Tabernacle of Witness, or rebuked the flippant attacks of Infidelity; whether he asserted the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, exhibited the rules for the Interpretation of Prophecy, expounded the Principles of the Reformation, or enforced the claims of Evangelical Nonconformity, his aim was usefulness of the highest order. His great work, the 'Scripture Testimony,' is universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest modern achievements of sanctified learning."

He went down to the grave at last, full of years, without any special disease. His last hours were calm and peaceful:—

"Looking intensely with his mild eyes in the faces of all who surrounded his dying bed, he made a last effort to bless them. 'The Lord bless you all, (said he,) and He undoubtedly will.' To a medical friend he articulated with great difficulty, 'Farewell; I am greatly obliged; the eternal God be thy Refuge!' And, turning to his son, 'The Lord be your portion forever!' And thus, (though he still lingered a short time,) like his Divine Master, he may be said to have ascended in the act of blessing."

The May number of the British Quarterly Review contains an article on *Jesuitism as it is*, from which we make the following extracts. The present Superior General of the order of Jesuits is Johannes Roothaan, who was appointed July 9, 1829. Speaking of him, the Review says:—

"Since Aquaviva, who died in 1615, the Jesuits have not had so young a superior, one still in the prime of life; and historical

truth compels us to admit that the post has never been held by so able a man, or one of such high mental endowments, as Father Roothaan, who now fills it. He was born at Amsterdam, November 20, 1785, and for a time was clerk to Mynheer Mos, a tobacco manufacturer of his native town. He afterwards left this humble situation in order to take Jesuit's orders. He was scarcely nineteen years of age when, in 1804, he entered the college at Polozk, and displayed rare ability, and great activity, in the discharge of his various and, in some degree, arduous undertakings. At the time of his elevation, Father Roothaan was not quite forty-five years old. He brought to his new office an acute, penetrating understanding, comprehending the whole world in the spirit of his order, the cool consideration peculiar to the Dutch, uncommon power of self-control united with indomitable courage, and extensive knowledge of mankind, of modern states, and their relations. He has, therefore, been deservedly called the greatest political chief, the most skilful pilot to whom the vessel of the order of Jesus could be intrusted; and the festivities with which his election was celebrated in all the houses of the Society, were very natural. According to the prevalent opinion in Rome, heaven itself seemed to signalize Roothaan's entrance into office by a miraculously favourable omen. On the 18th July, the ninth day after his election, there happened a frightful thunderstorm, accompanied by a hurricane, at the time when eighty Jesuit disciples were met for prayer in the chapel of St. Louis of Gonzaga. The lightning struck two places in the Roman college, in the garden, in the church, and the chapel. A flash fell in the midst of those who were praying without injuring any of them. 'A miracle! a miracle!' exclaimed the people; and the holy fathers did not think proper to contradict them, by pointing out the very evident natural explanation of the event.

"It cannot be denied, that the triumphs of the Society of Jesus, under Roothaan's generalship, and the brilliant worldly position which they have again attained, have been in a great degree owing to the circumstances of the age, and especially to that fatal fever of reaction against the spirit of the century, which became more and more prevalent in courts, and at last infected even the wisest potentates. Nevertheless, we must also allow, that Roothaan's distinguished abilities have contributed greatly to this result. It may truly be said that he, throughout nearly the whole of his generalship, was not only the superior of the Jesuits, but also the actual pope, and possessed almost unlimited authority in the States of the Church."

The following summaries of the numbers of the "Society of Jesus" are derived from official documents:—

"JANUARY 1ST, 1843.

Provinces.	Priests.	Scholars.	Lay Brothers.	Total.
Rome ...	232	173	196	601
Sicily....	101	71	78	250
Turin....	133	132	114	379
Spain....	152	69	106	327
Paris	163	57	71	291
Lyons....	154	57	79	290
Belgium	125	93	63	281
Total	1,060	652	707	2,419

JANUARY 1ST, 1844.

Provinces.	Priests.	Scholars.	Lay Brothers.	Total.
Rome ...	258	186	226	670
Sicily....	107	75	80	262
Turin....	147	146	132	425
Spain....	156	54	101	311
Paris	195	87	91	373
Lyons....	181	118	98	397
Belgium	137	149	89	375
Total	1,181	815	817	2,813

JANUARY 1ST, 1845.

Provinces.	Priests.	Scholars.	Lay Brothers.	Total.
Rome ...	269	201	232	702
Sicily....	112	72	83	267
Turin....	156	138	134	428
Spain....	156	64	100	320
Paris....	204	110	106	420
Lyons....	188	147	111	446
Belgium	147	176	101	424
Total	1,232	908	867	3,007

"These tables show a constant increase of members. In the three years from 1841 to 1844, the increase in the order was, of priests, 121; of scholars, 163; of lay-brothers, 110; in all, 394 persons. The next year, 1845, gave an increase of 51 priests, 93 scholars, and 50 lay brothers; in all, 194 persons. It is a significant fact that the provinces of England and Ireland do not appear in these official statements. But our authority ('Heinrich Bode Das Innere,' &c.) gives the number of Jesuits on the 1st of January, 1844, as 164 in England, and 73 in Ireland. Some other provinces are omitted. With the probable increase for the year 1845, the aggregate number of members of this proselyting society was, at the end of that year, about 4,400 persons, and the annual increase about 214. If we suppose that the annual increase has remained from then till now the same, though everything gives reason to believe that it has augmented considerably, then, to 4,400 we shall have to add five times 214, or 1,070, making the grand total of Jesuits at the present hour to be 5,470. This, it must be allowed, is a considerable array of spiritual power."

An estimate is attempted of the number of Jesuits in England:—

"In 1780, there were 110 Jesuits out of

359 priests then in England and Wales. Supposing the proportion to have been preserved, then, of the present 826 priests in England and Wales, 253 would be of the Society of Jesus. This calculation, however, does not inform us how many lay-brethren of the order are here, and in active operation. We may employ other means of calculation. It has already been stated, that between 1790 and 1800, there were built eighteen new Catholic places of worship. The number of Jesuits in England about that time was, we have learned, 110. Now, if eighteen new chapels were produced by 110 Jesuits, how many Jesuits are necessary to produce 144—the number built in the period from 1840 to 1850? The answer is, 880. This calculation gives us 880 Jesuits employed in the extension of Catholicism in England during the decennium 1840–1850. The actual number of members that now belong to the Society of Jesus, we have calculated to be 5,470. If, then, 880 are engaged in England, this island receives a full share of attention from General Roothaan, about one-sixth of his army being here engaged in active warfare. Whether or not so large a number is employed in England, we cannot say. In that part of this essay to which we have just referred, the number of the disciples of Loyola in England and Ireland, was seen to be 237. Adding 57 as the proportionate increase, we obtain 294 as the total number of Jesuits now at work in England and Ireland. These results widely differ: 294 is only about one-third of 880. One figure or the other must be remote from the truth. But let it be remembered that England and Ireland are omitted from the official lists, and that the smaller amount is deduced from less recent, and, perhaps, less reliable sources of information than the larger. And while the omission to which we have adverted, justifies a suspicion that the number of Jesuits in England was larger than General Roothaan thought it prudent to publish, especially at a time when the legal documents of the country were declaring that the land was as innocent of Jesuits as it was of Bonzes, we may at any rate, acquiescing in the smaller total, declare that at this hour not less than 300 sons of Ignatius Loyola are employing all their confessedly great resources, and all their secret fascinations, in order to lead England back under the yoke of Rome.

"But Jesuits exist under other names. Proscribed or forbidden as Jesuits, they assume disguises; and under these disguises they work out their dark purposes, especially in Protestant lands. How many cloaked Jesuits are there in England? The idolatry of 'The Sacred Heart of Jesus' prevails in England. The 'Society of the Sacred Heart' was, during the French Revolution, instituted (1794) by the ex-Jesuits Charles de Broglie and the Abbé de Tournely. Another hidden form in which Jesuits have arrayed their forces is that of 'The Society of the Faith,' established by Paccarini, and other ex-Jesuits, in the diocese of Trent. To the existence in England of one society of the 'Sacred Heart,' (at Roehampton, in the Catholic diocese of Hexham,) the '*Catholic Directory*' confesses. Another Catholic authority of recent date (Aschbach's *Kirchen-Lexicon*) informs us that '"The Fathers of the Faith" are beginning to spread in Holland and in England.' Are these the persons of whose existence in England many traces are found in the '*Directory*,' under the denomination of the 'Order of *the Faithful Companions of Jesus*?' And among the now very numerous 'Christian Brothers,' who seem specially engaged in the work of popular education, how many belong to the Society of Jesus, or some kindred association? We suspect that Catholic Jesuitism exists in this land far beyond what the smaller results of our calculations show."

Yet, on the whole, comparing Jesuitism now, with what it formerly was, there is no ground for discouragement:—

"The spirit of the age is adverse to Jesuitism. The great tendencies of our actual Christianity are adverse to Jesuitism. The essential qualities of the Saxon race, now every day rising into the ascendant, are adverse to Jesuitism. Nor is the actual condition of the abominable thing otherwise than encouraging, when that condition is compared with what it was in the early days of its existence. To its repeated overthrows we have adverted. The human heart hates Jesuitism, and throws it off as soon as ever it is fully aware of the presence of the incubus. True, Jesuitism has had its revivals as well as its falls. But in the midst of these vicissitudes there has been a general tendency toward decline and decay. In the year 1626, eighty-six years after its foundation, Jesuitism numbered in Europe 13,369 members. In the year 1851, some five thousand members form the sum of its strength. Had it in the last 225 years increased in the same ratio as during those eighty-six years, it would now have held the supreme mastery of the world. Instead of an increase, the society has suffered, on the whole, constant diminution; being weakened every time that human nature and the Gospel cast it to the ground, until now it numbers not one-third of the members which it had of old."

Among the new works in Theology and Biblical Literature announced in Great Britain, are the following:—The Four Witnesses, or the Perfect Harmony of the Four Gospels deduced from the Character and the particular Object in view of their respective Writers, by Isaac da Costa, LL.D., Amsterdam, 8vo.:—Ezekiel and the Book

of his Prophecy, an Exposition, by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, author of "Typology of Scripture," "Jonah," &c., 8vo:—The Idol demolished by its own Priest, an Answer to Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures on Transubstantiation, by James Sheridan Knowles:—A History of the Articles of Religion, with illustrations from the Symbolical Books of the Roman and Reformed Communions, by Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge:—A Defence of Revealed Religion; comprising a Vindication of the Miracles of the Old and New Testaments from the Attacks of Rationalists and Infidels, by Joseph Brown, M.D.:—Notes and Reflections on the Epistle to the Romans, by Arthur Pridham, demy 12mo.:—Wesley and Methodism, by Isaac Taylor, author of "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Loyola and Jesuitism," &c., post 8vo.:—Gregory of Nazianzum. A Contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the Fourth Century, by Professor Ullmann, translated by G. V. Cox, M.A.:—History of Mohammedanism and its Sects, by W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D. (third and cheaper edition):—The Early Progress of the Gospel, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1850, by W. G. Humphry, B.D., Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London:—Quakerism, or the Story of my Life, by one who was a Member of the Society of Friends for upwards of Forty Years, 12mo.:—Protestantism and Popery contrasted by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion, edited by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., F.S.A., of All Souls' College, Oxford, Vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, 2 vols. 8vo.:—Lectures on Ecclesiastes, by the Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., crown 8vo.:—The Bloomsbury Prophetical Lectures, by twelve clergymen of the Church of England, 12mo.:—A Memoir of the late Rev. Edw. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, by the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., in two volumes post octavo, with portrait:—Lectures on the Prophet Amos, by the Rev. Vincent W. Ryan, M.A., late Curate of St. Mary's, Edge Hill, and Vice-Principal of the Collegiate Schools, Liverpool, foolscap octavo:—Primitive Obliquities; or a Review of the Epistles of the New Testament, in Reference to the Prevailing Offences in the Church, by the Rev. R. Boys, M.A., in foolscap octavo:—The Jesuits as they Were and Are, from the German of Duller, translated by Mrs. Stanley Carr, with a preface by Sir Culling Eardley, Bart., foolscap 8vo.:—Romanism as it exists in Rome; exhibited in various Inscriptions and other Documents in the Churches and other Ecclesiastical Places in that City, collected by the Hon. J. W. Percy, 8vo.

Among the new works in Theology and kindred subjects, announced on the Continent, are the following:—

Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo. Ex celeberrimo codice Amiatino omnium et antiquissimo et praestantissimo nunc primum edidit *Constantinus Tischendorf.* Cum pia memoria Gregorii XVI. Accedit tabula lapidi incisa. Lipsiae, 1850, 46 and 421 pp., 4to.

Das Buch der Religion, oder der religiöse Geist der Menschheit in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung. Für die Gebildeten des deutschen Volkes dargestellt von einem deutschen Theologen, 8vo.

Pauli epistola altera ad Timothenm graece. Cum commentario perpetuo edidit Gottlob Eduardus Leo, theologiae doctor, art. mag., senatus ecclesiastici Schoenburgici senator, Waldenburgensis ecclesiae pastor primar., et dioecesis superintendens.

AMERICAN.

The first volume of a "*History of the German Reformed Church*, by Rev. Lewis Mayer, D.D., late Professor in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in the United States," has appeared, (Philadelphia, 8vo., pp. 477.) This volume is chiefly occupied with an account of the Reformation in Switzerland: the second is designed to embrace the history of the German Reformed Church in the United States. The venerable author brought his labours down to about 1770; the remainder of the history will be given by another hand. Prefixed to the first volume is a Memoir of Dr. Mayer, by Rev. F. Heiner.

The American translation of Neander's Life of Christ has been reprinted in England, as part of Bohn's Standard Library.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

A PERPETUAL activity pervades the whole field of classical philology in Germany—and especially the domain of Greek Lexicography. In this department two important works have appeared, which we have not seen, but which are highly commended in the Leipziger Repertorium. They are the "*Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache, von C. Jacobitz und E. E. Seiler*," 2 vols., large 8vo., pp. 1502 and 1792: and the "*Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zum Schul- und Privatgebrauche, von Jacobitz und Seiler*," large 8vo., 1650 pp.

THE whole number of matriculated students at the University of BONN for the winter semester of 1850-1851, was 911; of whom 58 were students of Theology under the Protestant Faculty, and 204 under the Catholic; 308 of Jurisprudence, 127 of Medicine, and 144 of Philosophy and Theology. The University of BRESLAU, for the same half-year, had 823 students, of whom 297 were students of Theology. In JENA, there were 358 students, of whom 78 were Theological; MARBURG, 263 students, 72 Theological; MUNICH, 1884 students, 315 Theological; WURZBURG, 672 students, 96 Theological.

THE fourth part of the second volume of Passow's Greek Lexicon (newly edited by Rost, Palm, and Kreussler) is published, and extends from the word *περασία* to *πλινθυφής*.

WE have received the first number of a new philological journal entitled "*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, auf dem gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen*, herausgegeben von Dr. J. Aufrecht, Priv. Doc. a. d. Universität zu Berlin, und Dr. A. Kuhn, Lehrer am Cöln. Gymnasium." (Berlin, F. Dümmler; New-York, Westermann, Brothers.) The first number gives good promise, both in matter and appearance, of a useful and attractive journal. The space is about equally divided between the three languages, German, Greek, and Latin; and this proportion is to be kept up in future numbers. Among the contributors to this number, besides the editors, may be found the names of Förstemann, Curtius, Benary, and Jac. Grimm; and among the collaborators engaged for the future service of the journal, are Bopp, Diefenbach, Haase, Hartung, Lassen, Zumpt, and others. The cost of the journal, in this country, will be about $3 50 per annum.

A REMARKABLE production of the past year is *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ποιητῶν καὶ Συγγραφέων*, *ὑπὸ* K. Ἀσωπίου. *Τόμ. πρῶτος*, A–Z. *Ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1850, 960 pp., 8vo. The author, Constantine Asopios, is Professor of Greek Literature in the Otto University at Athens. The work, when completed, will embrace the history of Greek Literature from the earliest times up to the year 1453.

To show how comprehensive are the attempts of modern philosophy, we give the title and contents of a new German treatise, viz.:—"*System der* Wissensohaft: ein philosophischen Encheiridion von Dr. Karl Rosenkranz, 1850, pp. 621, 8vo." The contents are as follows:—I. REASON: the science of the logical Idea (*Dialectics*), in three parts: (1.) Being (*Metaphysics*): (2.) Conception (*Logic*): (3.) Idea (*Ideology*).—II. NATURE: the Philosophy of Nature (*Physics*): (1.) Matter (*Mechanics*): (2.) Power (*Dynamics*): (3.) Life (*Organics*).—III. SPIRIT: (1.) the Subjective Spirit (*Psychology*): (2.) the Objective Spirit (*Ethics*): (3.) the Absolute Spirit (*Theology*).

WE notice the completion, at last, of Dr. Traill's translation of Josephus' Jewish War, edited by Isaac Taylor. The work is in two volumes, price about $10.

AMONG the new works in Classical and Miscellaneous Literature announced on the Continent are the following:—

Bibliographisches Handbuch der philosophischen Literatur der Deutschen v. der Mitte des 18. Jahrh. bis auf die neueste Zeit. Von Dr. Chr. Ant. Geissler. Nach *J. Sim. Ersch* in systemat. Ordnung bearb. u. m. den nöthigen Registern versehen. 3. Aufl. Leipzig, 1850. 283 pp. 8vo.

Histoire de la philosophie; par l'abbé J. B. Bourgeat. Philosophie orientale. Paris, Hachette. 1850. 8vo.

Grundzüge d. Systems der Philosophie od. Encyclopädie der philosoph. Wissenschaften von Dr. K. Ph. Fischer, Prof. 2.

Bd.: Die Wissenschaft des subjectiven u. objectiven Geistes. 1. Abth. Erlangen, Palm. 1850. 272 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie. Allgemeine Einleitung, Psychologie, Logik. Von Dr. R. Joh. Lichtenfels. 1850. 267 pp. 8vo.

System der speculativen Ethik, oder Philosophie der Familie, des Staates u. der religiösen Sitte. Von H. Mor. Chalybäus. 2 Bde. Leipzig. 1850. 1143 pp.

Schleiermachers Sittenlehre ausführlich dargestellt u. beurtheilt mit e. einleitenden Exposition d. histor. Entwickelungsganges der Sittenlehre überhaupt. Eine v. d. K. Dän. Gesellschaft zu Kopenhagen gekrönte Preisschrift. Von Dr. Frz. Vorländer. 1851. 348 pp. 8vo.

Vom Staatsleben nach platonischen, aristotelischen und christlichen Grundsätzen. Eine staatswissenschaftliche Abhandlung von P. H. Stuhr. 1. Thl. Berlin. 1850. 327 pp. 8vo.

Gottfried Hermann's pädagogischer Einfluss. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik des altclassischen Humanisten von Dr. K. Fr. Ameis, Prof. u. Prorector am Gymnasium zu Mühlhausen. Jena. 1850. 115 pp. 8vo.

Corpus inscriptionum graecarum. Auctoritate et impensis acad. litterar. regiae Boruss. ex materia collecta ab *Aug. Boeckhio* ed. *Jo. Franzius*. Vol. III. Fasc. III. Berolini. 1850. Pp. 689–1032. gr. Fol.

Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten. Von Dr. K. Fr. Hermann, Prof. zu Göttingen. 3. Thl., die Privatalterthümer enthaltend. 1. Hälfte. Heidelberg. 1850. 210 pp. 8vo.

Griechische Mythologie. Von Dr. Em. Braun. In 3 Büchern. 2. Buch. 1. Hälfte. Hamburg u. Gotha. 1850. Pp. 211–442.

Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. Von Dr. Ed. Munk. 2. Thl.: Geschichte der griechischen Prosa. Berlin. 1850. 669 pp. 8vo.

Histoire de la littérature Grecque; par Alex. Pierron. Paris. 1850. 12mo.

Demosthenes, ausgewählte Reden. Erklärt von *Ant. Westermann*. (In 3 Bdchen.) 2. Bdchen.: [XVIII.] Rede vom Kranze. [XX.] Rede gegen Leptines. Leipzig. 1850. 218 pp. 8vo.

Platonis opera omnia uno volumine comprehensa. Ad fidem optimor. libror. denuo recognovit et una cum scholiis graecis emendatius ed. *Gfr. Stallbaumius*, Prof. et Gymn. Rector. Edit. stereot. Lipsiae. 1850. 728 pp. Large 8vo.

Organismus der lateinischen Sprache oder: Darstellung der Weltanschauung des röm. Volkes in seinen Sprachformen. Von Dr. Ant. Schmitt. 2 Thle. Mit 6 Formentaf. 2. Aufl. Mainz. 1851. 310 pp. 8vo.

Among the new works announced in Great Britain are the following:—Sketches of the Poetical Literature of the past Half-Century, in six Lectures, delivered at the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, by D. M. Moir (Delta), foolscap 8vo.:—Sir John Richardson's Journal of his Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land, and along the Central Arctic Coasts, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Sir John Franklin, 2 vols. 8vo., Map, coloured Plates, and Woodcuts:—A History of Greek and Roman Classical Literature, with an introduction on each of the languages, biographical notices, an account of the periods in which each principal author lived and wrote, so far as literature was affected by such history, and observations on the works themselves, by R. W. Browne, Professor of Classics at King's College, London, 2 vols., 8vo.:—The One Primeval Language, traced experimentally through ancient inscriptions, in alphabetical characters of lost powers from the four Continents, including the voice of Israel from the rocks of Sinai, and the vestiges of patriarchal tradition from the Monuments of Egypt, Etruria, and Southern Arabia, with illustrative Plates, a Harmonized Table of Alphabets, Glossaries, and Translations, by the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D.:—Schiller's Complete Poems, including all his early suppressed Pieces, together with the Poems introduced in his Dramatic Works, attempted in English, by Edgar Alfred Bowring:—A Handbook of the English Language, by R. G. Latham, M.D., late Professor of English Language and Literature in University College, London, 1 vol., 12mo.:—Letters on the Physics of the Globe, by H. Buff, Professor of Physics in the University of Giessen, edited by Dr. A. W. Hofman, Professor in the Royal College of Chemistry, London, foolscap 8vo.:—The Naturalist in Jamaica, by P. H. Gosse, Esq., author of Popular British Ornithology, &c., post 8vo., with coloured Plates:—Wesley and Methodism, by Isaac Taylor, author of Natural History of Enthusiasm, &c., post 8vo.:—The Italian Volunteers and Lombard Rifle Brigade in 1848–1849, from the Italian of Emilio Dandolo, post 8vo., Map and Plan:—Examples of the Architecture of

Venice, selected and drawn to Measurement from the Edifices, by John Ruskin, author of The Stones of Venice, Seven Lamps of Architecture, Modern Painters, &c., to be completed in Twelve Parts of folio imperial size, price one guinea each. Each Part will contain Five Plates, engraved by the first Artists, and as nearly as possible fac-similes of Mr. Ruskin's original drawings, but of mixed character:—The Search for Sir John Franklin, by C. R. Weld, Assistant Secretary, Royal Society, in 8vo.:—Life in Sweden, by Hans Christian Anderson, author of The Improvisatore, in post 8vo.:—Leith to Lapland, or Pictures from Scandinavia, By W. Hurton, in 2 vols. post 8vo.:—The Andromache of Euripides, edited, with notes illustrative of the text, by the Rev. J. Edwards, M.A., Second Master of King's College, and the Rev. C. Hawkins, B.C.L., in 8vo.:—The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, edited from the best Text, with English Notes and Grammatical References, by the Rev. Thomas Kerchever Arnold, M.A., 12mo.:—The Elements of Natural Philosophy, by James Beaven, D.D., Professor of King's College, Toronto, small 8vo.:—The Ajax of Sophocles, with English Notes, translated from the German of F. W. Schneidewin, by the Rev. R. B. Paul, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Bristol, and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A., 12mo.:—Demosthenes de Corona, the Greek Text, with English Notes, by B. W. F. Drake, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, crown 8vo.:—The Oration on the Crown, done into English by the Rev. J. P. Norris, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, crown 8vo.:—Theocritus, the Greek Text, with English Notes Critical and Explanatory, for the use of Colleges and Schools, by the Rev. E. Perowne, B.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, crown 8vo:—Plato's Republic, a new Translation into English, with an Introduction and Notes, by Two Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge:—Critical Essays on Philosophy, Literature, and Academical Reform, contributed to The Edinburgh Review by Sir William Hamilton, Bart., with additional Notes and Appendices, 8vo.:—Euripidis Iphigenia Taurica, Helena, Ion, Andromache, cum Præfatione, Emendationibus, et Notulis. Edidit Carolus Badham, M.A., accedunt "Lectiones Codicis Vaticani a C. G. Cobeto denuo collati," Pars Prima Iphigeniam et Helenam continens, 8vo.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1851.

Art. I.—HOLINESS.

Nature and Blessedness of Christian Purity. By Rev. R. S. Foster, A. M. With an Introduction by Edmund S. Janes, D. D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1851.

This is a book for the times. It comes from a warm heart and an energetic pen. The author is impelled to write. He sees the worldly tendencies of the age—the rush for wealth and honour—the powerful antagonisms which contend for the hearts of men—and the sad defects of the Church. He knows the remedy, and longs to proclaim it the world over.

But he cannot reach all men. Thousands hear him, but tens of thousands cannot, and he seizes his pen, as if by an impulse of inspiration, and before most men would have had time to read up and settle preliminaries his book is announced.

The haste of our author may, on some accounts, be regretted. More deliberation would doubtless have contributed to unity and completeness of discussion and to accuracy of style. Some repetitions might have been avoided. A few passages which, however interesting in themselves, hardly belong to the plan of the book, might have been omitted, and given the writer room to enlarge to great advantage upon some fundamental points. Many sentences, quite too loose and complex, might have been analyzed, and those representing thoughts entirely distinct might have had the advantage of a periodic structure. The very fervour of the author's mind has often loaded his style with intensive qualifying terms and epithets, and pushed out into the region of "luxuriant" and "gorgeous," expressions which, by careful weeding, could be made very energetic and beautiful. All these blemishes might have been avoided by taking the time requisite for judicious criticism; and in a subsequent edition we hope the author will give the work a thorough

revision. He has just commenced a career of authorship which is full of promise to himself, to the Church, and to the world; and while numerous and commanding excellencies of thought and style will certainly make him a favourite with the people, his friends are exceedingly anxious that he should avail himself more fully of fundamental rhetorical laws, sound criticism, and elaborate research. His definiteness and scope of thought will thus rapidly increase; his power of illustration, now decidedly marked, will be greatly enhanced; the verbiage and inaccuracies of his style will disappear: and if all this occur without impairing the earnestness, vigour, and originality which are now so evident, it is neither presumption nor flattery to predict for him a very high rank among the best and most successful American writers of the conservative-progressive school.

In the mean time let him go on with his perspicuous explanations, his cogent arguments, and his pungent appeals. We would by no means suppress his ardour, enchain his imagination, or cool his fire, by the restraints of technical rules or unimpassioned art. He is a man of the age, and must not be required to throw away his spurs, if he does manage his steed with a little tighter rein. He *must compose* rapidly. All his improvements will be made before and after the first draught. But the demand for the work before us was so pressing that we can heartily forgive the hurry of its preparation. You need not attempt to cavil at its theology—this is old, settled, strong as the Bible; nor utter a word against its philosophy until you can limit the power of omnipotent grace; nor dwell upon the laws of language and the graces of rhetoric. You understand the man, and it is of the highest moment that you should candidly dispose of the great practical issues which he has raised between God and your conscience instead of allowing yourself to be diverted by questions of mere verbal criticism.

We have no desire to save any man the trouble of reading the book, but earnestly recommend a thorough perusal of our author's fresh, warm, and glowing pages. Less than this would be injustice to him, and marked injustice to ourselves. It shall therefore be our only aim, in this paper, to co-operate with him in illustrating "the nature and blessedness of Christian purity," and in endeavouring to extend its experimental and practical power. In doing this we shall confine ourselves to two points, viz.: *the true position of this theme in Christian theology, and the relation of this work to the theme.*

The interpretation of a system depends upon its central idea. This is seen in mechanism. The different parts of a watch, for in-

stance, would be perfectly unintelligible to the most careful observer without the idea which produced it. To mark the division of time being the problem, every wheel becomes a part of the solution. In the same way, government without the idea of social rights is a collection of unmeaning forms, but with this idea all its details are luminous and significant. No man can understand the system of Mohammed until he examines it as a scheme for sensual gratification. He will then see the reason for everything which is peculiar to it. So the religious sentiment, under the control of hope or fear, explains the stupendous system of human folly called heathenism. Judaism exists to support the idea of national pre-eminence; and Catholicism has been known for ages only by its magnificent designs of political power and universal domination. These are only illustrations of the general law that every system has its central idea; and though we may generalize sufficiently from an examination of particulars to ascertain that idea, yet no system can be thoroughly understood nor justly interpreted but in the light of it.

We propose, therefore, to discuss the question, *What is the central idea of Christianity?*

We have not room to examine the various answers which have been given to this question. They are to be found not so much in books as in systems; for the different organizations under the Christian scheme have all received their distinctive forms from the notions of men with regard to the great end contemplated—the final cause of the enterprise. The Christian institutes have not produced the central idea, but the idea has produced them. There can be but one central idea of the Christian scheme, and that is, as it exists in the mind of God. Any human conception of it can only approximate the truth in proportion as it resembles the idea which existed in the mind of God when he constructed the system in its Divine and essential forms. In exact proportion as the various branches of the Christian Church and the heretical sects have departed from this original, have been their errors in doctrine, in ceremonies, in morals, and in government. We shall attempt to reach and expose these various errors only so far as the development and brief application of what we believe to be the true idea, may serve this purpose.

And first we shall consult the Scriptures. The doctrines, institutions, and obligations included in Christianity, are discussed separately and combined, in the Holy Bible, in a great variety of forms. But he must read very superficially who can regard them as detached and independent truths. The more profoundly we study the sacred volume, the more clearly we shall see that it embodies and illustrates a splendid scheme of remedial govern-

ment. Not a thought, not a fact, not a truth, bears a foreign stamp, or indicates in the slightest degree that it exists for itself alone, or for any other system whatever. The great idea which originated the several parts of this amazing scheme, is to be ascertained, not by accidental reading or limited study of the Bible, but by the strictest attention to its drift. Principles, in the abstract and in the concrete, must be collated with the utmost care. The minutest particulars, as well as the most prominent and extensive, must be viewed in their relations to each other, and the grand scope of the whole Divine teaching ascertained. Whoever does this, will, we think, find the following truths, tending to a solution of our problem, clearly established:—

1. The choice of God for the moral condition of the human race was perfect purity; hence he created man in his own image.

2. As this was once the choice of God, it must be eternally so, and the Divine preference or will can never be met but by perfect moral purity.

3. Sin interfered with this choice, to the full extent of its existence and reign, and hence called out the severest Divine displeasure.

4. There has, therefore, never been and never can be the slightest toleration of sin in any Divine communications; it is condemned with unsparing severity in its most secret and plausible forms.

5. As man, by becoming a sinner, has incurred the Divine displeasure, he can only be free from calamity and suffering by entire deliverance from sin, past, present, and future.

6. Remedial measures originating in God, must aim directly at the destruction of sin. Excepting it in any of its forms, making provision for its continuance, its justification, or excuse, in the soul of the saved, to any extent, would be trifling, impossible in Him.

7. The sacrificial offering of Christ, and the means and appliances of the Gospel, reveal the plan of salvation by the destruction of sin and the restoration of man to the image of God, and can in no way be reconciled with the idea of salvation *in* sin.

We have not room to amplify these propositions or to introduce the scriptures which prove them. Nor is it necessary, as they will not be questioned by any whom we can hope to reach. But if they truly indicate the drift of revelation, they show, incontestably, that the great idea of Christianity is *holiness*; that this vast scheme of suffering, teaching, labour, and agency, has all been produced and is carried on solely to deliver man from his sins, for the ultimate perfection of Christian character. There are certain scriptures which show conclusively that we have not mistaken the teachings of revelation upon this great question.

St. Paul to the Colossians, has this remarkable saying in regard to Christ: "Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily." Then to "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus," is the grand and sole design of apostolic preaching. Christ, as our Mediator, appears among men to answer to that idea. He throws himself into the greatest of the apostles to energize his soul, his eloquence, and his labours, for that purpose alone. Can there be a stronger declaration that the perfection of Christian character is the central idea of the Gospel? If so, we have it in this: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Holiness then, or the "perfecting of the saints," produced the pastorate in all its forms. This alone, therefore, can explain its sacred functions; and in every endowment and authorized effort, it points to the splendid idea which called it into existence.

We give one quotation more, which covers the whole ground of revelation. Paul says to Timothy: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Here then are "the Holy Scriptures" "given by inspiration of God," with their vast details of doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction, for the sole purpose of producing experimental and practical perfection; and *in this life*, as it is thus that "the man of God" is to "be thoroughly furnished unto all good works." There is then no resisting it. This great idea produced the Bible—the whole Bible—and it is this alone that renders every part of it luminous. If this is the thing to be done, to make "the man of God perfect," it is just the Bible we need; and it is most appropriately entitled by universal consent, "The Holy Bible."

It is therefore settled, by authority, that holiness or Christian perfection is the central idea of Christianity. From this there is no appeal. It is not so much, therefore, to strengthen our position as to rouse attention and induce action that we now propose to subject the system to a critical and searching analysis, to see if we are thus conducted to the same result. Let us take our position outside

of the system and travel inward, taking up and carefully examining every part of it as we proceed until we reach the centre and ascertain what is that one doctrine and life upon which all the rest depends. And the first thing we find is perhaps a building—numerous buildings indeed, of various sizes, architecture and expense. But a building can be the central idea of nothing; for we instinctively ask, What is it for? In this instance we observe, that the convenience of assembly is the object. The gathering next attracts our attention; but a meeting is no central idea, for we wish to know why the people meet. We soon perceive the enactment of certain rites which, considered alone, seem idle, and might be as well performed with far less pains. But we are told that this sacrament is an oath, that it implies a covenant between these men and the invisible God, and that this bread and wine are used to symbolize the body and blood of a victim for sinners. The Lord's Supper then is no central idea. And the application of water by one man, to the person of another, can be of no importance in itself; but solemnly performed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," it carries us out of itself to the wondrous work of which it is "the sign and seal." Baptism then is not the central idea of the system. But upon further observation we perceive that an organization exists, that there is a vast and extended brotherhood, with all the powers and functions of a distinct and vigorous life; and we may ask, Is not this the consummation of the scheme? Certainly not; for an idea must produce an organization, and hence must be anterior to it and essentially independent of it. It may pervade the organization, but only as the soul the body, without losing its identity. The Church then is not central in this system. Examining still more closely the acts of this society, we perceive that stated public addresses are delivered; but these, like all speeches or harangues, are to get something done. Preaching is, therefore, not the idea which produced Christianity. Solemn invocation addressed to an invisible Being is another stated exercise; but this expresses an emotion or thought, or implores some good or the aversion of some ill, out of itself. It was not then for the production of prayer that this system was instituted; and the same is true of praise.

Travelling inward, the light increases, indicating nearer approach to the sun at the centre. An unseen power has revealed to the soul the fact of its guilt, and it writhes in agony. But is this an object? Is the sufferer to be left in this condition? Surely not. Conviction then is not central to this system. This state is followed by an inward loathing of sin—a voluntary and decisive turning away from it.

But repentance cannot exist alone. It can only be conceived of as a consequence or a means. Faith grasps a Redeemer, and hence, great as it is, is only an instrumentality—a condition of blessings out of itself. It was not then merely that men might believe, that this dispensation was given. Pardon only absolves for the past. Of itself it effects no radical change in the moral condition or tendencies of the sinner. Left at this point, he must the next instant commence a fresh accumulation of guilt. Justification is not, therefore, the central idea of Christianity. Bring the dead soul to life, let it be "begotten of God"—"born again"—"born from above," and does this alone meet the Divine purpose in commencing the work of grace? Is regeneration the grand ultimate point to which the whole Gospel scheme tends? Does this properly imply that specific moral state which, of itself, fits the soul for heaven? We grant that the word *may be* used in a sense which would comprehend it; but is this its proper use? We think not, and for the following reasons:—

1. There is a broad and necessary distinction between the existence of a thing and the state of the thing existing, between the fact of life and the mode of life, between a soul spiritually alive and the moral condition of the living spirit. Just as natural life and the condition of the living being are distinct, spiritual life and the moral condition of the spiritually alive are distinct. Certain invariable coincidences between these two things, in no respect interfere with their essential difference. Now, two things so entirely distinct, as the fact of spiritual life and the moral state of the spiritually alive, ought to have different names.

2. Regeneration appropriately designates the former, sanctification the latter. The first term includes both the sign and the thing signified. Generation denotes the production of natural life, *re*-generation the production of spiritual life. Now the force of the illustration is seen in the following particulars:—(1.) The soul in its natural state is "dead"—"dead in trespasses and in sins." It is so, because "to be carnally minded is death." (2.) Natural life is the product of Divine power alone, and spiritual life must be also. Generation expresses the operation of this power in the one instance, and *re*-generation in the other. A similar relation exists between the ideas represented by the words "creature" and "new creature," "born" and "born again." (3.) Generation and birth produce new natural powers and functions, which demonstrate the omnipotence of their Creator; *re*-generation and "the new birth" produce spiritual powers and functions entirely new, which demonstrate equally the Divinity of their origin. (4.) The result of generation is natural

life with its accidents, the result of *re*-generation is spiritual life with *its* accidents; the degree of health may be mentioned as an accident of the former, the degree of sanctification or holiness as an accident of the latter. The word sanctification just as appropriately denotes certain treatment of the soul, which God has brought to life, as regeneration does the fact of bringing it to life. Sanctify, is from *sanctus*, holy, and *facio*, to make. Sanctification is literally the act of making holy, and this is its primary meaning in systematic Divinity.

Now here are two things totally distinct from each other, as much so as a fact and a quality of a fact, a thing and an accident of a thing can be; and here are two terms, of entirely different import, completely adapted to represent these two things respectively—regeneration, the production of spiritual life; sanctification, the treatment of the soul spiritually alive—neither of which can, without violence to the laws of language, perform the office of the other. We humbly submit, therefore, that they ought not to be used interchangeably, and that attempts so to use them have caused nearly all the confusion which has embarrassed these great points in theology.

3. The experience of Christians amply sustains the distinction we have made. It is simply and universally, (1.) That in conversion they receive a new life, manifesting powers and functions entirely spiritual and different from any they have before exhibited; as before this they have proved that "to be carnally minded is death," they now prove that "to be spiritually minded is life and peace." (2.) That with regeneration they have received but an imperfect sanctification; or, in other words, that God has commenced to sanctify the souls which he has regenerated, making the progression and completion of the work depend upon conditions which he has clearly revealed. (3.) That so far from being identical, regeneration may be truly affirmed of those who are in all stages of sanctification, and only a few profess or believe that they are sanctified wholly, whereas all Christians claim to be and really are regenerated. (4.) That the great business and chief difficulty of all regenerate men is to secure their entire sanctification. This is the great question between them and God on the one hand, and Satan on the other; and, too generally, it takes nearly the whole of probation to settle it. Now the strength of this argument is in the circumstance that it is of the nature of fact and utterly undeniable.

4. The Scriptures conclusively settle the question. They plainly assume the distinction. To sinners God says, "Ye must be born again;" to the regenerate, "Be ye holy, for I am holy." In this exhortation they persist with the greatest possible earnestness.

"Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord." The great apostle was, therefore, aware that these Christian brethren, "dearly beloved," had yet need of cleansing "from filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting (finishing or completing) holiness." Again: knowing that there was such a thing as being sanctified but in part, and aware that this was the real condition of his brethren at Thessalonica, as it is of Christians generally, in his most fervent devotions he prayed, "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly." Quotations are unnecessary. The whole tenor of Scripture upon this subject, assumes that the merely regenerate, have need of further sanctification. They, and they only, are the persons to whom it is offered; who are required, by the most positive command, to "go on to perfection," and encouraged by the most gracious promises to expect the blessing, in answer to believing prayer—"faithful is He that hath called you, who also will do it."

If, then, there is a broad and necessary distinction between a soul spiritually alive, and the moral condition of the living spirit—if the terms regeneration and sanctification are strictly and only appropriate to the production of spiritual life, and to the treatment of the soul so brought to life, and cannot be used interchangeably—if the experience of all Christians recognises this distinction, which is really so far from being questionable, that it is the great duty and work of all regenerate persons to secure the progress and ultimate completion of the work of sanctification—and if, for this purpose, the Holy Scriptures address to them the most pointed declarations of want, the most peremptory commands to go forward to its acquisition, and the most gracious assurances of success,—then regeneration is not sanctification, and regeneration is not the central idea of Christianity.

We have now reached, in our analysis, the great doctrine to which we were guided in our Scripture test, as affording the true explanation of the whole Gospel scheme—*perfect purity*—the choice of God for the moral condition of the human race. Let the work of sanctification, which commences at the time of regeneration, go on to its completion. Let the inward foes which were then conquered be slain and exterminated,—so that those who at first could only say, "being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," now say, with equal assurance, "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin,"—and this must be precisely the thing which God saw at the beginning was necessary to counteract the evil which had been done, and reproduce the

moral state from which man had fallen; and to accomplish this he instituted the scheme of redemption. If it was for any object less than this, then the Divine purposes could be harmonized with the permanent existence of sin in his redeemed ones. But we have taken up, one by one, the facts and principles and operations of the system, and found no one of them that could stand alone—that could explain all the rest and entirely answer to the Divine Will—until we reached that "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." This is a principle independent of all others, in its essential character. It existed prior to all Gospel institutions and remedial acts. It is an object of such immense importance as to justify the vast arrangements of the remedial dispensation. It explains every one of them; and, if we suppose it absent from the system, thy all immediately become unintelligible and valueless. To do less for man than to make him holy, would be, *in effect*, to do nothing for him; and to do this, is to do all. Holiness is, therefore, the central sun which pours its glorious light through every part of the system, and illustrates everything which it contains. Remove it, and all is dark as midnight.

Let us, however, test the matter still further. Going again to the outside of the scheme, let us approach the centre from another direction. There are certain requisitions of the Gospel which are evidently fundamental. Take that great one which includes all others: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," &c. The question now is, What moral condition of the soul is capable of this result? You observe Christian love that is mingled with fear. This you trace to a state of imperfect sanctification. But find the outbeamings of that "perfect love" which "casteth out fear," in the countenance—in every feeling—in every word—in every act, and trace them to their home in the inner being, and you will find it perfectly pure. You will say in raptures to that child of God, "being made free from sin, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." The same is certainly true of every one of the Christian graces—of every attempt at obedience. Those which, from their mixed character, must be condemned, not merely by the flaming law, but by the high standard of perfection made attainable by the Gospel, can be traced in every instance, to an unsanctified state of the heart, showing that something yet remains to be done to complete the work of purification; and those which meet this standard, can be traced to a state of perfect inward purity. How clearly then this purity—the state which originally gave out these manifestations, and which alone can now produce them—*is and must be* the centre of the remedial system!

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But, finally, let us take our position in heaven, and thence move out into the kingdom of grace until we reach its centre. The question now is, What state of mind is a full preparation for heaven? Here everything is holy. God—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—reigns in holiness, immaculate and infinite; the angels shine in unsullied purity; and the saints, having "washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," are without a stain. Not an impure thought or feeling, desire or motive, can be found in all that bright world. The employments of the place are suited only to holy beings. And going out to find the persons adjusted to the place, we reject all others, and by universal consent accept the souls cleansed from all unrighteousness. The most splendid talents would be no substitute for holiness; the brightest genius the world ever saw must pause at the gate of this celestial paradise, if a spot of sin be found upon his garments.

Let no man assert, by way of objection to this position, that all truly converted persons, who do not backslide, are safe. If it is meant that justification and regeneration are intended to supersede entire sanctification—that they are of themselves a preparation for that holy place—the position is dangerously false. If it is intended to claim that a state of continued justification includes the assurance of entire sanctification,—or in other words, that he who retains the favour of God, must and will press on to the point of entire consecration,—it is a glorious truth; but as this is, therefore, a mere question of the mode and probability of reaching a state of purity, it in no way affects the argument we have adduced, to show that this state of purity is of itself, however or whenever reached, a full preparation, and the only preparation for heaven.

Thus we see that, from whatever point we commence our analysis, we reach the same result. All the other great facts and duties which the system includes, all the operations of Divine grace upon the heart, are but so many means to this glorious end—all lead directly in to holiness at the centre. The results which are fully in accordance with the expressed will of God, all point directly back to it; and, coming out from heaven itself, to find the true preparation for that glorious place, we ascertain it to be holiness alone. Carefully examining every particular of the system, within our reach, we find nothing else that will, as an end, meet the demands of the Almighty, explain the vast details of the remedial scheme, or account for the splendid results of that scheme in this world and in the next. By the test of analysis then, as well as of revelation, holiness is the central idea of Christianity.

Our next appeal is to history. And the question raised here, is,

What is the law of religious development and power, as an agent of reform? Or, in other words, regarding Christianity as the one grand agent, ordained by the Almighty to reform the world, in proportion to what has it been successful?

The following facts are beyond question. An individual professor takes his place in the Church. He has wealth and uses it freely for the benefit of the organization. He has talents, and they are zealously devoted to the defence of the Church. He has popular influence, and he uses it to gather proselytes to the faith. But his piety is superficial. Words escape him every day which show that they come from an impure fountain. He is, in spirit, a man of the world, and he has very little power to reform men. He may induce them to attend his Church, and even to join it; but in all his efforts to reform them he feels that he is weak, and they turn away in disgust, or look to others for their models and advice. But let this same man improve in his piety, and his power to do good at once begins to increase. Let him approximate nearer and nearer the standard of Christian perfection, and it will be seen that his spiritual power increases in exact proportion.

On the other hand, take a man whose heart is entirely consecrated; whose pure life indicates purity of heart, whose holy example commands universal respect, whose simple, unpretending efforts move all who hear his voice in prayer, or praise, or exhortation. Now, let him yield to temptation,—admit corruption into his heart,—and how soon it is seen that he is shorn of his strength! Just in proportion as he recedes from his elevated position in Christian holiness, his power of usefulness diminishes. Nor can he supply this deficiency by any other element. He who loses his purity may strive to save his power by increase of zeal, by enlarged charities, by the severest austerities; but it is all of no avail. He makes himself a living proof that holiness is the measure of power.

A comparison of two men in the ministry, will strengthen this conclusion. One is a man of shining talents, of genteel address, of popular eloquence: the other, ordinary in all these respects—in all natural qualities, the inferior of his brother. But he is a man of God—a man of faith. His soul is filled with love—"perfect love that casteth out fear." He moves among the people like a spirit from eternity. His rebukes of sin fall with dreadful force upon the hearts of the wicked. His sermons, his prayers, his expostulations, his tears, all indicate the presence of an extraordinary power; and thousands are converted, sanctified, and saved through his instrumentality. But the other man sees no such fruits of his labour. Souls may be converted, but he feels that it is in spite of him rather

than through his instrumentality. He wonders at the difference. He increases his exertions—elaborates his sermons with more learning and research—improves their rhetoric and oratory, but all to little purpose. He may increase the admiration of his hearers, but he cannot subdue their hearts, bring them weeping to the foot of the cross, and present them with joy as the trophies of the Redeemer. But let him seek and obtain the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Let fire from God's altar touch his lips and purify his soul, and he is a new man. He does not throw away his talents, his genius, his learning; but they are all sanctified. With the simplicity of a child, and a heart overflowing with love, he preaches the truth, and it is "in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power," and a glorious reformation follows. Whatever may be the seeming variations arising from the deficiency of our knowledge, we have in these particular instances, strong historic indications of a general law.

What is true of individuals is true of Churches also. Wherever a number of Christians have associated together, with the evident and exclusive aim of promoting purity of heart and life, they have prospered. Their creed may have included strange inconsistencies—their forms and ceremonies may have frequently been the offspring of conceit, and devoid of taste—they may have been generally uneducated and without the advantages of wealth or influential friends,—but with a supreme devotion to experimental holiness, they have revealed an inner spiritual and powerful life, which has defied all persecution and survived the rage of enemies.

Upon the other hand, Churches having the purest creed ever drawn from the Sacred Records, combining the accumulated wealth, and learning, and power of ages, have perished in the very midst of their greatness, simply by becoming corrupt. I affirm that there is not a superannuated Christian denomination in history whose decline has not been in exact proportion to its sins. Not unfrequently have men been amazed at the want of reformatory power in Christian communions of vast extent and influence, exhibiting many signs of external prosperity. But God has been witness to their departure from Christian simplicity and purity, and written "Ichabod" upon their sacred altars and splendid temples.

Finally: the most profound attention to the history of the general Church will show the same unvarying truth. Under the influence of apostolic purity, the early victories of the cross were as decisive in the reformation of individual character and public manners, as they were unparalleled in their extent and power. But the gradual departure from primitive simplicity, and the immense accumulation of corruption in heart and life which followed, by slow

degrees destroyed the power of the Church to act as a reforming agent, and that long, dark night of a thousand years, which closed in upon her spiritual vision, was a night of corruption. When the Reformation dawned, it showed the most revolting spectacles of vice, pervading all classes, from the obscure monk to the haughty prelate in the pretended chair of St. Peter. Honest minds were alarmed at the revelation; and as the noble men who led the movement humbled themselves before God, "renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully," they began to acquire the power to benefit the race, which had been lost by apostasy; and just in proportion to their purity they became actual and successful reformers. The history of that great work of God which commenced through their instrumentality, extends to every land on the face of the earth, and on into eternity, illustrating at every step of its progress the great principle which we are endeavouring to develop.

The Wesleyan reformation was eminently a movement in favour of holiness. The true doctrine of Christian Perfection was perhaps more clearly taught and powerfully enforced than at any former time since the days of primitive purity. And while the great mass of converts made it their aim, large numbers pressed on to the actual experience and living demonstration of the power of Christ to cleanse from all sin. And mark the result: "No weapon formed against them could prevail." From the feeblest beginnings, without wealth, without power, in the midst of the most violent persecutions, they have moved on in a career of usefulness unparalleled since the days of the apostles.

Now this uniformity of facts, extending from individuals, up through special Christian organizations, to the general Church, and pervading all ecclesiastical history, can be the result of no accident. It shows with the force of demonstration that holiness is the great law of religious development, and hence that holiness is the central idea of Christianity.

Our final appeal is to experience. And here the heart of every man must answer for itself. If the grand design of the Gospel be anything less than perfect purity, then the soul can find rest without it. If it be only pardon and regeneration, then the discovery of remaining corruptions ought to be no cause of uneasiness; the prayers of those who groan for full redemption ought to be unheeded; or if relief be found, it ought to be in some other system—through some other name than the name of Jesus.

But what facts does experience reveal? Why, that a deep and painful sense of inward impurity may remain after all guilt is washed

away; that in the midst of the Divine comforts of adoption the soul longs for the rest of perfect love; that the more devoted the life of the regenerate Christian, the more intense is his desire to be cleansed from all sin, and while he is without the evidence of this finished work, he has more or less of fear for the future. By the most powerful internal convictions, and the most obvious tendencies of every work of grace that has heretofore been wrought upon his heart, he is urged on to this glorious consummation. And it is not in accordance with experience that he who sighs for purity of heart, must sigh in vain—that he who cries, "Create in me a clean heart, O God," must pray in vain. From numerous examples in Scripture, from the testimonies of thousands long since gone to their reward, and of thousands more still living, the declaration of Jesus is amply sustained: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." So far were they from being compelled to look to other systems and other names for deliverance, that they declare with the utmost confidence it was well said by the angel, "And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins;" for we have in our hearts the Divine assurance that "the blood of Jesus Christ, God's son, cleanseth us from all sin."

And precisely as it ought to be, if this is the centre of the scheme, here the soul finds rest—here, perfect satisfaction. All its desires, all its passions, all its plans are in complete harmony with the will of God. From this sanctified state it can develop itself without inward obstruction—from this position it can expand and advance with freedom and power. The growth of the spirit, which in its original purity must certainly have been infinite, has been sadly interrupted by its dreadful disease. And since the cure commenced it has been much retarded by the remains of the disease. But now that the cure is complete, and faith is strong and active, growth in grace is free, natural, and rapid. It is true the effects of this malady may long remain after the remedy has been thoroughly successful. Infirmities of body and mind, which constantly need the compassion of God, the merits of Christ, and the charity of men, will press upon us till our probation ends; but in spite of them all, the soul in a state of perfect salvation, rises, enlarges, and triumphs, as it could never have done under any but a remedial system.

Thus directly and inevitably does experience conduct us to holiness as the great want of immortal man—the grand design of redemption.

We have now examined this question in the light of the Holy Scriptures, and found that this stupendous system of revelation and

redeeming mercy was undertaken "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." We have subjected the scheme to the severest analysis. Moving inward from different positions outside of it, we have found holiness alone at its centre. We have consulted history and experience, and found that *in fact* holiness is the measure of power. We are compelled, therefore, by the strictest logical necessity, to assert that *holiness is the central idea of Christianity.*

It will, we think, at once be perceived that we have reached a position of immense practical importance. If this be the true central idea of the Christian scheme, we may try everything by it, which in the lapse of centuries has come to be attached to this scheme. Evidently enough, whatever has no adaptation to produce entire sanctification in the hearts of believers, "to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus,"—does not belong to the system, and must be promptly rejected.

From the nature of God it must be certain that he has made no mistakes in the details of a system designed to restore to man his lost image; and it is wonderful to see with what skill and directness he has adjusted everything to this grand aim. He has revealed his fiery law, which flames out in wrath against all species of sin. He has exhibited the immaculate purity of his own character, which causes seraphim to cry, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." He has uttered the unchangeable law to his people, "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy." He provided a Redeemer, whose blood made ample atonement for all sin. He gave the Holy Ghost to awaken, to regenerate, and to sanctify us. He gave his word to teach us the necessity of holiness. He moved men of strong faith to pray for the blessing in behalf of his people, and sketched with the pen of inspiration the characters and lives of those who had reached this glorious perfection. He bade us "mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." He established the ministry to explain to us the way of holiness, to rouse us from the slumbers of sin, and persuade us to "lay hold on eternal life." He provided the Church to cherish and build us up from our feeble infancy, and aid us to "go on to perfection." He gave us the holy sacraments to bind us to himself, and keep us perpetually in mind of the cleansing blood. Indeed it may be safely said that while everything which God has instituted for man is most evidently designed and adapted to lead to purity of heart, he has omitted nothing which is essential to this result.

But how is it with man? Alas! he has too frequently "perverted

the right way of the Lord." There is much in the faith and forms and practice of the different branches of the Church to show that the great idea of holiness has been denied its central position, and that others of far less importance, and even wholly untrue, have been assumed in its stead. Let us test these three particulars far enough to indicate in a slight degree the power of a central idea in the formation of opinions, and the adjustment of subordinate parts of a system, and the importance of a correct development of that idea, in attempts to ascertain our position, to detect our errors, and establish ourselves in the truth.

Let it be inquired, for instance, how the doctrine of fate, in any of its forms, came to be incorporated into the creeds of the Christian denominations. And taking holiness as the central idea of the system, we cannot account for it. Holiness is a moral state. Its restoration is a moral result; but there can be no moral quality without freedom. God cannot change to be pleased at one time with that which displeased him at another. The law cannot change to render that holy which it once condemned. There must therefore be a change in the sinner, or he must retain his corruptions forever. He may be graciously aided and encouraged to put forth the volition upon which the moral change depends. But he must put it forth, or no change in his moral state is practicable. To say that God could, by an act of authority or power, cleanse a sinner unconditionally, is saying no more than that the same offensive thing, the same corrupt state, and the same vicious acts, can be regarded and treated by him differently at different times. Let the sovereignty of God be the central idea, and we can easily see how it would produce this doctrine. If he designed in the structure of the Christian scheme merely to illustrate his independence of man and the fact of his unlimited control over the thoughts and feelings and purposes of the human race, then he might have excluded man from all participation in the events of his government, excepting as a passive recipient of almighty power. He might then have efficiently secured the fall and all its succession of evils. But if he intended to purify the hearts of men by faith in the blood of Christ, he would undoubtedly leave them free to exercise that faith. In the same way Divine sovereignty, assumed as the central idea, could account for the doctrine of certain final perseverance, the doctrine of doubt or uncertainty in regard to adoption, and of necessary indwelling sin. For beyond question, absolute sovereignty would be illustrated by withholding repentance and faith, pardon and sanctification, from all but those whom God had determined to save. The witness of the Spirit would be incompatible with possible subsequent evidence of reproba-

tion; and as the final disposition of the soul would depend upon God's sovereign pleasure, a state of full salvation here would interfere with that uncertainty to man and appearance of contingency which had been predetermined, and is a necessary part of the system.

Again: it is impossible, upon the theory developed in this paper, to explain the introduction of certain universal salvation into any faith nominally Christian. If we are right, holiness is an indispensable prerequisite of happiness in heaven or elsewhere; and though this is also roundly asserted by the errorists to whom we refer, it does not belong to the system, which plainly provides for the final salvation of those who die in a state of deepest corruption, as inevitably and unconditionally as for the purest of Christians. And the wholly gratuitous and merely nominal introduction of holiness into the scheme cannot save it, as in the absence of volition, or the obstinate rejection of the atonement, there is no way to produce it. Happiness must be the central idea of Universalism—happiness, irrespective of character or condition. Employ this idea to construct a system of theology, and it would of course reject all punishment in another world, or at least make the suffering due to sin as slight, and terminate it as soon as possible.

It would in like manner be impossible to account for the doctrine of priestly intervention, the real presence, the worship of saints, the celibacy of the clergy, and of purgatory, by assuming holiness as the central idea of Christianity. With this for a forming power, we want as little as possible of the merely human, the material, the ceremonial in the system. The most direct possible way to the mercy of God, and the cleansing power of the Holy Ghost, must be the law of this spiritual organism; and this is plainly through faith in Christ, and nothing else. But take political power for the central idea of a system, and see how inevitably it requires and produces the very doctrines we have mentioned. The head of the organization must then be a monarch, clothed with absolute authority over the souls and bodies of men. His subordinate officers of state must be taken from the ranks of the clergy. The importance of the priest must be magnified by the exclusive right to dispense the souls of men, and the people must be compelled to literal obedience by their hope of heaven and their dread of eternal damnation. That which from the nature of the case can only be spiritually present and apprehended by faith, must be physically and literally present, and be made palpable to the senses. The objects of worship must be material or human, like the worshippers; and hence appreciable by the intellect, without faith. An appearance of sanctity, extend-

ing even to the denial of lawful desires in holy wedlock, must divert the attention of the people from gross sensuality; and, as preparation for heaven here in the mode required is, to the understandings of all, an acknowledged failure, it is necessary to make arrangements for its consummation in another life. All these, with their nameless kindred errors, are given in political domination as a central idea.

In the same way will the application of this obvious test reveal what is merely human and artificial in the outward forms and ceremonies of the Church. We have seen that holiness assumed as the grand object of the Christian scheme, leaves room for little that is merely instrumental, and with the greatest possible directness leads the sinner into his own heart, and thence to the mercy of God. If this be the object, whatever obstructs his way or retards his movements must be foreign to the system and ruinous to the soul. It is obvious then that this idea could never have added to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper those of confirmation, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony. But a moment's reflection will show how legitimately the false position of each arises from the political central power which we have assumed as the origin of a false system. The novice must not be allowed to have reached a state of spiritual security, nor acquired a right to the blessings of the new covenant, until that security is obtained and that right recognised by priestly intervention. Self-inflicted tortures, which accord with a sensational, in distinction from a spiritual religion, must be prescribed by the priest, upon obedience to whom the wretch depends for the relief of conscience. Justification by faith destroys the political power of the priest. The diseased or dying man, instead of looking to rational remedies and the grace of God in the hour of trial, must be taught that his safety in body and soul, depends upon the presence and good dispositions of his ghostly confessor, who uses with official efficacy the anointing oil. The same officer is clothed with authority, which in no sense depends upon purity of heart or virtuousness of life; which, reaching back in prelatical succession to the apostles, is irrevocable in its rights, conclusive in its functions, and above all moral contingency whatsoever. And finally, the domestic relations must depend upon the same prerogatives. No matrimonial alliance can be valid unless sanctioned by a Romish priest. But to make all this practicable, these rites must be elevated to the dignity and solemnity of sacraments, and hence of course depend entirely upon the will of the clergy. In this manner a vast centralizing scheme is constructed, combining all the elements of immense political power.

But the theoretical is not always the practical central idea. Sys-

tems are gradually formed and modified under the control of views and aims which are widely different from those which originated them. The ever-changing ideal of man in relation to the true good, does not allow of permanency and consistency in the institutions and means relied upon to produce it. A succession of clear, stern, and powerful minds may, it is true, preserve for ages the great idea upon which a vast scheme of selfish interest depends; but multitudes who are visibly arranged under its banner, will be practically severed from it by an inherent independence of thought, and a greater or less submission to the guidance of an invisible hand.

It will hence occur, that many who adopt as a whole a theory which makes the sovereignty of God the central idea of Christianity, will, in fact, feel that sin is their only real evil, and recognise the Gospel as a grand provision of mercy for their deliverance from it. And thus thousands, whose creed actually denies the *possibility* of deliverance from all sin in this life, are striving, with all their might, to reach this result; and thousands have doubtless succeeded, thus making holiness the practical, while something else was the theoretical centre; and, we may as well say it, for it is a momentous truth, in the present condition of theological systems, the safety of a vast majority of nominal Christians depends upon this real contradiction.

Upon the other hand, the true central idea may be adopted in theory, and renounced in practice. The clearest possible recognition of the truth may have been handed down to us by our fathers. In our creeds and standard authors we may be taught, "that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;" and yet we may show by our lives that a much lower aim has been accepted in its stead. Indeed, to many who have before God and the world declared their firm belief in the great doctrine of holiness, mere justification has become the central idea of religion. A sense of forgiveness is all they ask, and they direct all their efforts to this point. Others aim simply at regularity of external life, and their best resolutions of reform extend no farther; while, alas! multitudes of others have formally adopted the honour of self, the gratification of worldly desires, or the splendour of an organization, as the real centre of their religion.

It appears, therefore, that to accept in theory the central idea which God has revealed, is not enough. What men admit to be

the Divine purpose in the establishment of Christianity is not the great question; but how far in feeling, in motive, in design, and effort, do they agree with this purpose? The real, not the ideal, the practical, not the theoretical central idea, moves the heart and controls the life; and with the great majority of nominal Christians, it must be admitted, this is anything but holiness.

But we cannot conclude this discussion without inquiring, Why must the doctrine of holiness be assigned a subordinate place in systematic Divinity, or even be excluded altogether? We have seen that this was not the intention of God; and, so far from retracting the Wesleyan view of the doctrine, or apologizing to the world for the importance we have given it, we must in all candour ask pardon of God and man for having asserted it so timidly, dwelt upon it with so little pathos and power, and so seldom reduced it to practice. It is the centre of our system. The mission which we have accepted at the hands of God is "to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands;" and we cannot allow the doctrine a secondary, or inoperative place in the faith of the Church. It must come out from its obscurity, extend its light and its controlling power through every communion, and permeate the doctrines, the hearts, and the lives of the people, before Christianity can assert its rights in the conquest of the world. In the presence of our brethren of every name, we demand for it the position which God has assigned it. What worthy motive can we have in denying it this position? Opposition to holiness is opposition to Christianity—a real, though not an intended denial of the rights of God and the privileges of man—a setting aside of the one grand object for which the Redeemer died and the Church was instituted. And when this is done, what have we left? What one doctrine of the Gospel is of any use, or of any significance, if holiness is excluded from the system? As well might you tear out the heart, and then attempt to give value to the veins and arteries and blood, as to reject holiness and still hope to save the Gospel scheme. As well might you burn up your towns and leave your guide-boards standing, as to destroy holiness, and still insist upon justification by faith, or any other great doctrine of Christianity.

But what is the effect of admitting the true position of this idea? It cuts off at a stroke the vast multitude of *improvements* which men have dared to attach to the system. It condemns all our extravagance in style, our follies in outward forms, and our sins of heart and life. It shows every man the value of his performances. If he prays, or speaks, or sings, for the exhibition of his talents, or for the gratification of others, it is all to no purpose. Nay,

he is condemned for the perversion of the most sacred services. We value a popular harangue for its power to please and move the multitude, and a lecture for its learning; but upon the principle we have developed, we must value a sermon for its adaptation to promote the holiness of men. What a shameful abuse of a sacred profession it must be, for a man sent out in the name of God to save sinners, to value his performances for their abstract learning, their rhetorical elegance, their oratorical power, or popular effect! Let any man clearly apprehend the fearful wrong and deadly evil of sin. Let him see that God has given his Son to make its removal from the hearts of men possible, and sent him expressly to proclaim this great salvation, and we are sure he will feel that fidelity to his Master requires that he should frame every sermon with reference to this great end; and he will be satisfied with his effort only in proportion to the power with which he has exposed sin, attacked it in its most insidious forms, paralyzed its influence, and gained the advantage for that holiness without which no man shall see the Lord. What a vast amount of preaching is found, by this rule, to be worse than trifling!

Finally: it is evident, that in its spirit and aim, the Christian system stands alone. We have numerous organizations for the improvement of society—for the production of wealth—for the gratification of ambition—for the relief of human suffering; but only one for the promotion of holiness. We know of no other that professes to "purify the heart." What strange infatuation then it must be to secularize this system!—to bring it down from the lofty purposes to which it was consecrated, and appropriate it to the service of worldly glory, and force it to gratify a lust for power. It cannot be deemed strange that "blasting and mildew" have followed in the train. Indeed, nothing is easier now than to explain the slow progress of Christianity, the feebleness of its disciples, and the reproach which has so often fallen upon the Church. Would that all Christians might be agreed upon this one thing—to consider Christianity as set apart to the work of purifying the hearts and lives of men. For all other purposes there are associations enough, while in the range of human thought there is no other that has the slightest claim to adaptation to produce this result. Precisely this is the desideratum of the times; and not until it is supplied shall we see the Church shining in her own pure light, and moving on in the greatness of her strength to the conquest of the world. Happy is he who contributes, even in the smallest degree, to this glorious result.

We have but little room for the remaining object of this paper;

but we must glance at the special adaptation of Mr. Foster's book to promote holiness of heart and life. We must allow him to speak for himself, so far as to indicate his *peculiar power* in amplification, explanation, argument and persuasion. The first object of a writer, is to be understood; and whoever would appreciate the manner in which Mr. Foster accomplishes this object, must read all the didactic parts of his book, but especially from the thirty-seventh to the seventy-eighth page. He has given an able analysis of the different views in answer to the question, "What is the highest attainable moral and spiritual excellence in this life?" He then anticipates an objection—No two men are alike; and all should be, if raised to the same standard of moral excellence. He explains:—

"There is one thing which ought to be taken into the account here, as having a most important practical bearing on the subject; the influence upon character, of both body and mind—an influence quite as discernible in the sanctified state as in other stages of religious experience. Two men equally, and, if you please, entirely holy, may, under certain circumstances, appear with very different advantage, and may generally indeed exhibit quite variant manifestations of character. If judged of without respect to constitutional make and educational influences, and peculiar circumstances and temptations, they may seem most dissimilar, when in truth they are equally holy in the sight of God. It is for this reason mainly that we ought not to judge without palpable indications. One man is of a highly nervous temperament—another is as decidedly imperturbable; one is sanguine—the other distrusting; one is impulsive—another dispassionate: now let all these be brought under the influence of sanctifying grace; it will not change their temperaments all into one—it will not remove the constitutional differences between them, but only control and regulate them. They will be seen, and will impart diversified shade to character, and to different minds will increase or diminish the admiration or otherwise, which character must always awaken," &c.—Pp. 66, 67.

The whole paragraph should be read. We have not room for it. But what relief it affords to a doubting mind, and what a rebuke to cold and invidious criticism!

Our author thus proceeds to show that "holiness is a state in advance of mere justification and regeneration:—

"Regeneration is not entire sanctification: the merely regenerate are not sanctified; they are not entirely freed from sin; they are not perfect in love. Their sins are pardoned; their nature is renewed; they are become children of God; a wonderful and glorious work has been wrought for them and in them, by which they are rescued from the dominion of sin, and become heirs of the promises: but great and glorious as the work is which they have experienced, and exalted and blessed as are the privileges and destiny to which it entitles them, and will assuredly secure to them if retained, yet it is not a complete qualification for heaven—an entire freedom from sin: they are not—how glorious soever their estate, how much to be esteemed and prized, and no language can magnify its moment—they are not completely holy, entirely sanctified; the old man of sin is not dead, but subjected—not cast out, but bound—not crucified, but brought into captivity."—Pp. 69, 70.

We regret that we have not room for other extracts from the ex-

cellent "advice to those professing holiness." We would refer with commendation to the cautions given on pages 214–217.

But many will say, We understand, but do not believe you; to which he replies with a torrent of argument, both direct and indirect, that is absolutely overwhelming. The following is taken from the introduction to his argument from the Bible:—

"It (holiness) breathes in the prophecy—thunders in the law—murmurs in the narrative—whispers in the promises—supplicates in the prayers—sparkles in the poetry—resounds in the songs—speaks in the types—glows in the imagery—voices in the language—and burns in the spirit, of the whole scheme, from its alpha to omega, from its beginning to its end. Holiness! Holiness needed! Holiness required! Holiness offered! Holiness attainable! Holiness a present duty—a present privilege—a present enjoyment, is the progress and completeness of its wondrous theme! It is the truth glowing all over—webbing all through revelation; the glorious truth which sparkles, and whispers, and sings, and shouts, in all its history, and biography, and poetry, and prophecy, and precept, and promise, and prayer; the great central truth of the system. The wonder is, that all do not see, that any rise up to question, a truth so conspicuous, so glorious, so full of comfort."—P. 80.

Take the following as a specimen of the fearless and triumphant manner in which Mr. Foster sustains his position:—

"Again: if holiness is not attainable in this life, then it cannot be required; or if it is not attainable, and yet is required, then an impossibility is required. [Mr. Foster almost seems to imagine he has Mr. Rice in his fingers again.] If the last consequence is assumed, then it follows that God is guilty of the grossest injustice; for he requires an impossibility. No Christian mind certainly can embrace this alternative for a moment. But, then, take the remaining alternative. Such a state is not required. What follows? Manifestly this: if entire freedom from all sin is not required, then some sin may be felt or indulged properly, innocently, without guilt; for it is contrary to no requirement—the transgression of no law—and cannot, therefore, involve guilt or crime. But, further, admit that God does not require men to be free from all sin, then this follows,—entire freedom from sin is not best, (it is better to have some sin remain;) or, if entire freedom from sin is best, better then that some sin should remain, and yet God does not require it, then the unavoidable consequence is, God does not require what is best. Neither one of these postulates can be admitted—no one will contend for either: but their admitted absurdity is fatal to the premises."—Pp. 95–97.

We have room for no further extracts upon this mode of amplification. Our readers will perceive that Mr. Foster is a close and powerful reasoner. Indeed he absolutely crushes an opponent. He shuts him in and pelts him with such merciless severity as really to excite our sympathy. If Mr. Foster gets sight of an error, explanations and even apologies in its behalf are just as impossible as they would be useless.

But our author realizes that multitudes are saying, We are convinced, we both understand and believe you, but we do not intend to act. He must therefore try his power of persuasion. Listen to his appeals:—

"You attach value to wealth, beauty, learning, good name, happiness. It is well. These are all desirable; but how less than dust in the balance are they when compared with conscious, inviolable virtue! Would you not prefer to be the hero of a single virtue, rather than conqueror of the world?—a martyred Paul, shining in radiant vestments, rather than a bloody Alexander, dazzling with the splendours of conquest? Why do you attach the idea of beauty and glory to angels? Is it not because they are holy,—because they love with a perfect love, adore with perfect adoration, and glow with a perfect fervour? If they sing sweetly, is it not because they feel purely? Is it not holiness which spreads joy over all the celestial regions? which causes the gush and rapture of the skies? which kindles the lustre and awakens the song of heaven? which suffuses the very spirit of Jehovah with his ineffable glory, and the spirits of all his holy worshippers with inexpressible and everlasting bliss? Surely, if this be so, we are correct, when we assume that there is, in the very nature of holiness, an infinite motive to its gain. Rubies are not so precious, and nothing that can be desired can be compared unto it.—Pp. 186, 187.

What Christian can read this passage without feeling his heart burn with desire to be holy? The persuasion is powerful, and it is followed by others equally so. Purchase the book—read it over and over again—lend it—give it to your friends—scatter it broad-cast with your fervent prayers for the blessing of God upon its lucid instructions, its cogent arguments, and its irresistible appeals.

The precise relation of this book to the theme is that of a warm and stirring persuasive argument, characterized as an appeal to the heart. It is easy for the reader to see that the author writes because he wants something done. True, he explains, but it is that he may prepare the way for action; he reasons, but only that he may remove the obstacles to the results he wishes to achieve; and upon his attempts to rouse the Church, to induce the highest efforts of faith, and the actual experience of the glorious truth that "the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin," he concentrates all his explanations, all his arguments, and all his power. Persuasion pervades the work from beginning to end, and this is precisely the reason why we pronounced it *a book for the times*. The Church needs instruction, she needs building up in the theoretical faith of our fathers, of course, now as ever. But it is not this chiefly and peculiarly that constitutes the want of the present. Christians need to be roused to a sense of their duty, and induced to do it. And while such vigorous efforts are made to accomplish it, let every one see that they are not made in vain.

Art. II.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS IN THE INTRODUCTION TO JOHN'S GOSPEL, Chap. I, 1–18.

[SECOND PAPER.]

Verse 13. *Οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων* (*scilicet ἐγεννήθησαν*),] This is added as a caution against the natural inference with a Jewish mind as to the *mode* of *γενέσθαι τέκνα*. This title the Jews claimed as exclusively applicable to themselves, (John viii, 41.) There were three ways in which alone persons became members of the Jewish Church, and these, accordingly, we think are expressly referred to by the several negations of this verse. The first and chief mode of being constituted a Jew was by *descent* from Abraham: on this all pure Israelites prided themselves and relied for favour with God, (compare Matt. iii, 9; John viii, 33, 34;) to this mode corresponds the present *ἐξ αἱμάτων*. The Hebrew *pluralis excellentiæ* is here used for the singular, an idiom that even occurs in Euripides, Ion, 693, *ἄλλων τραφεὶς ἀφ' αἱμάτων*, *sc.* *ἄλλης μητρός*. The allusion to *successive* ancestors is doubtful. The article is omitted for the sake of generalization; *q. d.*, *no blood*, however noble, that may flow through their veins. Ἐκ shows their *origin;* or, *αἱμάτων* being taken in the metaphorical sense of *descent*, it will then indicate the referential cause, *in virtue of* which *ἐγεννήθησαν* is predicated.

Οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός,] The second mode of introduction into Judaism is here referred to; namely, by one's own *choice* (*θέλημα σαρκός*, that is, *ἴδιον*) as a *proselyte*. Σάρξ is put continually in the New Testament for *corrupt human nature*, and here gives the invidious meaning of *caprice* to *θέλημα*. The meaning, thus derived, that regeneration is not the effect of any personal efforts or native inclination, is consistent with the context and with sound doctrine. The view adopted by many interpreters, that the plural *αἱμάτων* implies the union of both parents in generation, and that *σαρκός* here signifies the female, and *ἀνδρός* the male, while *θέλημα* indicates the sexual passion involved, is not only too gross, but too far-fetched and hair-spun to be admitted when any other easy explanation can be found; for what need would the Evangelist have of guarding against a mistake as to regeneration so egregiously sensual? Under this supposition, moreover, *σαρκός* and *ἀνδρός* would absolutely require the article, and even *αἱμάτων* could hardly dispense with it. Σαρκός needs no article here, because *αὐτῶν* is understood, which sufficiently specifies *σαρκός*; if *τῆς* had been expressed without the reflexive *αὐτῶν*, the sense might have been

mistaken for human nature in general, instead of that of these individuals: *σαρκός* is in fact an attributive adjunct here, equivalent to *φυσικόν*. Θελήματος lacks the article, like *αἱμάτων*, for the sake of generalization,—*q. d.*, *any* instinctive action of the will. Ἐκ here marks the causal origin.

Οὐδὲ *ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός*,] The third and only remaining mode of admission to Jewish privileges was by *adoption* into a native family; with allusion to this, *ἀνδρός* here denotes some *other* person at whose instance (*θέλημα*) the citizenship is granted. This could only be done by the male head of the family, *ἀνήρ*; *ἀνθρώπου* would also have too closely resembled the subjective *σαρκός* preceding. The other points are explicable as in the foregoing clause.

Ἀλλ' *ἐκ* Θεοῦ *ἐγεννήθησαν*.] Here the true mode of *super*natural regeneration is introduced by the strong adversative *ἀλλά*. Ἐκ is still used as the technical sequent of *γεννάομαι*, but continues its *causal* acceptation, only made more direct. Whether *ἐγεννήθησαν* has here its proper passive sense *begotten*, or the more general neuter one of *born*, is not to be too nicely discriminated; it may be observed, however, that the former strict use would rather have required *ὑπὸ* Θεοῦ, *ἐκ* being properly applied to the female parent. Θεοῦ has no article, the phrase being really an adverbial one=*divinitus*. For a more full explanation of the *doctrine* contained in *ἐγεννήθησαν*, after Christ's emphatic statement in John iii, 5–8, we can only refer to that best expositor, *experience*. The proper recognition of the truths of this verse would have saved the Church many a practical error in after times!

Verse 14. Καὶ *ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*] The second part of the Introduction, the aspect of the Logos *from without*, here begins with the continuative of transition, *καί*. Σὰρξ is obviously used in its strictly physical sense, but by synecdoche for the entire human nature, including, as we believe, a proper *soul* as well as body. Ἐγένετο of course only has reference to the outward form, and not the interior essence,—the ethereal being assumed a fleshly shape, tangible to sense; yet the term precludes both the notion of a mere *φάσις*, like the spectral Æon of Gnosticism, and also that of a mere *residence*, as with some modern errorists,—there was an actual *identity* (but not *confusion*) of the Divine and human natures within this "Immanuel." The date of this event was the conception, compare Luke i, 35.

Καὶ *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*,—] This comprises the duration of his incarnate state on earth, (*ἡμῖν*,) especially his ministerial career. This entire period was so short, contrasted with his pre-existence, that it is compared to a lodging in a *σκηνή*,—a figure familiar and forcible

to oriental minds, and fraught with special significance to a Jew from its recalling to mind the residence of Jehovah in the Mosaic *Tabernacle*. Ἐν is the French *entre*, denoting a more intimate association than μετά—as an apparent equal. Ἡμῖν in its broadest import must include mortals generally, in contrast with the residence πρὸς τὸν Θεόν of verse 1, and especially denotes the Apostles, the witnessers of his life in detail, as in ἐθεασάμεθα following.

Καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ,] Θεάομαι is more intense than ἰδεῖν, but not so expressive of direct design as ὁράω; it therefore suits the character of a witness, who should have seen the facts distinctly, and the more incidentally the better. The aorist here indicates some *event*, which is more clearly marked by the succeeding clause. Δόξαν is there also explained as pertaining to the state ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, compare the δόξα—πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ Σοί, of John xvii, 5; it has a peculiar significancy as alluding to the *Shechinah* that shone of yore in the σκηνή built by Moses. All these particulars are given as evidences from eye-witnesses, that unmistakably ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. Compare 1 John i, 1.

Δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρός,—] A repetition of δόξαν for the purpose of more explicit description; this is done by a comparison (ὡς) with the honour which a parent would be naturally expected to bestow upon an only son, investing him—especially if a prince—with a splendour dazzling to the eyes of all beholders. But a *fact* is here alluded to, which gives the illustration additional force; it is this actualness of application that requires some such word as ἀληθῶς to be supplied, and not because ὡς has this meaning, as some incorrectly render it. A comparison of this language with the declaration of the "Voice" at Christ's transfiguration (Matt. xvii, 5;—the same expressions were similarly uttered at his baptism, Matt. iii, 17) suggests that it is framed with reference to that celestial testimony; this view is confirmed by the pointed reference to that impressive scene by another Apostle in terms that are almost a comment on the text, "but (we) were eye-witnesses of his majesty, [μεγαλειότητος, the distinction conferred upon him by his Father.] For he received from God the Father, honour and glory, [παρὰ—Πατρὸς—δόξαν,] when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, [ὑπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης, down from the transcendent radiance (of heaven,)] 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased!' And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount." 2 Pet. i, 16–18. This δόξα was but the out-beaming of his own divinity in a physical similitude, and thus became its proof; hence John calls it δόξα αὐτοῦ. It has been not unfrequently assumed that the

μονογενής of our text is simply equivalent to the ἀγαπητός of Matthew and Peter above, and instances of its application to a favourite among several children are adduced from Josephus and elsewhere;* as if any *ex parte* passages could prove that μονογενής is not μόνος-γεννητός, and does not on its very face bear the intrinsic meaning *only-born*. Surely in such an emphatic case we are not at liberty to fritter away the sense by obscure, uncertain, and infrequent adaptations of a word. And who, to adopt the ground of these critics themselves, are the other children, in comparison with whom Christ is called ὁ ἀγαπητός by way of partiality? If he is the Son at all, he must of necessity be the only Son. The sonship of the *man* Jesus was no more exclusive nor emphatic than that of Adam. Some deem the doctrine of *eternal generation* as applied to the Divine nature, an absurdity, because impossible in the nature of the case, and implying inferiority.† The confusion in the minds of such arises from a misconception of the term *Son* with reference to the Divine Father. No one in using the word thus, thinks of the ontological origination of one Person from the other; nor do we, even in speaking of a human son, generally associate the notion of physical production with it, at least as the principal idea. It is the *relation*, as that of a voluntary subordinate, (for a son may be in point of fact superior to his father,) that alone essentially attaches to the term in either case, and this may be as real in the Godhead as in a mortal family. The mistake, that by the Son in the Trinity we mean in respect to generation the same as in human filiation, constituted the rock on which Dr. Adam Clarke split, and we are no less pained than surprised to find that Professor Stuart has not been able to steer his theological bark clear of the same reef. All attempts to confine the Sonship of Christ to his human nature are mere quibbles, turning on an ambiguity of the word, and degrading to the dignity of the title. *Some* relation must have subsisted before the incarnation between the Divine personages,—the very epithet Λόγος evinces it; that relation, we claim, is intended by the Scriptural term SON, and it is for the opponents of this position to show that this relation was superseded by that event. This Divine *relation* is what the Nicene creed means, much as that document has been traduced; and whatever certain bewildered dialecticians of a late school may assert or argue to the contrary, we insist that there is an apprehensible IDEA in it which that staunch foe of all

* See a criticism on Rom. i. 3, 4, by Dr. Mayer, in the Biblical Repository for January, 1840; especially page 158.

† See an argument against this view in Watson's Exposition, based upon a critical examination of its most vaunted proof-text, Luke i, 35.

incipient scepticism, the common sense of theological experience, will not easily be dogmatized out of. This may seem warm language, but it is called for; when we are coolly told that the terms we have always been accustomed to use, mean nothing at all, or at best signify but a sheer impossibility, it is high time to defend our rationality.

To the assertion that the term Son is solely applied in Scripture to the humanity of Christ, we reply:—What then does John mean in this very Introduction by *ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρός*, the only-begotten Son that is in the bosom of the Father? Is it the human nature of Christ that occupies this position? On the contrary, is it not obviously that Being who "was in the beginning with God?" The Logos, then, according to John's own showing, is the only-begotten Son; and that the Logos denotes the Divine nature of Christ, none will question. That the term Son is only applied to this Being in the Old Testament, in a few obscure passages, arises accidentally from the fact that that volume has but little occasion to discriminate between the different persons of the Trinity at all, it was the incarnation that first properly disclosed this association; and as the New Testament opens with the incarnation, it follows, as a matter of necessity, that all usage of this term must be more or less in connexion with the human nature of Christ,—but to infer from this, that it is exclusively so, is a great mistake. The New Testament writers constantly apply the term Son to Christ, without any distinction of his two-fold nature, and in such connexions as make it obvious that the Deity is chiefly intended: thus the attributes of Divinity are ascribed to him under this very title,—for example, self-inherent omnipotence, John v, 26; worship is his due, Heb. i, 6; spiritual union is enjoyed with him in common with the Father, John xiv, 23; 1 John i, 3; the Spirit is his as fully as the Father's, Gal. iv, 6; finally, his absolute identity with the Godhead is expressly asserted, John v, 19; x, 30, 38; xiii, 9. Passages of equal conclusiveness, in various ways, might be adduced almost without number; in short, there is equal proof, and of the same character, to show that the Son *as such* is a Divine personage, as can be brought to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. Strange that the Apostles have not guarded their expressions by some distinction likely to disabuse their readers of the "absurdity" of confounding the Son with the Divine nature of Christ! Stranger still, that our Saviour himself did not undeceive his hearers in the impression of their identity, which the Jews obviously received from his broad statements, (e. g., John v, 18;) so far from this, however, we find him even confirming that im-

pression in the most unequivocal terms, addressed directly to them on this very controversy, (see especially, John x, 33–39.)

The omission of the article before *μονογενοῦς* and *Πατρός*, shows that they contain an illustration from the conduct of parents in general toward such a son. *Παρά* implies the attachment and continued association existing between them, and the genitive after it indicates that the bestowment of the honour proceeded from the Father's love.

Πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας.] These terms have no article, because used in their widest import, to express essential attributes; their particularization is left for subsequent statements, to which we must therefore look for their more definite sense. They are here introduced as further marks of affinity with that glorious Being, who is essential *benignity* and *verity*; a most emphatic participation in these elements was requisite to enable the Son to sustain his character without effort. *Πλήρης* also marks the *reservoir* of these blessings so needful to mortals, especially the amiable traits of *χάρις*. *Ἀλήθεια* increases the reliableness of this source, somewhat in the manner of a Hebraistic adjunct for *ἀληθής*. The case of *πλήρης* shows that *grammatically* it belongs to the subject of *ἐσκήνωσεν*; but the course of thought is uninterrupted by this partial parenthesis, as the *δόξα* more fully expresses the scintillation of *χάρις* through the *σκηνή* of *σάρξ*,—the construction is in fact an *antiptosis* for *πλήρους*.

Verse 15. (*Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων,*] The abrupt transition in the argument here has led some to suppose that this verse has been misplaced by copyists; but it is rather a sudden recall of the Baptist to the witness's stand, in order to elicit as by cross-examination the details of the general statement in verse 7, and is quite after the manner of this Evangelist, who sets down ideas just as they flash upon his mind. This reference to John seems to have been suggested by the mention of the writer's own evidence, (*ἡμῖν—ἐθεασάμεθα*, verse 14,) which it is therefore adduced to corroborate on the spot, in order to sustain from an impartial source the high position assumed for the Logos. The tense of *μαρτυρεῖ* implies that this testimony is still in force, and available for the present argument; on which account *καί*, as it obviously cannot connect the two verbs (of different time) in the strictly *copulative* sense, is used with the more general continuative import, by way of *illustration*, in which it sometimes approaches the force of *γάρ*. *Κράζω* denotes the publicity and earnestness of this testimony; and *λέγω* intimates a quotation of his very words, at least so far as memory might serve. The perfect, *κέκραγε*, implies that

this past annunciation is adduced with reference to the present state of the argument, the whole clause being constructed with a view to about the following import, "Even John's testimony substantiates this view, inasmuch as he has left us this remarkable public statement."

"Οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον,] This whole sentence, to the end of the verse, agrees in its essential phraseology with that of verse 30 of this chapter, where the occasion of this *application* of his own testimony by the Baptist is given. The demonstrative οὗτος is there associated with ὅδε, implying some gesture of indication accompanying its utterance. In ὅν there is an ellipsis of ἀνήρ—or rather this relative, like the English *what*, includes its antecedent; its dependence upon εἶπον is also an instance of breviloquence amounting to a *constructio prægnans*—the full construction being, Οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐσήμηνα ὅτε εἶπον, or, as explained by verse 30, περὶ οὗ εἶπον. The same idiom occurs in Eurip. Ion 779, τὸν παῖδ' ὃν εἶπας, and even in Latin, for example, *scio quem dicas*. The ἐστί of verse 30, is here ἦν, because the *identification* at the time of a previously-intimated character was there the main point, while here it is that reference to the character itself as having taken place, that constitutes the prominent fact; and it is important to the Evangelist's argument that the Baptist should have attributed this character to the Messiah as an inherent one even before his public recognition. The express insertion of ἐγώ, as in verse 30, is not here needed in referring to another's statement; the correspondence of evidence is sufficiently intimated by the earnest abruptness and emphatic position of Ἰωάννης, which implies αὐτός or ὡσαύτως after it.

"Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν,] This statement was originally made by the Baptist on the occasion related in verse 27 *et ante* of this chapter, with which, as reported by John, its language agrees more nearly verbatim than with the repetition in verse 30. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in the interpretation of this clause, arising chiefly from the ambiguity of ὀπίσω, as to whether it is to be understood of posteriority in *time* or *place*; our own conviction is, that it refers to the latter idea, in the sense of *rank*. Our reasons for this preference are principally three: first, this local import of the adverb itself is its more primary as well as current one, particularly to indicate the relation of a *disciple*, (see the Concordance or Robinson's Lexicon;) secondly, the obvious antithesis of ἔμπροσθεν requires this sense, this latter adverb occurring nowhere in the New Testament with reference to time, unless in this instance, (that is,

in verses 15, 27 and 30;) and, lastly, the notion of comparative time is sufficiently implied in ἐρχόμενος;—the bearing of πρῶτος below on this question, will be considered in due order. We should therefore render the clause as follows: "He that is now appearing as my follower (that is, apparent subordinate) has already become my leader," (that is, really my principal.) This interpretation, we think, is natural in itself, consistent with the phraseology, and in keeping with the Baptist's as well as Evangelist's design of deprecating any misconstruction of the relative position of Christ and his Forerunner.

A strictly *future* sense of ἐρχόμενος is here impossible, as it would directly contradict the tense of γέγονε; it rather indicates a fact as true at the time, as is also shown by the present ἔρχεται in verse 30. This does not exclude its Messianic import, noticed under verse 9, but makes it refer to Christ's public appearance in that character, as the accomplishment of long expectation. There is thus, as Lücke says, a kind of *oxymoron* in the statement, by which an apparently paradoxical assertion acquires a peculiar piquancy of meaning; γέγονε also retains its appropriate signification and relative time. This rendering of the passage, as Professor Stuart observes, agrees well with the circumstances of the occasion when the declaration was first made. This was soon after Christ's baptism, by which John enrolled him among his followers, at the same time acknowledging his supremacy. Jesus therefore still allowed himself to be recognised as John's disciple, although he had been shown (by the Divine attestation) to be entitled to the office of his Teacher. This apparently is the view of the authors of the common version, "is preferred before me."

Ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.")] From a comparison of verse 27 with verse 30, it appears that this clause was not a part of John's original observation, but only of his subsequent reference to it; it corresponds, however, in substance with the ensuing remark in verse 27, "of whom I am not worthy, so much as to untie the thong of his sandal," and is added here, as there, to show the reason (ὅτι) of this changing of places immediately on meeting. As it was a determination of rank that is to be accounted for, πρῶτος here must also chiefly relate to the same point, which ἦν refers to a period anterior to that arrangement. The distinction, therefore, between πρῶτος and ἔμπροσθεν must be that of inherent and essential character, compared with external and relative position, the latter being the legitimate consequence of the former, and subsequently developed. Christ's pre-existence is thus exhibited in connexion with his superiority to one of the most honoured of

mortals, and the testimony of the Baptist sustains the Evangelist's doctrine in this place. Μου evidently depends here upon πρῶτος with the force of πρότερος, only more intense.—The writer now returns to the previous subject, an exhibition of the impressive benignity of the Incarnate Son, which he renders palpable by a statement of his personal experience respecting it.

Verse 16. Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν,] Καί is here *continuative* of the general subject, from verse 14. Ἐκ denotes origin or source. Τοῦ has here a strongly demonstrative force, referring to πλήρης of verse 14; πλήρωμα is therefore now restricted from its general sense, to that special aspect under which it would stand related to mortals, (ἡμεῖς,)—namely, that of χάρις, as presently explained. Ἡμεῖς is here expressed, for the sake of stronger antithesis to αὐτοῦ. Πάντες shows that it refers to Christians generally of that age, and is also added to indicate the extent and effectualness of the *impartation* signified by ἐλάβομεν ἐκ, thus proving incontestably the ἀλήθεια as well as the πλήρωμα of the χάρις. Ἐλάβομεν is in the *aorist* here, because testified to as a distinct *fact* of definite occurrence, just as ἐθεασάμεθα, verse 14.

Καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος.] The preceding clause was an indefinite one, designed to be equal *in comprehension* with the πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ; for as ἐλάβομεν has no object expressed, the general one μέρος must be supplied: the *epexegesis* is here introduced by the general connective καὶ=*scilicet;* this specification is requisite in order to identify the *specimen* referred to (in ἐλάβομεν) as evidence of the πλήρωμα. Χάρις has still no article, because it refers to the blessings of Christianity upon the heart in general, without any contrast or particularization. The peculiar use of ἀντί here (apparently the only instance of this signification in the New Testament) has occasioned some variety in the interpretation of the meaning of this clause. What our translators meant by the rendering "grace *for* grace," is rather difficult to see; they were probably uncertain of the true sense themselves, and therefore chose an ambiguous term which corresponded pretty well to the original. The view adopted by some interpreters, that ἀντί here denotes the exchange made of Judaism for Christianity, is decidedly negatived by the direct contrast of the Mosaic dispensation with χάρις in verse 17; nor is Judaism ever designated by this term in the New Testament. As to the explanation which constitutes a parallelism between the grace of Christ in his human sphere and that of believers, making the bestowal of the latter proportional to the development of the former, it is sufficient to say, that although such a graduation might be true of the δόξα of verse 14, as to its out-

ward manifestation, it could not be predicated of the χάρις, of which Christ is there said to be intrinsically and therefore uniformly πλήρης; this view would also conflict with the statement in John iii, 34, "God giveth not the Spirit by measure [unto him];" nor would it be easy to show that such a parallel advance of grace actually took place in the disciples compared with their Master. Another interpretation, which is probably that gathered by most persons from the perusal of the passage in the English version, is, that the preposition here denotes a *preparation* in one degree of grace for the reception of another, either in the internal qualification of the heart or the outward improvement of action; such apparently is the poet's meaning in the paraphrastic line, "And grace *to answer* grace:" but such a sense can hardly be extracted from the Greek preposition, which would rather have been πρός or εἰς, if *design* had been intended, or else κατά or ὑπέρ, if the *ratio* of the improvement of past conferments had been intimated. It is best (with most critics) to fall back upon the sufficiently numerous instances of ἀντί in the sense of ἐπί, *insuper*, found in classical and Hellenistic Greek: for example, Æsch. Agam. 1560, ὀνειδος ἥκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνείδους; Æsch. Supplic. 966, ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις; Theogn. Sent. 344, δοίης δ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας (this, however, is hardly a fair example, as line 342 shows, δὸς δέ μοι ἀντὶ κακῶν καί τι παθεῖν ἀγαθόν); so Chrysost. de sacerd. 6, 13, § 622, σὺ δέ με ἐκπέμπεις, ἑτέραν ἀνθ' ἑτέρας φροντίδα ἐνθείς; Philo de post. Caini, § 43, τὰς πρώτας ἀεὶ χάριτας, ... ἐπισχὼν . . . . ἑτέρας ἀντὶ ἐκείνων, καὶ τρίτας ἀντὶ δευτέρων, καὶ ἀεὶ νέας ἀντὶ παλαιοτέρων. In its secondary causal acceptation, ἀντί, as having the genitive, undoubtedly denotes properly the *substitution* of one thing for another, by way of equivalent; but from this signification the idea passes over to the somewhat irregular usage of the text, through a preponderance of the notion of *addition* implied in the transfer, all exchanges being supposed to secure an increase, and in this case the object already possessed being tacitly allowed to remain also. Such a transition in speaking of a *gratuity* received, would be very natural; particularly as the gift made in place of the former, being here of the same *kind* with it, could only *supersede* that by *accumulation* in amount or degree: if, therefore, we translate this expression literally as it stands, "grace *in lieu* of grace," it would amount to the same meaning; for as grace in general is intended, (without the article,) there is no exchange of one *kind* of grace for another: and as a deprivation by diminution is not to be thought of, this could only be a bestowal of higher and larger degrees of grace; and as this again would not be inconsistent with the continuance of the prior degree,

but indeed include it, the result would be an *increase*, through the very process of "grace *after* grace;" or, in one word, "grace *upon* grace." The rising of the idea thus by successive stages up to the standard of completeness, admirably illustrates the connexion ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ above, and harmonizes with the facts of Christian experience, in which one state of grace is continually exchanged for a higher.

Verse 17. Ὅτι ὁ Νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη,] Here is an explanation of the *occasion* (ὅτι, not the ultimate *reason*, γάρ, which lies in the facts of verse 18) that called for this reception of grace; this was a point of great importance in dealing with Jews, who would take great offence at the imputation contained in the previous verse, as if no χάρις were enjoyed previous to Christianity. This objection is here anticipated, and the true position of Judaism sketched in one luminous sentence that invests the Redeemer's mission with a celestial halo. Moses indeed introduced an excellent system, but it was one of simple LAW, containing only a stern rule of conduct in religious matters, which, as it made no provision for human frailty, could never secure χάρις in the sight of God, nor avail of itself for salvation. By ὁ Νόμος is obviously meant here all that διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, the moral and ceremonial prescriptions of the Pentateuch, as elsewhere designated without distinction in the New Testament by this term; the import of these latter expressions is best seen in the history of the publication of that law at Sinai, where Moses appears as merely the instrument (διά) in that spontaneous declaration of his will on the part of Jehovah (ἐδόθη).

Ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο.] The adversative ἀλλά is not needed here on account of the obvious antithesis between the very terms νόμος and χάρις. The latter as well as ἀλήθεια now takes the article, because specified as the distinctive features of the Gospel; they here lose their generic signification, and denote those forms of graciousness and verity which are found in Christianity, but absent from Judaism,—namely, the *grace* of atonement for sins incurred through inability to meet the requirements of that code, and the *reality* which that system of types and similitudes but shadowed forth; the former of these terms therefore stands in contrast with the *commandments* (especially in the Decalogue) of the Mosaic scheme, and the latter to its *ceremonies*. Thus the *blessing of God*, the great boon for which the human heart has ever sighed, and sought by various religions to secure, is at last developed as the result of the χάρις inherent in the Saviour's heart, who at the same time fulfils in his own proper person

(ἀλήθεια) every Divine prediction, and human anticipation or wish. Ἐγένετο is in the singular, to show the distinctness of these traits of Christianity from each other; its import shows that they existed intrinsically in no other scheme of religion, being emphatically "brought to light in the Gospel." They were procured (διά) by the personal agency of the Redeemer, whose two-fold nature is adumbrated in his full name.

Verse 18. *Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε.*—] Θεός is placed first because of its importance in the sentence, the Divine character being that in reference to which the subsequent statements are all made; it has no article, since the Deity in his *essence* is meant as being invisible, and the statement is designed to apply to every theosophy. Οὐδείς obviously means any mere *mortal*, such as Moses; and this reference shows that this verse is added (without the usual γάρ) as the reason of the defective character of ὁ Νόμος, and to explain the necessity of Christ's new dispensation. Πώποτε increases the force of the perfect ἑώρακε, as exclusive up to this time, and makes the declaration still more general. Ὁράω need not be understood here of physical vision, as that is utterly excluded by the spiritual nature of the Deity; it more particularly denotes that acquaintance which is the result of the earnest scrutiny properly signified by this verb. The vision of Moses on the mount was but a glance, and that merely caught through the fissure of a rock at the Almighty's *shadow;* and neither he nor any other prophet (save Christ) ever presumed to speak from personal knowledge.

Ὁ *μονογενὴς Υἱός,*] This phrase has been explained under verse 14; it is here peculiarly forcible, inasmuch as a son, especially the first-born, who is here the only heir, knows his father more intimately than any one else, since he is himself a reflection of his nature. Ἀλλά is again omitted, as in the preceding verse.

Ὁ *ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρός,*—] This is a figure borrowed from the ancient manner of reclining at meals, in which one guest leaned his head toward the breast of the next one higher up. This of course was a great opportunity for private conversation between the two persons thus situated, and the position was itself an evidence of personal familiarity and mutual partiality: all this is clearly illustrated in the *tête-à-tête* that occurred between the beloved disciple and his Master at the Last Supper, John xiii, 23–26. The doctrine taught by the figure is the same as that contained in the direct ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν of verses 1 and 2; some peculiarities of the phraseology, however, deserve attention. Ὤν is in the present, indicative of a permanent and rightful relation. Εἰς is here used instead of

πρός, because, as the preceding clause had expressed a part of the meaning of πρός, (namely, the residence of the Logos *at* or *with* the Godhead, παρά,) it only remained to declare the active consociation going on between these persons reciprocally, by virtue of which the Logos enters *within* the sphere of Divinity, and learns the otherwise incommunicable truths of his mission. The present clause is therefore added to show that his privilege of knowledge by intuitive nature as μονογενὴς υἱός was well improved for full qualification by learning the Divine will in personal communications.

Ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.] Ἐκεῖνος is needed to recall attention to Υἱός, and fill up the rotundity of the period; it also serves to bring out the antithesis in the absence of ἀλλά. After ἐξηγήσατο is evidently to be supplied αὐτόν referring to Θεός. The meaning of ἐξηγήσατο may be summed up in one word, the *Gospel*, to which this whole passage forms the Introduction, closing appropriately with this connective word.

We cannot dismiss this discussion without adverting more particularly to certain views, which have been broached of late with great assurance, respecting the tenet of "three Persons and one God." These views, it is true, are not of modern origin; for Dr. Schleiermacher has at least shown, in his separate comparison of the Sabellian and Athanasian Creeds, (translated by Professor Stuart in the April and July Numbers of the Biblical Repository for 1835,) that the peculiar notions of Sabellius can be traced more or less distinctly in the doctrines of several earlier teachers, and that it was against them as well as against Arianism that the Nicene Creed was formed. The speculative German theologian there (as well as in his more systematic work on Divinity) boldly advances the idea that the distinction does not affect the interior of the Godhead, but is only predicated upon the triple manifestation of himself to created beings. The learned translator of the above treatise has partly sympathized with this view, and here we are doubtless to find the origin of much in his mode of interpreting the introduction to John's Gospel. More recently, Dr. Bushnell has echoed these speculations to the world—with a great deal of *dogmatism* against dogmas, and with a mysticism of style which even his pure and nervous diction cannot render distinct—in his published volume of discourses, entitled, "God in Christ." In all these disquisitions, we find that the sum total of the argument on the Trinity, is simply this: *Sonship indicates derivation, this implies inferiority*, and so the *equality* of the members of the Godhead is destroyed by the common creed; the same argument is applied to the Spirit as "proceed-

ing from the Father and the Son." Now, here it would be no difficult task to turn the table upon these theorizers, and hamper them with their own reasoning: for instance, let us change the word *Son* for the *Logos;* now this indicates *derivation* fully as much as the other term, for there can be no word independently of a speaker, and so the difficulty is only shifted, not removed. Will they say that even "Logos" is not applicable to the Divine nature of Christ, but only to his revealed form in humanity? then let them explain how this incarnate form of Deity existed "*with God,*" and this "*in the beginning*" of time,—that is, antecedently to all revelation by creation. Indeed, their controversy lies not at all with the advocates of the Nicene creed, but with the language of inspiration itself; and here we might safely leave them. The Scriptures distinctly predicate *derivation* of the second person in the Trinity from the first; for what else can possibly be meant by such expressions as "*the only-begotten Son, who* IS IN THE BOSOM OF THE FATHER?" Surely it is no *revealed form* that thus dwells with Deity; the statement on this supposition would be unmeaning and self-contradictory.

The whole question in dispute turns fundamentally upon the above argument of inferiority as arising from derivation. This these disputants *assume* to be a necessary deduction, and they are bound to *prove* it; this they have *not* done, and here we might fairly rest the matter.* But let us take on ourselves the *onus probandi* which properly belongs to them, and meet the question at this very point, where at last it must be decided. Now for ourselves, (and this must be the stand of every believer in the common doctrine of the Trinity,) we utterly deny the legitimateness of any such inference of inferiority from the premise of derivation, as respects the second and third persons of the Trinity. The apologists for Sabellianism complain of our taking refuge behind the want of analogy between human and Divine generation; we will waive such a distinction for the sake of argument, and meet them on the broad field of physical origin, where they claim that the Nicene creed places the question. Now, in what respects does the simple fact of personal generation prove

* A feint of this kind is made by Professor Stuart in some remarks prefixed to the dissertation above referred to; (Biblical Repository, April, 1835, p. 307;) but after joining issue, (by stating the objection that Divine derivation has no analogy to human,) he veers off into a charge of inconsistency on the part of Nicenians in their cautions against *irreverence* in such inquiries into the mode of the Divine generation, without at all returning to the actual field of contest. We suspect that the deduction in question is one of those *self-evident* axioms that are not susceptible of proof. But unfortunately, the common sense of the great mass of Christians has pretty uniformly stood stiffly on precisely the opposite ground.

that a human son is inferior to his father? Certainly not as to nature, for the son is thereby constituted as perfectly *man* as his parent · nor necessarily as to talents, character, influence, or acquirements, for in all these the son frequently excels his father. Wherein, then, can inferiority be predicated of the filial relation? Plainly, in two circumstances, and in these alone, for every other token of disparity appertaining to the relation, will be found to flow from these. These circumstances are: first, POSTERIORITY in coming on the stage of action, which gives the father the advantage of superior strength, skill, experience, means, and especially authority and discipline over the son as a minor; and, secondly, the fact that the son's existence results from an act of the procreator's will, but is involuntary on his own part. This latter circumstance, strictly considered, is but a consequence from the former, since it is the child's posteriority in birth that prevents all option with him whether he will exist or not; but as this is a marked feature, let it stand separately. These, so far as we can see, are the only *constant* peculiarities that imply inferiority in the child; for as to his dependence upon his parent for food, clothing, protection, and counsel, these are but accidents arising from the helplessness and imbecility of infancy, and may be supplied by any other person nearly as well as by the parent, whilst many *animals* can take care of themselves at birth.

Now, each of the above inherent peculiarities of filiation, none will doubt, are expressly excluded in the case of the Son of God, (applying this title to the Divine Being,) both by the qualifications of Scripture, and the terms of the Nicene creed, as also indeed by the very nature of the case. As to any *priority* of existence, "the Logos was in the beginning with God," says the Apostle John; "those who say that there was a time when Christ was not, that before he was born he was not, and that he came into existence out of nothing, ... them the whole Church anathematizes," says Athanasius in the Nicene creed; and enlightened reason claims absolute eternity equally for each truly Divine Person. The Divine filiation is readily divested of the second peculiarity of human sonship—namely, its involuntary imposition—by considering that this is a ground of disparity which relates only to the act of origination or the inchoation of the state; when the son is once actually begotten, his existence is just as much beyond the will and agency of the parent as of the embryo. Since therefore the Sonship of Christ is shown to have had no beginning, it was never affected by such an inchoative act of will on the part of the Father. But we may go farther in this argument: we may say without presumption that the

triple relation in the bosom of the Godhead is so intimate and fundamental, that the three Persons could not but be developed; and thus the paternity of the first Person, the filiation of the second, and the procession of the third, are equally necessary, and neither of them dependent upon the will of any of the rest, otherwise than it is God's will to be what he is in any other respect. That such is the case, is shown not only by the immutable nature of God in general, but especially by the *eternity* of this distinction of Persons, which can only be predicated, logically at least, on the ground that it is an essential attribute of Deity, and therefore could never have been absent.* In short, viewed in this light, it is no more proper to say that the filiation of the Son is dependent upon the will of the Father, than that the paternity of the Father is dependent upon the will of the Son; the logical causality of the derivation lies back of either—namely, in the same necessity by which God subsists at all; in other words, in the *mutual* self-existence of the Persons. This last expression may seem somewhat paradoxical, but it is not more so than the correlative necessity of infinite space and absolute time. We arrive, therefore, at the conclusion that inasmuch as the very features attendant upon human generation, by virtue of which it involves inferiority, are absent with reference to the Divine filiation, the title Son of God does not imply any inequality in the Persons of the Godhead.

But it will perhaps be said that we have silently shifted the ground of the argument; setting out with an agreement to abide by a comparison with human generation, we have ended by discarding all analogy as to the point in dispute. This objection would be true, if, under cover of dissipating certain associated ingredients from the term filiation, we have extracted the essence of the idea. It therefore remains to inquire, what notion lies at the bottom of this language or relation, so as to be certain whether, if the above concomitants implying disparity be eliminated, the very basis of the thing itself be not taken away. This our opponents charge us with doing, but unjustly; for after these non-essentials are abstracted, we just begin to apprehend distinctly what is fundamental to this kinship. This residuum, we think, may be expressed by two terms;

* It is but justice to Professor Stuart, to say, that in his remarks upon Dr. Schleiermacher's views, he holds that there must have been some ground originally existing within the Godhead, on which this outward development in time was based. This is certainly necessary; for as God alone originally existed, everything, especially what so nearly affected Himself, could only have proceeded from Him. Pity it is that Professor Stuart did not perceive that this original ground in the Deity is the essential point in the distinction of the Trinity, and that the outward development derives its whole significance from it.

and in the ideas represented by them, especially the first, lies the very soul of sonship; these are *participation of nature*, and *endearment* flowing out through intimacy,—deny these, and you at once utterly abnegate sonship, although all the other peculiarities are present. That participation of nature is the true and ultimate test of relation by descent, is evident from the fact that it is the touchstone of the classification in comparative anatomy and ethnology, and lies at the basis of all natural history, whether material or immaterial; but in order that the proximate degree of actual paternity may hold, there must be a direct sharing substantially of that nature to the offspring. These requisites are eminently true of the "beloved Son," the "Only-begotten in the bosom of the Father;" and although the actual transmission of being cannot be dated as an event, the infusion of essence is as perfectly proved by the full community of attributes not otherwise to be attained. This perfect correspondence of Divine qualities in the Son with the Father, moreover, secures their entire equality through this retention of the essential idea of generation; while the deviation in the *mode* of the derivation obviates the usual inferiority. The remaining want of analogy between the Divine persons as compared with human—namely, the numerical unity of Father and Son—is yet to be considered.

The question is often asked, What do Trinitarians mean by the distinction, "there are *three Persons* and *one God?*" A complete answer to this question would involve a *real definition* of the idea designated by the word "Person" as here used; but as, from our finite nature, we must ever remain incompetent to a just comprehension of the constitution of the Godhead, our inability to *explain* the application of this formula, is taken by Unitarians as an evidence that we can have no distinct notion of the *fact* of such a distinction. This is manifestly unfair; for we are well-assured of innumerable facts, of which we can neither explain nor understand the interior constitution that makes them exist as such. In this case, moreover, we are able clearly to conceive that the several Divine Persons, all equally possessing those attributes of infinity in which Godhead consists, may nevertheless differ in those subordinate properties on which the peculiar personality of each is predicated. Professor Stuart, in his remarks on Schleiermacher's Treatise, (Biblical Repository, July, 1835, page 90,) has quoted various definitions of the term *personality* in this application, from eminent theologians and dialecticians, but finds fault with them all as either illogical, contradictory, or unmeaning; and he at last disposes of the distinctly-stated question, "What is personality?" in his favourite oblique mode, by declining the attempt to fathom the mysterious

profundities of the Divine nature. Now a complete or even tolerably adequate *description* of the difference between the Divine Personages, is evidently beyond human reason or perception, and therefore as much above the possibility of revelation itself; and in this sense, the Divine personality certainly cannot be defined. Yet it is equally obvious that a clear statement of *what we mean by the term person* is indispensable to accurate discussion respecting the Trinity. Something we must mean by the term, and we have merely to define lexically in what sense we use it. At the risk of being deemed presumptuous, and of exposure to criticism—to use no stronger term,—we propose the following, as approaching the subject as nearly perhaps as is possible:—Personality, as spoken of the members of the Trinity, may be defined to be *a certain mutual relation essentially subsisting within the Godhead;* and "*persons*" *are those* SUBSTANTIVE FORMS *of Deity thus distinguished.* This lays the foundation for their distinction as individual beings, and yet preserves their identity of essence. Human persons can only be homogeneous in nature—that is, of like, but not the same, substance. The reason is that each is finite, or bounded off by its individuality. But as God is infinite, and therefore each Divine Person also infinite, they must necessarily overlap each other, so to speak, or appertain to the same substratum of essence. In the case of human beings, of course, this would be an actual exclusion of one or the other, for we cannot conceive of human individuality without attaching to it a species of spiritual impenetrability; but I do not see that this notion is applicable to Deity.

We conclude these remarks with the observation that they have only been written in order to obviate certain prejudices which many feel against the natural interpretation of the Introduction to John's Gospel; the general doctrine of the Trinity we must leave to abler hands. We are aware that exceptions might be taken by captious metaphysicians against some parts of the line of argument pursued in these concluding paragraphs, and it is quite possible that the definition above given may fail to satisfy those who have rejected all the definitions hitherto offered on that topic; still, we have ventured them, believing that the candid Trinitarian will find substantial truth at the bottom of them, and hoping that some professed theologian may yet express that truth in a form free from all reasonable objection. It is to be hoped, that the discussions above alluded to will at least have the effect of leading back theology to the plain statements of revelation. This is the only ultimate appeal, and in view of this we beg that the foregoing *exegetical* discussion may not be disregarded.

By way of recapitulation, we subjoin the following scheme, exhibiting the course of thought as contained in the successive clauses of John i, 1–18:—

THE ESSENTIAL DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

Analysis.	*Literal Translation.*
I. His intrinsic character portrayed.	
1. His relations with God.	
a) By reason of pre-existence to creation.	(1) In *the* beginning was the Logos,
b) As to connexion	and the Logos was [*associated reflexively*] toward the Deity,
c) In nature	and the Logos was Deity.
d) Repetition of *a*) and *b*)	(2) This *Being* was in *the* beginning [*thus related*] toward the Deity.
2. His relation to the universe.	
a) Direct assertion of his Creatorship.	(3) All *things* came to be through him,
b) Negative argument to the same effect.	
[1] No other originator found	and apart from him did not even one *thing* come to be,
[2] Fact of created objects nevertheless	that has come to be.
3. His relation toward man.	
a) Foundation of this relation	(4) In him was life,
b) Development of the principle	and the Life was the Light of men;
c) Results of its application.	
[i.] General failure.	
[1] Illustration of a physical nature.	
[a] Adaptedness of the means	(5) And the light shines in the darkness,
[b] Anomalous resistance	and the darkness did not take it down [*into itself*].
Digression.—Collateral reference to the Baptist.	
A. To prevent misconception.	
a) Fact of such a messenger.	
[*α*] His existence	(6) *There* came to be a man,
[*β*] His authority	sent from [near] God;
[*γ*] His name	his name *was* John:
β) Design of his mission.	
[*α*] Immediate	(7) this *man* came for testimony, that *he* might testify concerning the Light;
[*β*] Ultimate	*so* that all might believe through him.
[*γ*] His consequent inferiority	(8) That *man* was not the Light, but *came* that *he* might testify concerning the Light;
γ) Distinctive marks of Christ.	
[*α*] In personal character	(9) *there* was [*another that was*] the Light, the true *one*,
[*β*] In extent of sphere	that lights every man,
[*γ*] In style of introduction	[*by*] coming into the world.— *n*—
Resumption of the main topic, by continuation of this last thought.	
[2] Among mankind at large.	
[a] Fact of his residence on earth	(10) *He* was in the world,

[b] His title to regard..... and the world came to be through him,
[c] Ungratefully slighted ..... and [*yet*] the world did not know him;

[3] With his particular countrymen.
[a] His overtures to them ..... (11) *he* came to his home,
[b] Unnaturally rejected..... and his family did not take him near *them*.

[ii.] Partial success.
[1] Fact of favour with some.... (12) Whoever received him, however,
[2] Honour conferred on them in return..... *he* gave them privilege to become children of God,
[3] Condition securing it..... [*namely*] those believing [*and thus pledging themselves*] to his name;

[4] Mode of its acquisition.....
[a] In no ordinary course.....
α) As by inheritance..... (13) who *were* not *born* out of bloods,
β) Or self-prompted attainment..... nor out of flesh-will,
γ) Or human appointment..... nor out of man-will,
[b] But specially by Divine qualification..... but [were born] out of God.

II. His assumption of humanity, consistent with these statements.
1. His incarnate state.
a) Fact of his incarnation.
[1] Its inception..... (14) And the Logos became flesh
[2] Its continuation..... and tented among us,—
b) Evidence of this fact.
[1] Ocular testimony..... and we witnessed his glory,
[2] The recognition palpable..... a glory [*indeed*] as of an only-begotten *from* near *his* father,—

2. Beneficial results of this manifestation.
a) Foundation of these advantages in his own nature..... full of grace and truth.

Digressive return to the Baptist's testimony.
B. In support of Christ's exalted position.
a) Fact of the deposition..... (15) (John testifies concerning him and has cried saying,

β) The Baptist's own application of his language..... "This *person* was *he* whom I [*meant when I*] said,

γ) The testimony itself.
[*α*] Designation of a disciple..... 'The *one* coming behind me,
[*β*] Acknowledged as a leader..... has come to be in front of me,'
[*γ*] On the ground of original superiority..... because *he* was my first.")

Resumption of the main topic at the point of interruption.
b) Blessings imparted to individuals..... (16) And out of his fulness we all received, even grace [*accumulated*] over-against grace.

c) Moral elevation of man in general.	
[1] Comparison of Judaism with Christianity.	
[a] Rigidness of the former.....	(17) Because the Law was given through Moses,
[b] Its defects met by the latter.	[*wherein* the] grace and [the] truth came to be through Jesus Christ:
[2] Necessity of this mode of revelation.	
[a] Any merely human channel inadequate.....	(18) no one has ever beheld God;
[b] Competency of Christ to develop the divine nature and plans.	
a) From intuition by nature...	the only-begotten Son,
β) From intimate acquaintance.....	the *one* being [*admitted*] into the bosom of the Father,—
γ) Vindicated by his actual accomplishment of the task.....	that *person* unfolded *him*.

Art. III.—ALGERNON SIDNEY.

Life of Algernon Sidney; with Sketches of some of his Contemporaries, and Extracts from his Correspondence and Political Writings. By G. Van Santvoord. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1851.

The name of Sidney is among the most illustrious in the annals of England. An ancient stock of the Norman aristocracy, the family was first naturalized on British soil nearly a hundred years after the Conquest, when Sir William Sidney, chamberlain to Henry II., accompanied that prince from Anjou into his newly-inherited dominions. The descendants of this adventurer occupied a conspicuous place among the English gentry during the times of the Plantagenets, and of the rival houses of York and Lancaster; and at the demise of Henry VIII. the honoured representative of the Sidneys was tutor to the royal heir, Prince Edward, from whom he afterwards received the park and manor of Penshurst in Kent—from that time the favourite seat of the Sidneys. A grandson of the royal tutor was Sir Philip Sidney, whose name is still cherished both in political and literary history, and who is especially remembered as the favourite of the court of Queen Elizabeth. He is described as a perfect model of a finished gentleman—virtuous, polite, brave, and accomplished—and such was the goodness of his heart, that he was loved by the lowest persons about him as much as he was admired by those of his own rank. It was he who, when mor-

tally wounded at the battle of Zutphen, had called for a bottle of water, of which he was about to drink, when, seeing a wounded soldier carried past, whose languishing looks bespoke his need of relief, he immediately took the bottle from his lips, and directed that it should be given to the man, for, said the gallant soldier, "this man's necessity is greater than mine." Robert Sidney, brother and heir of Sir Philip, was, by James I., created first Baron Sidney of Penshurst, then Viscount Lisle, and finally Earl of Leicester. To him succeeded his son Robert, who married Dorothy, eldest daughter of the powerful Earl of Northumberland, of which marriage, among other children, came *Algernon Sidney.*

It is a singular fact that, among the voluminous stores of English biographical literature, there is to be found no consecutive history of one of England's most distinguished sons; that while the personal histories of thousands of comparatively-obscure persons have been detailed with all possible minuteness, that of Algernon Sidney has been left to be gathered from the partial and imperfect records of general history. The book named at the head of this paper is designed to fill this gap. It is said to be the production of a young American writer, who now makes his first essay in the field of proper authorship. As a literary production, the book presents but few points for criticism. It has merit, though not of a high order; the style and composition are respectable, and the matter good, though not remarkably so. Without any strong and positive excellences, it is nevertheless a very readable book; exhibiting quite satisfactorily, in a condensed form, the principal events in the life of its subject, and evincing a just appreciation of his character. Though differing from him as to several minor points, we are decidedly gratified with the general tone and spirit of the work.

Algernon Sidney, second son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was born at Penshurst in 1622, and was carefully brought up under the personal instructions of his father. Having been educated for the army, he first endeavoured to obtain a commission in Holland; but failing in this he returned early in 1641 to his native country, from which he had been absent, for a long time, accompanying his father on his errands of diplomacy. The political agitations, generally known in English history as the "Great Rebellion," had then begun to convulse the kingdom. The Earl of Strafford, its first great victim, had already been brought to the scaffold, and the lieutenancy of Ireland, vacated by his death, was now offered to the Earl of Leicester. The Irish rebellion was then at its height, and Leicester, still detained in England, sent over his two sons to check the pro-

gress of the insurgents—the eldest, Lord Lisle, as commander-in-chief of the royal forces, and Algernon Sidney, as colonel of a troop of cavalry. But the zeal of the young Sidneys against the rebels excited the jealousy of some of the English royalists, who sympathized with the insurgents rather than with the parliament and army of England. Soon after, the king commenced actual hostilities against the adherents of the parliament, and the whole nation was rent into two hostile factions, in which the nearest relatives were often found on opposite sides. Thus, while the Duke of Northumberland, Sidney's maternal uncle, espoused the cause of the parliament, the Earl of Leicester adhered to that of the king. The brothers returned from Ireland early in 1643, and while hastening to join their father at Oxford, they were seized by some of the parliamentary forces, and compelled to proceed to London.

Down to this time Sidney had given no intimation as to which of the belligerent parties he most favoured, nor is it known that he had yet determined that question with himself. Neutrality, however, was out of question, and doubtless he even then entertained political opinions that would certainly incline him to the popular cause. It was not very long after their arrival in London, that both the brothers gave in their adhesion to the parliament, and Sidney at once entered the army of Manchester. He was present at the celebrated battle of Marston Moor, as commander of a troop of horse, where he was so severely wounded, that he was compelled to resign his command in the army, and accept the post of military governor of Chichester. Soon after, an election to fill a vacancy in the commons for the borough of Cardiff having been ordered, Sidney was chosen a member of the celebrated Long Parliament. He, however, continued to perform military service for some time longer, and did not finally leave the army till the spring of 1647.

The period extending from the defeat of the royal forces at Naseby, to the setting up of the Commonwealth, was the most violent and perilous portion of the civil wars. In the field the forces of Fairfax and Cromwell drove everything before them, and in parliament the commons, as the sole representatives of the people, assumed exclusive and unlimited right of government. The old frame of government was in ruins, the elements of the body politic disintegrated, while the spirit of revolution swept over the land, bearing things onward with a terrible velocity towards some fearful but uncertain issue.

In political, as in material organizations, a destructive and a recuperative energy are ever active, and decay or growth is determined by the relative intensity of these antagonistic forces. Men instinc-

tively incline towards social order; but when society becomes an agent of oppression, the stronger instincts of self-preservation necessarily render them revolutionists. Such had become the case in England at the time now under notice. The government of that kingdom was originally, in form and constitution, whatever it may have been in fact, a pure despotism, and every measure designed to secure the rights of its subjects or to limit the power of the throne, was essentially revolutionary. Yet for more than five hundred years had these measures been in progress, sometimes causing violent political convulsions, but more commonly silently yet effectually undermining the power of the throne and increasing that of the people.

More sagacious than many of his predecessors, Charles perceived this tendency of things, and vainly attempted to turn back the shadow that had gone down on the dial. It was the misfortune of that monarch to fall upon times when the elements of discord, having long gathered strength in secret, burst forth with all their fury upon the nation. He, however, was not unaware of the threatening aspects of the political atmosphere, but justly concluded that the season for temporizing was past. His measures and their results are known.

But justice to this great martyr to the cause of despotism demands the acknowledgment, that if laws and precedents are to be received as the measure of personal rights and the rule of political ethics, the administration of Charles, including the "thorough" policy of Strafford, was eminently just and righteous. To justify the course of the popular party against the king, the appeal must be made to a higher law than any human enactment, the unwritten law of justice and reciprocal equity, which teaches that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," to secure which all are likewise endowed with minds to think, and strong right arms to do.

These elementary truths in the science of government are so obvious, that when there is occasion to appeal to them, they are assumed as "self-evident," or at least as uncontrovertible. This was the course of the popular party in the Great Rebellion. They did not hesitate to attempt to remodel the fundamental law of the land, and each proposed the plan that suited him best. Three principal schemes of government were then proposed and advocated by the enemies of the former despotic form of the British Constitution. The more conservative portion would retain the ancient forms and institutions, but have them so qualified and guarded as to render them incapable of the evil that otherwise must flow from them. They would have a king, but he must be bound hand and foot by

statutes, concession, and charters—a puppet-king, the creature and the tool of an omnipotent parliament. These were the aristocrats of parliament, who, in spoiling the royal chaplet of the undoubted flowers of the prerogative, wished to appropriate the spoils to their own aggrandizement. This party, though destined to suffer a present defeat, in the end bore off the rewards of this great revolutionary movement at the final adjustment of affairs under the Prince of Orange.

But there were those who contemplated a wider change in the frame of government,—men of philosophic habits of thinking, and deeply versed in the doctrines of classical antiquity, who longed to realize on English ground the dreams of poets and philosophers, in a commonwealth where truth and justice should be the fundamental law,—a genuine aristocracy, whose practical rule in bestowing the powers and honour of office, should always be *detur digniori*. The spirit that animated this class was largely shared by the better portion of the parliamentary leaders, among whom Vane was the leading spirit, and the youthful and chivalrous Sidney a chief coadjutor.

A third and more formidable party, however, soon began to manifest itself in the councils of the nation, demanding a genuine democracy, and proposing to override the social distinctions that had grown up under the shadow of the hated and now discarded monarchy. Their cause was not without able advocates on the floor of parliament, but their strength lay in another place. An army, drawn from the ranks of the common people, not by forced enlistments, nor allured by the hope of a subsistence, but impelled by an ardent hatred of oppression, was then the real keeper of the power of the nation. The army demanded a democracy, and its demands could not be lightly set aside.

In times of revolution the boldest measures are often the most feasible; and accordingly it was not long before the conservative leaders in parliament became more alarmed at the levelling tendencies of the army than at the despotism of the king, and an accommodation with the fallen monarch was earnestly desired. To prevent the consummation of that design, which would have been fatal to the schemes of the levellers, the army advanced another stage in the course of revolution; and as the lords and commons had dispensed with the power of the king, and as the commons had virtually denied the co-ordinate power of the lords, so now the army took the commons into its own power, and purging out the refractory members, made that body the mere echo of its mandates. This remnant of the House of Commons, commonly known in history as "The Rump," now formally proclaimed the great fundamental doctrine

of democracy, that "THE PEOPLE are, under God, the original of all just power," and complacently assuming that they were the depositaries of the popular authority, began at once to exercise some of the high prerogatives of their sovereignty. Declining to make their power felt on minor offenders while the chief delinquent was unpunished, they first proceeded to bring the king to trial for "violating his compact with the nation, and abusing the power with which he had been intrusted." Sidney, and also Lord Lisle, was named among the commissioners appointed to sit on this extraordinary tribunal, but both of them declined the perilous honour. It was, however, rather as a subject of law and government, than as a revolutionary appellant to original right, that he opposed the proceedings. It is believed that he desired the deposition of the king by a concurrent vote of the two Houses,—a less violent and sanguinary measure, though equally beyond the provisions of the laws of the realm. And though he objected to both the act of trying the king, and the manner of doing it, yet he never intimated a doubt of the guilt of the royal convict; and in after life he steadily justified the conduct of the regicide judges when men of nearly all parties vied with each other in speaking evil of them; and when suspected of having had some hand in that work, he seldom availed himself of the advantage of disavowing an action that he could not condemn.

The period of about four years, extending from the death of the king to the dissolution of the parliament, and known as the Commonwealth, was one of remarkable ability and energy in the administration of the affairs of the nation. The commons, though reduced to little more than half of a full house, comprised some of the ablest men of the times, and apart from an undue tenacity of power, their patriotism is above suspicion. In this body Vane was the acknowledged leader, though from his opposition to the execution of the king he was placed in a somewhat antagonistic relation to the ruling majority. Of that majority, Bradshaw, the renowned chief justice of the regicides' court, was the head, though he heartily co-operated with the statesman-like views of his illustrious rival. Cromwell, though actually the ruling spirit of the times, was comparatively little felt in the deliberations of parliament, or in the incipient directions of civil affairs. Sidney, whose increasing age and experience, added to his great powers of mind, began to make him a distinguished member of the body, for the most part seconded the views of Vane, and was especially intent on settling the form of the new republic.

The records of parliament for this period are sufficient evidence of his zeal in the work that thus engaged his attention. Negotiations

were opened with the Scots, for the purpose of forming a union of the two countries,—a measure that Sidney greatly favoured, and to which he devoted much attention. He was also a member of a committee charged with the weighty and endless duty of reforming the practices of the legal tribunals, and had among his associates the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale, and, as if it were designed that all extremes should be represented, General Desborough and the renowned Hugh Peters. Of another committee raised to inquire into, and to devise means for satisfying claims for money loaned to the government in the time of the Irish rebellion, Sidney was chairman; and in prosecuting its duties he also extended his inquiries into the internal affairs of Ireland, and proposed measures for the redress of some of its evils. In the latter part of the year 1652 he was chosen a member of the council of state, the real executive, and remained in the discharge of its duties till the overthrow of the Commonwealth early the next year.

The unfitness of the House of Commons, as then constituted, to represent the English nation, was felt and acknowledged by the better portion of its most active members. Soon after the settlement of the new government, the subject of a voluntary dissolution, and the calling of a new parliament, elected on a more liberal basis, and more justly representing the people generally, began to be discussed. Subsequently the whole subject was referred to a committee of nine persons, of which committee Vane was chairman and Sidney a member. But the state of the social and civil elements was unpropitious to their designs, and probably the hand of an enemy was often silently operating to defeat the consummation of the patriotic purposes of the friends of the measure. The first partial report was made after an interval of eight months; and nearly two years later, without reaching any decided results, the committee returned the whole subject to the House of Commons. Here Vane and Sidney renewed their efforts in favour of a peaceful dissolution, and bills were actually reported both for this and for fixing a new and more equitable basis of representation. What would have been the final action of the House upon these bills, had the business been permitted to proceed to a consummation, is totally uncertain. The Long Parliament was wonderfully tenacious of life, and was never known voluntarily to resign any of its power. Whether this case would have proved an exception, is purely matter of conjecture. But without awaiting the result, Cromwell took the whole matter into his own hands, by expelling the commons and setting up his own authority under the protection of the bayonets of his regiments.

We purposely avoid a discussion of the merits of this quarrel be-

tween the army and the parliament, except so far as may be necessary to illustrate Sidney's position. A constitutional difference of character between himself and Cromwell rendered it impossible that they should co-operate as revolutionary leaders; and yet it is not difficult to suppose that had the parliament been composed chiefly of such men as Sidney, Cromwell would never have thought of adopting the course that he pursued towards that body. Cromwell distrusted Sidney only as too conservative to be useful as a revolutionary chief, and doubtless Sidney personally disliked Cromwell's manners, and was especially disgusted at his conduct towards the parliament. It is not a matter of wonder, therefore, that after the assumption of the supreme power by Cromwell, he retired to Penshurst, and steadily refused to have any part in the government of the Protector.

Being thus delivered from the cares of office, Sidney availed himself of the opportunities afforded by leisure to gratify his tastes and to improve his mind. He first visited the continent, and at the Hague met with that renowned minister of state and pure-minded republican, John De Witt, in whose sage-like maxims of government and wise administration he fancied he saw a demonstration of the practicability of his own cherished political opinions. Returning to England the next year, he shut himself up at Penshurst—going but little into society—and devoted himself seduously to literary pursuits. His Common-Place Book, preserved in the library of the family, bears witness to his zeal in the study of civil and political science, to which the records of all civilized nations were made tributary. Here, it is presumed, he collected the materials out of which he afterwards constructed his famous "Discourses on Government." In declining any participation in Cromwell's administration, it is probable Sidney consulted his own inclinations as much as he did his political principles. His fellow-republicans, Bradshaw and Scot, did not hesitate to appear among the opposition members in the parliament of the Protector; and his brother, Lord Lisle, went quite over to the ruling party, and was honoured with a seat in Cromwell's council of state. Sidney, however, remained in retirement, dividing his time between his books and his rural pleasures, until the downfall of the Protectorate, when, on the reassembling of the remains of the Long Parliament, he again stood side by side with Vane, and Marten, and Scot, to reassert the claims of the Commonwealth. As a member of the executive council that was then appointed, he was permitted for a little while to give effect to his political notions. His star was once more in the ascendant, and the new administration leaned upon him as one of its strong pillars. Soon after he was

intrusted with delicate and important missions to the courts of Denmark and Sweden; and while occupied with these duties his favourite Commonwealth was replaced by the ancient monarchy, restored in the person of its least acceptable representative.

The Restoration was distasteful to Sidney, both from political and personal reasons. He would now, as before, have gladly retired to the seclusions of Penshurst, and occupied himself, as a private gentleman, in those elegant and liberal pursuits for which he was so well adapted; but knowing the vindictive spirit of the party in power he prudently determined to submit to the hard alternative of self-imposed exile. He had acted too conspicuous a part in the revolutionary movements of the past twenty years to be readily forgiven by the Stuart, to whom the integrity of his character, not less than his political opinions, rendered him peculiarly odious. He was indeed included in the amnesty, from which only the regicides and a few others were excepted; but he knew too well, to trust himself in the power of his enemies, that enthroned perfidy and vengeance would find a way to ruin him.

His correspondence with his father about this time is highly instructive, and serves at once to illustrate his character and to adorn his name. Sidney lived in turbulent times, when the waves of party-strife ran high, yet his patriotism was ever pure and genial. He loved his country in her degradation no less than in her glory. The feelings of the ruling party towards him were known to be personally hostile, so as to render it inexpedient, and perhaps unsafe, for him to return; yet, while on the one hand he entertained no hostile purposes against the reinstated monarchy, on the other he would not purchase safety for himself by any base or unmanly cringing. It was a favourite occupation of a certain class of sycophants about the throne to give information against disaffected persons. Of the petty malevolence of some of these Sidney became the object, and whatever he had at any time uttered against monarchy or in defence of the regicides, was now repeated and magnified against him. One of these charges is curious, and highly characteristic of the man against whom it was brought. On a visit to Copenhagen the album of the university had been brought to him for his autograph, when he wrote

> "——*Manus hæc inimica tyrannis,*
> *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*"

The inscription was worthy of the hand that wrote it, and in no other form could the same number of words so fully and felicitously set forth the character of *Algernon Sidney.* When the report of this writing was made known to him by his father, he both confessed

and justified what he had written. It was also reported that he had spoken of the execution of the late king as "the justest and bravest action that was ever done in England or anywhere else," which being untrue, he was compelled to disavow it. But to his disavowal he added: "That your lordship may not think that I say this in compliance with the times, I do avow that I have many times so justified that act as people did believe I had a hand in it; and never did disavow it, unless it were to the king of Sweden and the Grand Maitre of Denmark, who asked me privately." His friends at length succeeded in ascertaining from those in power the conditions on which he might return, which were succinctly—"*submit*," "*recant*," "*renounce*," "*ask pardon*." His answer was equally direct and expressive: "*I can do the first* cheerfully and willingly, as he [the king] is acknowledged by the parliament—*nothing of others*." He knew indeed that he could purchase immunity from danger, as did Hazelrigge and Lambert, by professions of *penitence* for the past, but his soul would have loathed a life that had been preserved at such expense. This the king and his courtiers well knew, and they both feared and hated a man for whom they had no price.

Agreeably to the purpose now fully adopted, to remain abroad for a season, Sidney turned his face towards the South of Europe; and quitting Denmark, he came first to Holland, and then, after passing leisurely through a portion of Germany, he crossed the Alps and came to Rome. His residence in the imperial city seems to have been an agreeable one; his intercourse with the cardinals was cordial and unconstrained, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of his opinions, both religious and political, to theirs. From Rome he proceeded the next year to Frascati, to court repose and literary leisure. Here, in the quiet villa of Belvidere, a guest of the nephew of the late pope, he enjoyed the luxuries of an Italian summer, having an apartment assigned him in that sumptuous mansion, with the use of a valuable library and walks in a beautiful garden. But his heart was still in England; not that he meditated further political revolutions, but sighed for the quiet of home and the society of his early friends. After visiting Naples and Sicily, in 1663 he finally left Italy and took his journey towards Flanders, whither he was called by private business. On his way thither he passed through Vevay, where he called upon his old companion-in-arms and fellow-republican, General Ludlow, and other English exiles who resided in that place. This act of noble generosity and fidelity of spirit might indeed seem impolitic to the mere creature of expediency, but with Sidney it was scarcely a virtue, so fully was his whole life actuated and impelled by honourable and generous sentiments.

Two years later, a war having broken out between England and Holland, which awakened the favour of the English exiles in behalf of the Dutch republic, and revived the hope of a speedy restoration of their own cherished Commonwealth, Sidney repaired to the Hague to urge the Dutch government to invade England, with the expectation of large assistance from the malcontents of that kingdom. De Witt, however, was less sanguine in his expectations, and doubted both the expediency and practicability of the proposed invasion; and so the design was abandoned for that time. Twenty years later that design was reduced to practice, when, under the auspices of the Prince of Orange, England obtained in the form of a constitutional monarchy a government that would have commanded Sidney's hearty approval. After the junction of France with Holland in this war, the plan of an invasion was renewed, and Ludlow, as well as Sidney, was invited to take part in it. But the old soldier, in whose spirit age had dimmed the fires of military ardour, and whose fruitful experience made him distrustful of kings and royal ministers, refused to quit his quiet mountain-retreat. Sidney, however, proceeded to Paris to confer with the French ministers as to the contemplated enterprise; but the whole affair was a mere pretence on the part of the French monarch, and of course it resulted in nothing.

Sidney seems now to have wholly despaired of the restoration of the British Commonwealth, and accordingly he retired to a seclusion in the South of France, taking no further interest in the affairs of Europe, and being quite hidden from the espionage of his enemies. In this retirement he passed most of the succeeding ten years, occasionally visiting Paris, where he was always treated with much consideration by the dignitaries of the court. During this period, it is presumed, he composed his celebrated "Discourses on Government," as indeed no other part of his life afforded such ample opportunities for the preparation of a work that is evidently the fruit of much reading, and meditation, and careful industry.

As these Discourses constitute the work by which its author is best known, and contain, expressed at large, the opinions that he maintained through his whole life, and for which he suffered death, a brief notice of them may be desirable. The work was left in manuscript by its author, and was first published in 1698, in one large folio volume. It has since passed through several editions in Great Britain, and has been reprinted once or more in this country. The copy now before us, in three volumes octavo, containing, besides the "Discourses," a brief memoir of the author, an account of his trial, and his final "Apology," is dated New-York, 1805. In both countries the writings of Sidney were for a long time in great repute, and

these Discourses were esteemed high authority among liberal politicians and statesmen.

They were originally composed as a reply to Sir Robert Filmer's "Patriarchia," a book in which the divine right of monarchy and the irresponsibility of kings to their subjects are boldly asserted and maintained. The world has long since consigned that work to deserved oblivion; nor would its existence be known to the present age, had not its name been perpetuated in its refutation. But Sidney did not confine himself to a review of the false positions of his adversary,—his book is an elementary treatise on the science of government. His system is essentially republican or anti-monarchical, but not necessarily democratic, and approaches more nearly to the mixed system that found so much favour with a certain class in the early times of our own republic, than to the purer democracy that now prevails. The assumptions of his opponent are not only treated as absurdities, but are shown to be such. The right of the governed to choose their own form of civil polity, and the necessity of rendering magistrates of every grade and order subject to the laws, are both clearly stated and strongly insisted on. The inconvenience and danger of royalty are also considered; and the subjection of kings to the laws, and the right and duty of the subjects to vindicate the laws against royal usurpations, are boldly affirmed and successfully argued.

The mind of Sidney was richly furnished with the treasured experience of past ages; the range of his mental vision was very wide; and while the history of all civilized nations contributed to his intellectual stores, the treasures of classical antiquity possessed his heart as well as his understanding. His model-state was copied from the Grecian and Roman commonwealths. His republic is, in fact, an aristocracy, where only the noble, the wise, the virtuous, may receive or exercise authority, though all may enjoy its benign protection. Such a system, though beautiful to the imagination, ever has been unattainable in fact, and from the necessities of the case, it ever must be. Plato did well to locate his imaginary republic beyond the limits of the known world, and a modern Plato to give no fixed locality to his Utopia. The more practical, though equally philosophical, system of the great Roman sage and orator, was, however, the most admired model of our author; and some have asserted that the loss of the wanting books *de Republica*, is fully compensated by these Discourses.

The author's familiarity with the history of both ancient and modern states, afforded him abundant materials for illustrating his favourite positions. The tendency of liberty to cherish public vir-

tue, order, and stability, and the opposite tendency of slavery; the impotence and harmlessness of seditions under free governments, and their salutary tendencies under despotic ones; the exemption of free governments from the corruption and venality of courts, and the security of such governments from lawlessness, on account of man's natural love of order, which prevents liberty from degenerating to license: all these important points are clearly and ably discussed. By showing, as he does most satisfactorily, that "man's natural love to liberty is tempered by reason," so that he prefers a proper restraint to unbridled license in society, the author effectually silences a common objection to freedom, and anticipates the needless fears of the timid and over-prudent. The history of nations proves beyond successful cavil, that men are more apt to suffer too long under a badly-administered government, than hastily to seek redress by revolutions; that ultra conservatism, rather than destructive radicalism, is the vice of political states.

But the practical remedy for the evils of bad government is often found to be the most difficult part of this business. Many will assent to all that may be affirmed as to the reality of those evils, and join in the common execration of the very name of tyranny, who, through a vicious and short-sighted prudence, object to every practical method of redress; and believe that the radical disease of the system must be suffered *as a matter of duty*, because there are incidental evils in the remedies. This point is directly met by our author, by stating and maintaining the proposition, that "no people can be obliged to suffer from their kings [or other magistrates] what they [the kings, &c.] have not a right to do." This proposition, carried out and applied to matters of fact, covers and limits the whole ground of the right of subjects to rebel against the government under which they live. The power of all civil rulers is limited, and beyond those limits their laws are without authority. The "powers that be" are not only ordained by God,—they are also defined by him; and if, transgressing these limitations, the magistrate invades the higher law of heaven, he becomes an impious usurper, guilty of the worst form of treason. The mode of redress and punishment in such cases must be left, in each particular instance, to the determination of the suffering parties. To suffer without resistance, may often be the only wise and practicable course; but when opportunity is afforded to do otherwise, with a reasonable prospect of success, the instincts of self-preservation in man's nature and the nerve of man's right arm, suggest the will of the God of nature and providence in the matter.

In reading the earlier chapters of these Discourses, one may ob-

serve that great deference is paid to *the law*, even when the right of rebellion is inculcated, and the author's sense of that word at first seems somewhat uncertain. The doubt, however, is presently removed by the further statement, that "that which is not *just* is not *law*, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed." Here is, indeed, a distinction of no little practical value; the edicts of the magistrate must be subjected to an authority above their own, and the individual conscience becomes the court of last resort. All governments not thus conformed to essential justice, he styles *magna latrocinia*,—wholesale robberies,—and adds: "We must, therefore, look for another rule of obedience [than the law of the land], and shall find that to be the law which is founded upon the eternal principles of reason and truth." "By this," he continues, "we may know whether he who has the power does justice or not; whether he be the minister of God to our good, a protector of good, and a terror to ill men, or a minister of the devil to our hurt, by encouraging all manner of evil . . . . . I dare not say I shall never fear such a man, if he be armed with power; but I am sure I shall never esteem him to be the minister of God. If he has, therefore, coercive power over me, it is through my weakness; for, *qui cogi potest, nescit mori*—he that will suffer himself to be compelled, knows not how to die." If it is answered to this, that while this rule would be an excellent one, were the human conscience an infallible judge, yet so imperfect and variable is that faculty that the practical adoption of it would introduce universal anarchy, the response is easy. Doubtless the perceptive power of the conscience is not wholly exempt from the common imperfection of the human character; yet it is a much more steady and certain law than is sometimes allowed. The Creator of man's nature has not written a lie upon the tablets of his heart; and since truth is uniform and always consistent with itself, that truth written upon a thousand hearts is everywhere the same. The great elementary doctrines of truth and right are approved by all who do not perversely reject them, and the consciences of millions of honest and enlightened men do all respond to the great doctrines of liberty, truth, and righteousness. It is not the uncertainty of this tribunal that renders it so objectionable, but its terrible certainty against evil doers and oppressors.

The above are given only as specimens of the positions and arguments of these admirable Discourses. We attempt no analysis of the whole work, which abounds with solid reasoning; is adorned with numerous historical allusions, both sacred and profane, and enriched with the classical authorities of the Greek and Roman schools. Its style is remarkably clear, elegant, and forcible; and

though written nearly two hundred years since, it is still fresh, and but slightly antiquated. In its literary character, as well as political sentiments, the work was far in the advance of its age.

In Great Britain the doctrines of these Discourses had become the constitutional theory of government before they were printed; and since that time they have been cherished by the great leading minds of the nation, and made the orthodoxy of the schools by being incorporated in the political text-books of the universities. In our own country their influence has been not less extensive or beneficial. From works of this class, among which these Discourses were much esteemed, the fathers of our country learned the distinction between the mandates of tyranny and the rule of duty, and were assured that "resistance to tyrants is fidelity to God." The statement of political rights at the beginning of the Declaration of Independence, is little more than a synopsis of the chief points of these Discourses. It is well known that Sidney was a favourite author among the great men of those times; and in that noble assembly which dared to arraign the tyrant-prince who had abused the power intrusted to him, and to sever the bands that had united this country to a foreign government, the spirit of Sidney moved every heart, and nerved every soul to deeds that posterity celebrates as truly great and unquestionably right.

Sidney had now been seventeen years in exile. His father, the venerable Earl of Leicester, still living at the advanced age of eighty-two, earnestly desired to embrace his favourite son before he should die. Many of his near relatives were in places of influence about the court, and through them was sought and obtained the royal assent for the return of the banished one; and he, wearied with his exile and seclusion, chose to incur the danger of a visit to his native country, when it was offered to him without degrading conditions. He asked no other security for his own safety than the king's word; and on his part he made no concessions as to the past, nor gave any pledges as to the future. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1667, Sidney again stood upon the shore of his native land, and immediately hastened to Penshurst to embrace his aged father. He was only in time to behold the last flickerings of the lamp of life, and to receive the final benediction of his venerated parent, who died only a few weeks after again beholding the face of his long-lost son. It was Sidney's purpose to return to his exile soon after the decease of his father; but he was detained a considerable time attending to the settlement of the family-estate, and in the meantime he became implicated in political difficulties that resulted in the catastrophe of his history.

The period at which Sidney visited England was a critical one in the affairs of that kingdom. The political atmosphere, though apparently quiet, was pregnant with storms. The parliament that had been called immediately after the Restoration, composed almost entirely of servile royalists, was still dragging out an inglorious existence. The weak and infamous administration of the notorious "Cabal," had disgraced the nation, both at home and abroad. The king was the acknowledged pensioner of the French monarch, whose money he received without scruple or sense of shame, while all his domestic policy tended to reduce his subjects to a corresponding degradation. Incensed by a sense of the debased condition of the kingdom, the people, and even the servile parliament, were clamouring for war against France. This demand gave occasion for a stroke of royal policy, of a character not unfrequently seen in the history of the Stuart dynasty. The king seemed to assent to the demands of the nation, and asked for a large military force, ostensibly to prosecute the war against France, but really to use it to quell the rising discontents of his own subjects. Sidney penetrated this design from the beginning, as from his acquaintance with the French court he very well knew that the contemplated war was only a pretence; and having witnessed the dangerous character of a standing army, he warned his friends of the perilous nature of the proposed measure, declaring the whole affair "a juggle, since the two courts were in entire confidence." In this way the name of Sidney became again implicated in the affairs of the government of England. Soon after this the whole kingdom was thrown into one of its periodical anti-popish paroxysms, by the promulgation of the real or pretended "Popish Plot;" and though the design of that conspiracy was said to be against the life of the king, yet because of the favour in which the Romish faith was held at the court, much of the popular indignation fell upon the royal household.

The old parliament was also becoming refractory. So many new members, nearly all of whom were opposed to the court-party, had been brought in by elections to fill vacancies, that, together with the dissatisfied country-party, they formed a majority of the whole body. A dissolution was the necessary consequence; but the new parliament that assembled soon after was even more violent against the measures of the court than was the old one,—and it was accordingly soon afterwards dissolved. For three years in succession a parliament was called each year, and in each case little else was done by them than to attempt to provide against the succession of the Duke of York to the throne, for which they were speedily dissolved by the king. At the election of the first and second of these

parliaments Sidney was a candidate; but being opposed by the court-party, who did not scruple to add violence to fraud, he was in both cases declared defeated, though in one, if not both, it was evident that he had received a majority of the legal votes. The great measure of the opposition-party, the exclusion of the Duke of York, received only a qualified support from our sterling commonwealthman. He hated monarchy, no matter who might be king; but he especially dreaded it in the person of a perfidious papist of the house of Stuart, and therefore consented to favour the change in the succession as a lesser evil.

After the dissolution of the last parliament, in March, 1681, the king, by a proclamation, appealed to the nation in justification of his course towards the refractory parliaments. The gauntlet thus thrown down by the royal controversialist was promptly taken up by Sidney, who amply justified the liberal party in the parliament and nation against the aspersions of the king. This vindication is pronounced by Bishop Burnet to have been "the best-written paper of the times." But the nation had become weary of the contest, and the recollection of the past made the timid fearful of asserting the right, while the prevailing licentiousness of the times had, to a great extent, extinguished that spirit of freedom which forty years before had overturned the throne, and brought the king to a popular tribunal, and to the scaffold. A reaction ensued; which, when the king observed, he did not fail to push his advantages with a strong and unscrupulous hand. Hitherto Charles had seemed to be only a man of pleasure, averse to cruelty, and disinclined to all vindictiveness. But impelled by circumstances, he consented to sacrifice a brawling politician, who had been convicted of conspiring against the king's life; and having once tasted blood, all the tiger was awakened in his spirit, and the work of slaughter was pressed with savage ferocity.

The first noted object of the royal vengeance was the gifted and versatile, the ambitious and unscrupulous Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury. The history of this nobleman is such as only the times in which he lived could produce. A royalist at the beginning of the Long Parliament, when the cause of the king began to decline he suddenly became a patriot and a Presbyterian; and when the rising star of the future Protector indicated the way the supreme power was tending, he adhered to the cause of the Lord-general. He afterwards sat in Barebones' parliament, and was foremost in investing the Protector with absolute power. He also sat with Baxter and Owen, and others, on the commission for ejecting "scandalous and ignorant ministers;" and in all these

movements was a zealous and thorough-going reformer. After the death of Cromwell he quickly perceived the tendency of affairs, and accordingly was among the foremost in bringing in the king. And to crown all his heartless perfidy, he consented to act as one of the judges of the regicides, and in that capacity condemned to death his old associates of the republic. For these services Charles had created him Earl of Shaftsbury, and subsequently made him lord chancellor, and by the royal favour he held a prominent place in the infamous Cabal. After the Restoration his fidelity to the royal cause had seemed to be so steady that his former tergiversations were forgotten, when, in the parliament of 1679, the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, having been brought up to the house of lords from the commons, to the astonishment of all he arose, and in the presence of both the king and the duke, earnestly advocated its passage. With his usual sagacity he had foreseen the coming change, and, as he had done before, he now sought to ride into power upon the first waves of the approaching revolution. But the recent recess of the rising tide had not been anticipated, and for once the rancour of passion had hurried him beyond his usual cautious prudence.

Shaftsbury was a man of unquestionable parts, an able debater, of winning manners and commanding address; fond of the excitement of public commotions rather than alarmed at their dangers, he had long lived and revelled a ruling spirit in the political storms that for half a century had swept over the kingdom in every direction. In all his changes he had been constant to his ruling passions,—selfishness and revenge; and never until now had the latter betrayed the former. The Duke of York had become the object of his most deadly hatred, which first vented itself on the occasion just mentioned; nor did a year's confinement in the tower soften his animosity against his noble adversary. Arrested a second time, he was still confident that he should triumph by the favour of the citizens of London, among whom he must be tried; nor did he miscalculate. The grand jury ignored the indictment brought against him, and he was released amid the acclamations of the people. He then united with the Duke of Monmouth in his intrigues for dethroning the king; but the other great popular leaders refused to co-operate with him, and finding himself again exposed to the vengeance of his powerful enemies he passed over to Holland, where he soon after died, unhonoured and unwept, a sad example of the results of unprincipled ambition, though aided by the most consummate abilities.

As usual in such cases, the severe measures of the government

served to silence all open opposition, but left the cause of the disorder to fester in secret and inflame the whole social and political body. The malcontents were of two principal classes,—one consisting of the reckless partisans of Shaftsbury, who, having but little to lose, were for bringing about a violent revolution; of whose mode of action the Rye-house plot is an example. The other was of a better kind,—consisting of those who had refused to enter with Shaftsbury into the designs of Monmouth, and now rather meditated action than engaged in any overt revolutionary measures. With these Sidney was associated, though he evidently viewed both the means and the end proposed with comparative indifference. A change of the succession he viewed as only a temporary mitigation of the radical disorder of the body politic—a more thorough change he felt to be necessary for the real emancipation of the nation. He, however, consented to consult with some of the more eminent of the leaders of the advocates of the proposed changes, among whom, besides Monmouth, were the Lords Howard, Russell, and Essex, and Mr. Hampden, grandson of the great patriot of that name. With these Sidney met twice to consult on the state of public affairs, but nothing was done or agreed upon. Indeed, the parties themselves were not agreed: Russell and Hampden were favourable to the existing constitution of the realm, and desired only a better administration; Essex and Sidney longed for their favourite commonwealth; Howard was simply selfish, and opposed to the ruling powers; and Monmouth wanted to be king of England. Where such discordant views were entertained by the consulting parties, it could not be expected that plans of action would be matured, much less treasonable actions performed. In the meantime the promulgation of the Rye-house plot produced a panic in the kingdom, by which many innocent persons were exposed to unjust and dangerous suspicions. Sidney especially suffered by it. The government had long awaited an opportunity to wreak its vengeance upon him, and now the occasion was afforded. He, however, suspected nothing of the kind, as he knew that he had carefully abstained from whatever might be construed into an evil design towards the government; and in the consciousness of innocence he dreaded no danger. But in such times malevolence may utter accusations without evidence and be credited, for innocence ceases to be a protection. It was determined at once to arrest the six so-called conspirators; and accordingly, in a few days, all, except Monmouth, who saved himself by a timely flight, were cast into prison. Of these, Lord Howard purchased a worthless life by pretending to turn king's evidence, and swearing to order against his former associates; Russell and Sidney died by

judicial murders; Lord Essex was found dead in prison, but whether he fell by his own hands or by those of an assassin was never fully determined; and Hampden, against whom not even perjury itself could prove treason, was mulcted of a ruinous fine.

Our space will not permit us to enter upon a full review of the trial of Sidney, though such an examination would be pertinent to our subject, and highly illustrative of the manners of the times. It took place in the Court of King's Bench, before the infamous Lord Jeffries,—who, for his judicial iniquities, has attained an execrable immortality,—then recently appointed chief justice, aided by three assistant judges, of characters suited to their associations. The jury consisted for the most part of the dregs of the people, and even these were examined beforehand, that there should not be, by any possibility, a failure as to the desired verdict. The indictment specified nothing; nor was the prisoner informed, before the trial, on what statute he was to be tried. He was not permitted to challenge the jurors for favour, nor was he allowed the aid of counsel. He was charged with compassing the king's death, and the time designated was shown to be subsequent to his arrest, and while he was a close prisoner in the tower. Much irrelevant matter was permitted to be introduced as evidence by the prosecution, which, while it proved nothing as to the charges for which the prisoner was on his trial, yet had a direct tendency to embarrass his case. The only witness that pretended to testify to the matter charged, was the perfidious Lord Howard, who, besides the fact of his being a purchased witness, was proved to have declared just the opposite of what he had testified in court, and had also alleged that his own pardon depended on his doing the "drudgery of swearing." To make out a second witness the prosecution produced a paper, (an abridgment of the Discourses on Government,) found in Sidney's trunk on the day of his arrest, which it was declared contained certain treasonable expressions. It was in vain that the prisoner objected to making a piece of paper a witness in the sense of the statute,—the chief justice pronounced it a good-enough witness; or that he refused to acknowledge it to be his own; or that he contended that though it were shown to be his, yet as he had never published abroad what was there written, nor yet avowed it as his sentiments, the writing could not be justly construed to be an overt act of treason. But a still greater difficulty was to be overcome by the prosecution. Though the competency of both witnesses were granted, and the sufficiency of their testimony to describe real acts of treason, still the two witnesses spoke of entirely-different things, whereas the statute declared that they should testify to the same overt action.

This objection, however, was overruled by the chief justice, and the jury were charged that if they believed the witnesses on their oaths they must find the prisoner guilty; which they accordingly did after a very brief consultation, aided, it is affirmed, even in that sacred duty by the presence and authority of the brutal and blood-thirsty judge.

The conduct of the prisoner in these trying circumstances, was firm but gentle and conciliatory, bespeaking at once a consciousness of innocence, and an earnest desire to escape the doom prepared for him; but restrained by self-respect and love of right from denying that truth for which he had already suffered everything but death, or from meanly cringing to the power so basely prostituted to effect his ruin. He needed not to reassert his noble sentiments of universal liberty; they were already known, and he neither retracted them nor mitigated their force; and probably he fondly hoped that silence on that subject might be advantageous to him. Vane, in the same circumstances, boldly justified his actions, and reasserted the sentiments for which he was about to suffer; but Sidney, intent on saving his life, though he could not do violence to his own convictions of right, nor basely cringe before the tyrant-power by which his life was hunted, yet forbore to use any means that might tend needlessly to produce irritation. The former course may, indeed, seem the more *heroic;* it can hardly be esteemed the more *manly,* or better befitting a dying Christian.

This mock trial has never yet found any to defend it, or even successfully to mitigate its atrocities. Bishop Burnet states, that even in that corrupt age, when legal iniquities were far from being unusual, "this trial was universally cried out on, as a piece of most enormous injustice." Hume, the ready apologist for the crimes of kings, admits the insufficiency of the evidence on which Sidney was condemned, and styles the whole transaction the greatest blemish of this reign; but most unjustly throws the blame upon the jury, as though that herd of vagabonds whom the royal officers had thrust into the jury-box could serve as scape-goats to bear away the sins of the sheriffs, solicitors, court, and king, all of whom were actors in the bloody tragedy. Macaulay remarks briefly: "Sidney, of whose guilt no legal evidence could be produced, was beheaded in defiance of law and justice." But the statement of Mr. Charles James Fox most amply and justly characterizes this nefarious affair: "The production of papers containing speculative opinions on government and liberty, written long before, and perhaps never intended to be published, together with the use made of those papers, in considering them as a substitute for the second witness to the overt act, exhibited

such a compound of wickedness and nonsense as is hardly to be paralleled in the history of judicial tyranny. But the validity of pretences was little attended to at that time in the case of a person *whom the Court had devoted to destruction.*" In the proceedings of the House of Commons after the Revolution, reversing the attainder of Russell and Sidney, the term "murder" is applied to their executions.

During the interval between his condemnation and execution, at the earnest solicitation of his friends, Sidney petitioned the king to grant him a new trial, setting forth in his "Apology" the irregularities of the proceedings of the Court of King's Bench, in his case. This paper is still preserved, and serves as a monument both to his own integrity and to the infamy of those who compassed his death by means so iniquitous.

The conduct of Sidney after he was assured that it was the fixed purpose of his enemies that he should die, was such as at once bespeaks the Roman and the Christian. His manner was quiet, and, apparently, he felt no fear of death. He engaged the attendance of one or more Independent ministers as spiritual assistants, to whom he expressed a deep penitence for his past sins, and an unshaken confidence in the mercy of God. When the warrant for his execution was shown him he examined it with apparent unconcern, and in everything manifested a quiet cheerfulness that surprised all who saw him. He met death with characteristic intrepidity and insensibility to fear. There was no vain parade or display, no proud exhibition of animal courage; as on the other hand there was no shrinking and unseemly dread of a momentary pang. As he came to the scaffold he handed a paper to the sheriff, adding, "I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to say to men." He then laid aside his outer garments, and added, "I am ready to die; I will give you no further trouble." He then knelt down for a few moments, apparently engaged in prayer, and then rising up calmly laid his head upon the block. The executioner, according to custom, asked him if he should rise again. "Not till the morning of the resurrection,—*strike on,*" was his reply; and a single blow severed the head from the body. Thus died *Algernon Sidney,* a martyr to the cause of civil liberty,—a cause that had ever called forth the warmest aspirations of his heart with a steadiness of devotion that knew neither abatement nor variableness. His death was among the last sacrifices offered by tyranny in England upon the altars of despotism. In less than ten years after his demise the principles for which he suffered were embodied in the new frame of government set up in his native country. As he had lived to pur-

pose, so his death was not in vain. Perpetual generations of freemen shall venerate his name.

A few remarks as to the personal character of our subject must close this article. An indefinite notion has prevailed that he was sceptical in matters of religion; and indeed Hume classes him with Harrington and Challoner, as a rejecter of Divine revelation,—a statement by which the audacity and ignorance of that writer are alike evinced. Burnet, though better informed and more just, also speaks doubtfully upon this subject. "He *seemed* to be a Christian," is the language of that gossiping prelate, "but in a particular form of his own; he thought it was to be like a divine philosophy of mind, but he was against all public worship, and everything that looked like a Church." It is easy to conceive how opposition to the senseless and pernicious forms with which public worship was burdened in the English Church, might, by such a man as Burnet, be mistaken for opposition to *all* public worship. No doubt Sidney's Christianity was somewhat peculiar, as he avoided alike the vapid formalism of the Church and the wild enthusiasm of the sects. But probably there was more justice in the bishop's remarks than would appear at first notice. A philosophical quietism was then much cherished by some of the most devout persons in the kingdom—the vital principle of Quakerism; and though Sidney was no Quaker, yet he is known to have been familiar with, and much esteemed by Wm. Penn, and there was evidently a considerable degree of sympathy between these two distinguished persons. No one at all conversant with Sidney's history can, for a moment, suppose he was sceptical as to the divine character of Christianity; he appears also to have been a devout man. His dying testimony is sufficient proof on both these points; for such a testimony at this day would seem rather to indicate distinguished faith and devotion than to be compatible with partial scepticism and doubtful faith.

In his private character he was above reproach. This is said with a full knowledge of the fact that the pen of the defamer has been moved against him. Hume arraigns him for a breach of faith, in "applying for the king's pardon, and then on his return entering into cabals for rebellion"—a grave charge indeed, but without foundation. He neither asked nor would accept of the king's pardon, and when he returned into England he did so without conditions or stipulations; nor is it proved that he entered into "cabals for rebellion," as the only proof of that fact is the utterly worthless testimony of Lord Howard, who himself had stated just the contrary in a variety of cases. A more serious charge has been brought against him for receiving a bribe from the king of France against his own

country. The evidence of this is found in the despatches of Barillon, the minister at the English court, to the French secretary. Among the sums there accounted for by that minister, as expended in his secret service, is one charged to Sidney. This is certainly rather inadequate evidence on which to convict a person, of an almost-romantic elevation of character, of a base transaction. One may fancy a variety of ways far less improbable than the supposition of corruption in Sidney, in which such a statement might have originated. It is not certain that Sidney had not a just and honorable claim for the sum charged to him for services wholly distinct from court-intrigues; nor is it a violent supposition to suspect that Barillon might have made use of the money intrusted to him in a way that he did not choose to communicate to his superiors, and so chose to make an entry against a person well known at the French court. Sidney at that time was not worth buying, as he was almost completely without political influence; nor was he in a position to need money as he had been while in France, where he proved himself to be above the power of temptation. The accusation therefore rests upon evidence quite too slight to entitle it to a moment's credit, though the calumny is endorsed by Macaulay and some other liberal writers.

Sidney's education and associations in life gave him an elevation of manner that was sometimes taken for pride and haughtiness of character. Bishop Burnet, in the sketch already quoted from, further remarks, "He was a man of extraordinary courage, a steady man even to obstinacy, sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper that would not bear contradiction. . . . He was stiff in all republican principles. He had studied the history of government in all its branches, beyond any man I ever knew. He had a particular way of insinuating himself into people that would hearken to his notions and not contradict him." He had studied with the zeal of an amateur the characters of the old Romans, and it is said that he made Marcus Brutus his model in life and manners.

The strength of his patriotism is sufficiently proved in his history. His private virtues adorned every period of his life, and the stern integrity of his character made him more formidable to his enemies than all the machinations of the heartless intriguers that agreed with him in loathing the perfidious court. But those qualities which we admire in contemplation unfitted him for successful co-operation with the men of his times. He was too honest to enter into their designs; for though the end proposed might be approved by him, his soul abhorred the means by which those ends were often sought to be obtained. In other times

he might have found companionship in kindred spirits, with whom his virtues would have been appreciated and his sacrifices rewarded; as it was, he lived in the seed-time of civil and religious liberty, rather than at the harvest,—it is ours to reap the rich reward of his labours and sufferings.

Art. IV.—THE GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

[SECOND PAPER.]

II. CHURCH OFFICES.

§ 6. *The Apostolate.*

It belongs to the conception of an apostle, that he should have been an eye and ear witness of the principal facts of the life of Jesus,—above all, of the resurrection, (Acts i, 21, 22; compare 1 Cor. ix, 1,)—and that his call to office should be directly personal from Christ himself without any human intervention. Here rises at once, however, a difficulty in regard to Matthias and Paul, who were brought into the original college after the ascension. Matthias possessed indeed the first qualification, but was chosen of men by means of the lot, and this also without any Divine direction, as it would seem, on the mere suggestion of the precipitate Peter, who supposed that they must at once proceed to fill the vacancy created in the sacred twelve by the crime of Judas, without waiting for the promised outpouring of the Spirit. Paul, on the contrary, had not known Jesus after the flesh;* but in place of this the glorified Christ appeared to him in visible form on his way to Damascus, (1 Cor. ix, 1; xv, 8,) and clothed him with the commission of an apostle for Gentiles and Jews. He lays special stress on the fact, moreover, that he had been called to his office not by any human mediation but directly by the Lord himself, and had received his Gospel, not even from the older apostles, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, (Gal. i, 1, 11, seqq.) If then we are still to hold fast the necessity and symbolical significance of the sacred number *twelve*,†

* From 2 Cor. v, 16, indeed, some expositors would infer the contrary; but without sufficient ground. At all events such acquaintance would have been for him of no use, as he was then an unbeliever, and must have counted the Saviour either an enthusiast or an impostor.

† The number twelve was so fixed, that the apostles are often styled simply *οἱ δώδεκα*, Matt. xxvi, 14, 47; John vi, 67; xx, 24, etc.; and this even after the resurrection, when the college was no longer full, 1 Cor. xv, 5.

which refers not merely to the twelve tribes of the Jews, but to universal Christendom as the true spiritual Israel, (yea, even the foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem itself, we are told, bear "the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb," Rev. xxi, 14,) there is no alternative but to pronounce the election of Matthias a well-meant but still rash and invalid proceeding, and to substitute Paul for him as the legitimate completion of the apostolic college. At all events it is not advisable to extend the number of proper regular apostles beyond Paul, although there were undoubtedly a number of *apostolical* men.*

From this peculiar personal relation of the apostles to Christ, we may understand now their office and its significance for the Church. They are the representatives and vicegerents of Christ, the bearers and infallible organs of the Holy Ghost, the founders and pillars of the universal Church.† That Peter styles himself a "fellow-elder," (*συμπρεσβύτερος*, 1 Peter v, 1; comp. 2 John 1, and 3 John 1,) does not show, by any means of course, that they were merely presbyters, or congregational officers, just as little as the title "commilitones" from a Roman general to his soldiers can be taken to mean that both were of the same rank. The apostles were in truth deacons and bishops, but at the same time much more; their office looked,

* So before all *Barnabas*, one of the two candidates for the vacant place of Judas, the mediator by whom Paul was first introduced to the older apostles, (Acts ix, 27,) the companion of his first missionary tour, (Acts xiii, 2, 3,) and afterwards an independent labourer in the work of the Gospel, (Acts xv, 39,) whose name is always mentioned with honour. Possibly also he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. Paul joins him with himself, 1 Cor. ix, 6, (he speaks here, however, not merely of the apostles, but also of the brethren of the Lord, and Timothy is honoured with the same juxtaposition in the inscriptions of several of his epistles;) in the Acts of the Apostles Barnabas is first put before Paul, (even after the council of Jerusalem, xv, 12, though the reverse order is found already, xiii, 43, 46, 50,) and twice, xiv, 4, 14, he is made to share with him the title *ἀπόστολοι*, while yet he is never called *ἀπόστολος* separately. In other places, where the word is used of mere fellow-labourers of the apostles, it is to be taken in its wider sense of *messenger* or a person *sent*. Epaphroditus, Phil. ii, 25, is styled *ἀπόστολος* as the delegate of the congregation at Philippi; and in the same way the *ἀπόστολοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, 2 Cor. viii, 23, are to be considered deputies representing particular Churches. When it is said, Rom. xvi, 7, of the otherwise unknown Roman missionaries Andronicus and Junia, (some, as *Chrysostom* and *Grotius*, take *Ἰουνίαν* as an accusative from *Ἰουνία*, and understand thus the wife of Andronicus,) that they were *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, it is to be referred to the good credit they had with the proper apostles. So it is explained by *Beza*, *Grotius*, *Meyer*, and others of the best interpreters.

† Compare such passages as Matt. xvi, 18, seq.; xviii. 18; John xx, 22, seq.; xiv, 26; xvi, 13; Acts i, 5; ii, 4; 2 Cor. v, 20; Eph. ii, 20; Gal. ii, 9; Rev. xxi, 14.

and through their word still looks, to universal Christendom, in both doctrine and discipline. They formed, after the Lord ceased to be visibly present in the world, the highest tribunal of appeal, the last all-sufficient authority, as the inspired interpreters of the economy of salvation; and to this day their writings, those records of the Christian revelation in its primitive purity and freshness, remain the infallible norm and rule both of faith and life. So far as doctrine is concerned, they could challenge for their teaching unconditional obedience, as the Spirit of God himself spake through them in an infallible way, gave them mouth and wisdom, (Matt. x, 19, seq; Mark xiii, 11; Luke xii, 12; xxi, 15,) and it is not to be imagined at all, that they would suffer themselves to be corrected here or advised in any point by the congregations which owed to them, in fact, their very existence. Their writings are addressed immediately indeed to single Churches or persons, but through these they look also to all Christians of all times. As regards Church government and discipline, they had the oversight and charge of all the Churches, as Paul himself expressly says, 2 Cor. xi, 28, 29: "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? (by sympathy and common interest.) Who is offended, and I burn not?" When Peter calls himself co-presbyter, it implies at the same time that he took part, though absent in the body, in the government of the single congregations to which he wrote, (1 Pet. v, 1.) It lay indeed in the nature of the case, that the apostles in their missionary work took different parts of the vast field. Paul laid it down as a principle for himself, to labour in those regions where the Gospel had not yet been preached by any of his colleagues, (Rom. xv, 20, seq.; 2 Cor. x, 13–16;) and after the agreement entered into at the council of Jerusalem, A. D. 50, he gave himself mainly with Barnabas to the service of the Gentiles, while James, Peter, and John, on the contrary, continued among the Jews, Gal. ii, 7–9.* But this destroyed not the official relation in which each stood of right to the entire field. For Paul turned first in every city to the Jews, Peter wrote to congregations in Asia Minor formed by Paul and mainly of Gentile converts, both came together at last according to tradition in Rome where they then exercised probably a joint oversight, and after their death John succeeded to the sphere of Paul's labours in Asia Minor.

In virtue of this universal vocation, the apostles were not only

* This fact probably lies at the foundation of the old story, that the Apostles divided themselves at Jerusalem among the different countries of the earth. Compare *Socrates* Hist. Eccles. I, 19, *Rufinus* Hist. Eccles. I, 9, and *Theodoret* ad Ps. 116.

evangelists for the whole unconverted world, (Matt. xxviii, 20,) but the living bond at the same time and personal representation of the internal and external unity of the Churches already organized.* The most perfect outward exhibition of the unity of the apostolic Church, is to be found in the well-known council of Jerusalem already noticed. This is, at the same time, a primitive sanction of the *synodical* system, in which all orders of the Church are represented, to transact business and settle questions of general concern, and to decide in the last resort.

With all this comprehensive authority, however, with all this independent personal authority, which every one had in his own sphere, and in virtue of which, for instance, Paul once even rebuked the earlier-called and high-standing Peter, (Gal ii, 11–14,) the apostles still regarded themselves as a collegiate corporation and exercised their power as organic members thereof and with a feeling of responsibility to it as a whole. They did not stand apart, but completed one another reciprocally with their gifts and peculiarities, so as to present a full-toned harmony. And as they were thus united with one another, so were they also with the Church, whose unity they personally represented. We have already seen that with all the authority they had immediately from Christ, they still forced nothing violently on the congregations, but presided over them with a feeling of living sympathy and consent—that is, in a strictly evangelical way. Hence the calling together of the council on the occasion of the great controversy in regard to the admission of the Gentiles, that the decision might proceed from the whole body. They required no acknowledgment of their authority that did not rest on free conviction and love, no obedience to their ordinances that did not proceed from the living experience of the power of Divine truth in their own hearts. From all tyranny over conscience, from all arbitrary hierarchical despotism, they were heaven-wide remote. They saw the end and purpose of the Church, not in the mere relation of one governing and others being governed, but in the living co-operation and brotherly helping together of all under the common Head, the Saviour of the body. (Eph. iv; 1 Cor. xii.) They fed the flock, with the fullest respect and regard for the rights, the freedom, and the high worth even of the humblest of the souls committed to their care. They recognised in every believer a member of the same body and a dear brother in Christ, and saw in the saints collectively a family of the free children of God, a holy people, and a

* Compare Rom. xvi, 16, "The *Churches* of Christ salute you;" 1 Cor. xvi, 19, "The *Churches of Asia* salute you;" ver. 20, "*All the brethren* greet you;" Heb. xiii, 24, &c.

royal priesthood, to show forth the praises of him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. (1 Pet. ii, 5, 9.)

With the universal destination of the apostles stands connected also their mode of life, as they were not stationed at any fixed point nor confined to one diocese, but spent their time mainly in missionary and visitation tours. Only James the Just forms an exception to this, who, according to all we know of him, (compare Acts xii, 17; xv, 13–21; xxi, 18,) had his permanent residence in the theocratic metropolis, and for this reason, even in the ancient Church, from Clemens Alexandrinus on, is almost universally styled at once the first *bishop* of Jerusalem.* Still we may not on this account put him fully into the same category with the proper bishops of a later time. He stood in the mother Church as the representative of the apostolical college, and acted in its name.† To him fell, as it would seem, after the apostolical convention, the superintendence of the entire Jewish Christianity in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, as his Epistle also is addressed accordingly to all converts from Israel.

Note.—The question, lately brought up again by the English-German sect of the modern Montanists, in relation to the continuance or revival of the apostolical office, does not belong properly to this historical sketch, and can be only briefly glanced at here accordingly in the way of appendix. It is much of one nature with the question of the continuance of spiritual gifts; for gifts and offices are closely connected together, like soul and body. We must distinguish here also between form and substance. The apostles occupy immediately a wholly-peculiar position, in which none can rival or supplant them; by the fact, namely: 1. Of their having been *personally* called by Christ without any human intervention. 2. Of their being the *inspired* and *infallible* bearers of the Christian revelation. 3. Also the *founders* of the Church; and, 4. Of their standing in a *representative* relation to the universal Christian world, (not simply to the Jews.) As the Lord himself called only twelve, and promised them that they should hereafter sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, (Matt. xix, 28,) so the last book of the Bible also knows only of the "twelve apostles of the Lamb," whose

* See the citations from the fathers in *Rothe*, p. 264, seqq. On the other hand, however, this very position of James in contrast with the missionary life of the apostles, is one of the arguments which go against the supposition of his identity with the younger apostle of this name, and in favour of the opinion that he was only (like Barnabas) an apostle-like man, whose great credit rested partly on his own character, and partly on his relationship to the Lord.

† *Rothe*, p. 267, seqq. See also the statement of *Hegesippus* in Euseb. II, 23, where it is said of James in the very beginning: *διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, which is not to be translated, with Jerome, *post* apostolos, but signifies *in connexion with* the apostles. Hegesippus does not call James, himself, bishop, but he applies this title to his successor, Simeon, the son of Cleophas and relative of Jesus, Euseb. IV, 22: *μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον. . . . . Συμεῶν. . . . καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον.*

§ 7. *Prophets.*

The second class of officers, which we find mentioned Eph. ii, 20; iii, 5; iv, 11; 1 Cor. xii, 28, seq., immediately after the apostles, are

names are written on the twelve foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem, (Rev. xxi, 14; compare xii, 1, the twelve stars on the crown of Christ's spouse.) Under these aspects, their office must be considered untransferable. We do not find accordingly that after the death of an apostle, as, for instance, of the elder James, (Acts xii, 2,) their number was filled up; and in the latter part of the first century, John is found to be the only surviving member of the college. On the other hand, however, there is room also to speak of the *unbroken continuation* of the apostolate. For, in the first place, the apostles, originally appointed by our Lord, *still live* and work, not only personally in the Church above, which stands in mystical union with the Church here below, but also through their normative word and their spirit in this last itself, ministering to it daily and hourly all forms of spiritual service and aid. Then again, *every regularly-called minister* (and not merely the bishops, as the Romanists and Anglicans pretend) is, as to the essential character of his office, in the broad sense, *a successor of the apostles*, inasmuch as he also stands as an ambassador in Christ's place, and in his name and as his organ, offers to penitent sinners, by word and sacrament, all the benefits of redemption, which are still to this day a savour of life unto life and a savour of death unto death. For although much that is human and worldly has crept into the whole administration of the Church, in the language of the pious *Rieger*, "The blessed God is still as much in earnest with the upholding of the Gospel of his Son at the present day, as he was with the first proclamation of it in the beginning; and therefore we may still be as happy in the institution, the call, the qualifications, and the benefits of the ministerial office, as it was proper to be in the earliest times." Finally: as there were even in the beginning, along with the proper apostles, *apostolical* men, such as Barnabas, to whom also the name was allowed to extend, at least in its wider sense, so the Lord of the Church continues to send, from time to time, altogether extraordinary instruments, in the character of great *national missionaries* and genial *reformers*, who exercise, if not over the whole of the Christian world, still over some large part of it, a truly apostle-like influence, and gain from it a corresponding credit and reputation. Generally, indeed, we may say, almost all epoch-forming movements in history proceed from highly-gifted and imposing individuals, in whom a great idea has taken flesh and blood, and so presents itself to the age in concrete, and, as it were, palpable life and freshness. That our own time also stands in need of such heroes in the sphere of religion, to solve, theoretically and practically, the confusion of the Church as it now stands, and to pave the way creatively for the Church of the future, we are ourselves firmly convinced, and hold it to be the duty of Christians to pray, that it may please the Lord to raise them up and arm them for their work. That they have already appeared, however, in the so-called Irvingian "*apostles*," we must be allowed, with all respect for their uprightness and their well-meant intentions, to hold in vehement doubt—even after reading the apostle *Carlyle's* tract, translated by Dr. *H. Thiersch*: "The Apostolical Office. Its original Form, its Failure, and its Restoration. Published as Manuscript. Berlin, 1850." The Lord has never forsaken his Church nor left himself without witness in it; in proportion as any one gives up the rationality of history in despair, he denies also the precious fundamental truth of God's universal providence.

the *prophets*. By these we are to understand, inspired teachers and glowing proclaimers of Divine mysteries. They were not bound to any given place, but presented themselves in different Churches, teaching, exhorting, and encouraging, as they were moved by a higher impulse of the Spirit. They appear also to have exercised a special influence over the election of other officers, as they turned attention towards those persons, whom the voice of revelation, in connexion with prayer and fasting, pointed out as fit instruments for spreading the Gospel or for any other service in the kingdom of God. (Acts xiii, 1, seq.; xvi, 2; compare 1 Tim. i, 18; iv, 14.) As prophets we find casually named in the Acts of the Apostles, *Agabus*, who meets us first at Antioch, (xi, 28,) and afterwards again in Cesarea, (xxi, 10,) also the missionary *Barnabas*, (compare iv, 36,) *Simeon*, *Lucius*, (not to be confounded with Luke,) *Manaen* and *Saul*, (the apostle,) at Antioch (xiii, 1,) *Judas*, and Paul's companion the evangelist *Silas*, (xv, 32.) Above all, however, are the apostles themselves to be considered such. For when it is said of Christians, Eph. ii, 20, that they are builded on the foundation of the apostles and prophets (*τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν*,) the omission of the article in the second case itself shows that both these conceptions, as in the parallel passage, iii, 5, also, must be closely joined together in the sense, "the apostles who are at the same time *prophets*."* For the apostles have, indeed, as organs of the Holy Ghost, as receivers of the Christian revelation, (compare Gal. i, 12,) proclaimed the whole plan of salvation and disclosed or brought to light thus what was before a mystery. In this view also their word and their writings are prophetical, in a higher sense than the Scriptures of the Old Testament.†

§ 8. *Evangelists.*

The third rank is assigned by Paul, Eph. iv, 11, to the *evangelists* or travelling missionaries.‡ Their name itself indicates, that their business consisted mainly in the proclamation of the glad news of salvation, primarily among nations not yet converted, but still not among such exclusively; for the Gospel needs to be declared and offered anew continually to those also who are already believers.

* To make it refer to the Old Testament prophets is utterly inadmissible; partly because of the order, partly and mainly because of the parallel passages, Eph. iv, 11, and iii, 5, where the *ὡς νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη* shuts us up to the New Testament revelation. Compare also *Stier's* exposition, Comment. I, s. 384, seqq.

† Compare the passages, Rom. xvi, 26; 2 Pet. i, 19; iii, 15, 16; and *Stier's* observations, s. 389, seq.

‡ So *Theodoret*: *ἐκεῖνοι περιόντες ἐκήρυττον*. Compare also *Neander*, vol. i, 258.

The matter of their preaching thus was historical, and turned mainly on the leading facts of the Saviour's life, particularly his resurrection.* Hence grew easily the later usage of speech, by which the designation was transferred to the authors of our written Gospels. We find the evangelists commonly in the immediate company or service of the apostles, as their "helps" and "fellow-labourers," (*συνεργοί, συνδοῦλοι, κοινωνοί*, Phil. iv, 3; Col. i, 7; 2 Cor. viii, 23.)† Paul had most need of them in his widely-extended field of labour, and we find him attended in fact, on his last journey to Jerusalem, with seven such assistants, (Acts xx, 4, 5.) To this class of Church officers belong the deacon *Philip*, who first preached the Messiah to the Samaritans, then baptized the Ethiopian eunuch on his way from Jerusalem to Gaza, and finally laboured in Cesarea, (Acts viii, 5, seqq., 26, seqq.; xxi, 8, where he is styled "the evangelist;") *Timothy*, (compare 2 Tim. iv, 5, *ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ*,) whom Paul held in special regard, and names along with himself in the inscriptions of several of his epistles; *Titus*, a Gentile convert, by birth, perhaps, of Corinth, (Gal. ii, 1; 2 Cor. viii, 23; vii, 6, 14; xii, 18; Tit. i, 5;) *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, a prophet from the Church at Jerusalem, (Acts xv, 22, 32,) who accompanied the apostle of the Gentiles on his second missionary tour, (Acts xv, 40; xvi, 19, 25; xvii, 4; xviii, 5; 1 Thess. i, 1, where he is put before Timothy, probably as being his senior in age,) and is found finally in company with Peter, (1 Pet. v. 12;) *Luke*, the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles, (where he does not indeed reveal his name expressly, but includes himself when he narrates in the first person plural,) at the same time a physician, (according to Col. iv, 14,) and one of Paul's most faithful attendants, who did not forsake him even in his last captivity, (Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv, 11;) *John Mark*, of Jerusalem, missionary assistant of Paul, then of Barnabas his uncle, later again in Paul's company, and finally (as we may suppose also at intervals previously) in that of Peter, to whom probably he owed his conversion, and whom he served as an amanuensis, (Acts xii, 25; xiii, 5, 13; xv, 39; Col. iv, 10; Philem 24; 2 Tim. iv, 11; 1 Pet. v, 13;) *Clement*, (Phil. iv, 3;) *Epaphras*, the founder of the Co-

* *Bengel* observes well on Eph. iv, 11: Propheta de *futuris*, (not solely however,) evangelista de *praeteritis* infallibiliter testatur; propheta totam habet a Spiritu, evangelista rem visu et auditu perceptam memoriae prodit, charismate tamen majori ad munus maximi momenti instructus, quam pastores et doctores.

† *Calvin* accordingly (Instit. IV., 3, § 4,) describes evangelists as such, "Qui quum dignitate essent apostolis minores, officio tamen proximi erant adeoque vices eorum gerebant. Quales fuerunt Lucas, Timotheus, Titus et reliqui similes, ac fortasse etiam septuaginta discipuli, quos secundo ab apostolis loco Christus desiguavit, (Luke x, 1.)"

lossian and other Phrygian Churches, whom we meet at last along with his imprisoned teacher at Rome, (Col. i, 7; iv, 12, 13;) *Epaphroditus*, the delegate of the Philippians, whom some commentators, without reason, hold to be the same person with Epaphras, (Phil. ii, 25;) perhaps also *Tychicus* (Tit. iii, 12,) *Trophimus*, *Demas*, *Apollos*, and other co-labourers of the apostles.*

From these examples it is sufficiently plain, that the evangelists also were no *congregational* officers,† and that they were not stationed, like the presbyters and later bishops, in fixed places, but travelled around freely wherever necessity required. The apostles sent them for different purposes to all points of their great sphere of action:‡ now for the wider dissemination of the Gospel; then for the transmission of letters; and again, to visit, inspect, and confirm congregations already established: so that they also served, like the apostles themselves, as living bonds of union and promoters of brotherly concord among the different sections of the Church. In short, they were, in a certain sense, the vicegerents of the apostles, and acted under their direction and with their authority, like the commissioners of a king. Thus we find Timothy, soon after his conversion, in missionary service, (Acts xvi, 2, seqq.;) then he is at Ephesus, to carry out the organization of the Church and repress false doctrines which had appeared during Paul's absence, (1 Tim. i, 3; iii, 14, 15; iv, 13;) next he is sent by Paul to Corinth, (Acts xix, 22; 1 Cor. iv, 17, seqq.; xvi, 10;) falls in with him again in Macedonia, (2 Cor. i, 1;) accompanies the apostle in his last journey to Jerusalem, (Acts xx, 4;) is with him in his confinement at Rome, (Col. i, 1; Philem. 1; Phil. i, 1;) goes as a delegate with an epistle to the Church at Philippi, to inquire into its state, (Phil.

* Many of these men in the later tradition are made bishops: to *Timothy* is assigned, as a diocese, Ephesus; to *Titus*, Crete, (in the Const. Apost. VII, 46, by Euseb. H. E., III, 4, Jerome Catal. sub Tim. and Tit., and others;) to *Epaphroditus*, Philippi, (by Theodoret on Phil. i, 1, and ii, 25, on account of the title ἀπόστολος;) to Apollos, Cesarea, (Menolog. Graec. II, p. 17;) to *Tychicus*, Chalcedon; and Paul's συνεργός Clement is held generally to be the same person with the well-known Roman bishop of this name. But leaving the last case out of view, these traditions are partly in direct contradiction to New Testament facts. Timothy, for example, up to the last captivity of Paul, had no fixed settlement, and after his death it was John rather who presided over the Church at Ephesus. We do not find in the later constitution of the Church any parallel exactly to the office here in question.

† According to the distinction already noticed, as holding between these and *Church* officers. This distinction is wholly overlooked by the writer of the article, "*The Apostleship a temporary Office*," in the Princeton Review for 1849 and 1850, where Timothy and Titus are taken to have been simply common presbyters.

‡ *Rothe* styles them in this view, (p. 305,) not inaptly, *apostolical delegates*.

ii, 19–23;) at the writing of the second epistle addressed to him by Paul, he must have been in the vicinity of Ephesus, from whence he is called shortly before the apostle's end to Rome, (2 Tim. iv, 9, 20;) the Epistle to the Hebrews finally informs us of his being set at liberty from an imprisonment, and of his purpose to travel towards the east, (Heb. xiii, 23.) The case is similar with Titus, who meets us now in Jerusalem, (Gal. ii, 1,) now in Ephesus, now in Corinth, (2 Cor. vii, 6, 14,) then in Crete, (Tit. i, 5,) again in Nicopolis, (Tit. iii, 12,) and finally in Dalmatia, (2 Tim. iv, 10.)

III. CONGREGATIONAL OFFICERS.

§ 9. *Presbyter-Bishops.*

After these three offices, which regard the Church in its universal character, the apostle mentions, Eph. iv, 11, *pastors* and *teachers*, characterizing thus the regular overseers of *single congregations* in their twofold capacity.* These are undoubtedly the same officers, who are elsewhere in the New Testament commonly styled *presbyters* or *elders*, and four times (namely, Acts xx, 28; Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 2; Tit. i, 7) *bishops*, whose business is expressly declared to be the care and conduct of the flock.†

We have now in the first place to explain these terms, and their relation to one another. The name *presbyter*,‡ of one sense with *elder*, is without doubt of Jewish-Christian origin, a transfer namely of the Hebrew title (זקנים) bestowed upon the rulers of the synagogues, on whom rested the direction of religious affairs. It expresses thus immediately the idea of age and the personal respectability that goes along with it,§ and then derivatively the idea of

* That the words ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, on account of the absence of τοὺς δέ must be referred to one and the same office, as is now done by most interpreters following Jerome and Augustine, (e. g., Rückert, Harless, Meyer, Stier—Calvin, however, Beza, and de Wette dissenting,) has been before remarked. Their restriction to a small sphere is noticed already by *Theodoret*, when he speaks of them as τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην ἀοριστεύοντας. True, there is also a universal pastorate and doctorate; but this belongs to the apostles, who, as we have before seen, united in themselves all offices.

† Ποιμαίνειν, Acts xx, 28; so also 1 Pet. v, 1, 2; compare also the close connexion of ποιμήν and ἐπίσκοπος, 1 Pet. ii, 25, where both terms are used of Christ.

‡ Or *presbyters*, as proper accuracy would require us to say in the plural after the Greek πρεσβύτεροι.

§ In this sense, rather than in that of office, John seems to name himself "the elder," or presbyter, 2 John 1, and 3 John 1. Even in the second and third centuries the designation πρεσβύτεροι is still met with, in what may be termed the school of St. John, as a title of honour applied to earlier Church teachers, even where they had been proper bishops in the catholic sense. Compare the passages quoted from *Irenæus* in *Rothe's* work, p. 414, seqq.

official dignity and authority, which are borne ordinarily by men of years and experience.* The name *bishop*, that is *overseer*, is, in all probability, borrowed from the political relations of the Greeks,† was brought accordingly later into ecclesiastical use, and this too in Gentile-Christian congregations, (as in the New Testament also we meet with it only from Paul and his disciple Luke,) and has regard as the word signifies to the official *duty* and *work* of these congregational rulers.‡

Aside from this immaterial difference of origin and signification, however, the two names refer to *one and the same office;* so that the bishops of the New Testament may not be thought of as diocesan bishops in the sense of a later period, but only as mere congregational officers. This appears incontrovertibly from all the passages where this title comes into view. For in Acts xx, 28, Paul addresses as "bishops" the very same rulers of the Ephesian Church to whom he had just before, ver. 17, applied the title of "presbyters." Then in the inscription of his Epistle to the Philippians, (i, 1,) he salutes the saints in Philippi, "together with the bishops and deacons," (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις,) without mentioning the presbyters; which can be explained only on the supposition of their being the same with the bishops. For this too speaks here besides, as Jerome already noticed, the use of the plural form, since there cannot be a number of bishops, according to the later sense of the word, in a single congregation. Next we have the testimony of the pastoral epistles. In Tit. i, 5, the apostle directs his disciple to ordain "presbyters" in the Churches of Crete; then, speaking of the qualities to be regarded in their choice, he suddenly brings in the

* The case is exactly the same with the Greek γερουσία and the Latin *senatus*, which are titles of magistracy borrowed from its proper attributes of age and dignity.

† The delegates namely appointed to organize states dependent on Athens, were called *episcopoi*, as also other persons in power; compare *Suidas* s. v. ἐπίσκοπος, *Scholia* on *Aristophanes*, Aves v. 1023. *Cicero* also employs the word when, writing to Atticus, (Ep. vii, 11,) he says: "Vult me Pompejus esse, quem tota haec Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et summa negotii referatur:" and in somewhat different sense the old Roman jurist, *Arcadius Charisius*, in a fragment of his tract *de muneribus civilibus*, (Digest, lib. IV, Tit. 4, leg. 18, § 7,) where it is said, "Episcopi, qui praesunt pani et caeteris venalibus rebus, quae civitatum populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt." The terms ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπή occur besides frequently also in the LXX., in translation of פְּקִיד, פְּקֻדָּה, and פְּקֻדִּים, Num. iv, 16; xxxi, 14; Judges ix, 28; 2 Kings xi, 16; Nehem. xi, 9, 14; Isa. lx, 17.

‡ So in substance the distinction was understood by *Jerome*, Epist. 82, ad Oceanum: Apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri, quia illud nomen *dignitatis* (he has it more correctly on Tit. i, 7, nomen *officii*) est, hoc *aetatis*.

name "bishops," where yet he has in view plainly the same persons, as is shown even by the causative "for" in ver. 7, (*δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον*, etc.) In 1 Tim. iii, 1–7, he sets forth the qualifications for the episcopate, and then passes on immediately, ver. 8–13, to the requirements for the diaconate, without any mention of the presbyterate, either here or afterwards; and as he yet plainly proposed to give direction concerning *all* the congregational offices, it follows that the bishops and presbyters were the same. Finally: Peter (1 Ep. v, 1, 2) addresses the "presbyters" of the congregations to which he wrote, (and not the bishops, as he must have done in this connexion if they had been a higher class of officers,) as a "fellow-presbyter," and describes it as their business "to feed the flock of God" and to "take the oversight of it," (*ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐ π ι σ κ ο π ο ῦ ν τ ε ς, κ. τ. λ.*;) a clear proof that here also the presbyterate and episcopate fall together, the first denoting here the honour and dignity, the last the duty and function, of one and the same office.*

This identity of presbyters and bishops in the apostolic Church was also acknowledged by the most learned Church fathers, on exegetical grounds, even after the catholic episcopal system (whose origin was referred to the *apostolate*) had come to its full form and force.†

* The same form of speech is still met with in the apostolical father *Clement* of Rome, when he says, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, c. 42, that the apostles ordained the first fruits of the Christian faith, (*τὰς ἀπαρχάς*) in new congregations as *ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*, without any mention of *πρεσβύτεροι*. He chose the other, here plainly equivalent term, because he had in his mind the passage, Isa. lx, 17, where the LXX. translate, *καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἀρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐ π ι σ κ ό π ο υ ς σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.*

† See *Rothe*, p. 207–217, where the passages from the fathers are given at large: also *Gieseler* K. G. I, 1. Anm. 1, (S. 115, seqq., 4, A.) We confine ourselves to the most important. *Jerome* says, ad Tit. i, 7: Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent. . . . Communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur. Then he goes on to quote as proof all the passages of Scripture noticed above. Again, Epist. 85, ad Evagrium, (in the later copies, ad Evangelum:) Nam quum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros et episcopos, etc. Finally, Ep. 82, ad Oceanum (al. 83:) In utraque epistola (the first to Timothy and that to Titus) sive episcopi sive presbyteri (quamquam apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri fuerint, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc aetatis) jubentur monogami in clerum elegi.—So *Ambrosiaster* ad Eph. iv, 11, and the author of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones V. et N. T.*, qu. 101. Among the Greek fathers, *Chrysostom* Hom. I. in Ep. ad Philipp. says: *Συνεπισκόποις* (so he reads Phil. i, 1, instead of *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*) *καὶ διακόνοις. τί τοῦτο; μιᾶς πόλεως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε· τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο, κ. τ. λ.* Still more plainly *Theodoret* ad Phil. i, 1: . . . *ἐπισκόπους δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ, ἀμφότερα γὰρ εἶχον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰ ὀνόματα*, for which he quotes texts already given. So again ad Tim. iii, 1:

On the time and manner of the introduction of this office we have unfortunately no information, as in the case of the diaconate, (Acts vi.) The demand for it arose, no doubt, very early; as notwithstanding the wider diffusion of gifts not restricted to office, provision was to be made plainly for the regular and fixed instruction and conduct of the rapidly multiplying Churches. The historical pattern for it was presented in the Jewish synagogue, namely, in the college or bench of elders, (*πρεσβύτεροι*, Luke vii, 3, *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, Mark v, 22; Acts xiii, 15,) who conducted the functions of public worship, prayer, reading and exposition of the Scriptures. We meet Christian presbyters for the first time, Acts xi, 30, at Jerusalem, on the occasion of the collection sent from the Christians of Antioch for the relief of their brethren in Judea. From thence the institution passed over not only to all the Jewish-Christian Churches, but to those also which were planted among the Gentiles. From the example of the household of Stephanas at Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi, 15, we see that the first converts (the *ἀπαρχαί*) ordinarily were chosen to this office; a fact expressly confirmed also by *Clemens Romanus*.*

ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν πρεσβύτερον λέγει, κ. τ. λ. Even still later theologians of the Middle Ages maintained this view, among whose voices that of Pope Urban II. (A. D. 1091) is especially worthy of note: Sacros autem ordines dicimus diaconatum et presbyteratum. Hos siquidem solos primitiva legitur ecclesia habuisse; super his solum praeceptum habemus apostoli. Among the later Roman Catholic expositors, *Mack* (Comm. über die Pastoral-briefe des Ap. Paulus, Tüb. 1836. S. 60, seqq.) grants in full the identity of the N. T. presbyters and bishops; he sees in them the later presbyters, and takes the later bishops on the contrary for the successors of the apostles and their immediate assistants. This last view is undoubtedly, from the Roman Catholic stand-point, the only tenable derivation of the episcopate. Among Protestant interpreters and historians, this identity has always been asserted; and this even by many learned Episcopalians, as for example by Dr. *Whitby*, who, on Phil. i, 1, admits: "Both the Greek and Latin fathers do with one consent declare, that bishops were called presbyters and presbyters bishops, in apostolic times, the names being then common." Also, to quote a recent authority, by Dr. *Bloomfield*, who, on Acts xx, 17, (Greek Test. with Eng. Notes, etc., Vol. I, p. 560, Phil. ed.,) remarks of the word *πρεσβυτέρους*: "As these persons are at verse 28 called *ἐπισκόπους*, and especially from a comparison of other passages, (as 1 Tim. iii, 1,) the best commentators, ancient and modern, have with reason inferred that the terms as yet denoted the same thing;" although he adds immediately, but without proof, that one of the presbyters was set over the rest, as a bishop in the modern sense. When some English theologians deny the original identity of presbyters and bishops, and pretend to derive the constitution of their Church from the name and office of the N. T. bishops, they can be indeed easily refuted. This, however, by no means settles the question of Church polity. The Episcopal and Presbyterian controversy turns above all on the point rather, whether the *apostles* and their *delegates* have a *permanent* or only a *temporary* character.

* In the passage already quoted, 1 Cor. chap. 42.

After the pattern of the synagogues, as well as of the political administration of cities, which from of old was vested in the hands of a senate or college of *decuriones*, and so carried an aristocratic form, every Church had a *number* of presbyters. We meet them everywhere in the plural and as a corporation; at Jerusalem, Acts xi, 30; xv, 4, 6, 23; xxi, 18; at Ephesus, xx, 17, 28; at Philippi, Phil. i, 1; at the ordination of Timothy, 1 Tim. iv, 14, where mention is made of the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery;* and in the Churches to which James wrote, James v, 14: "Is any sick among you? let him call for the *presbyters of the congregation*, and let them pray over him, &c." This is implied also by the notice, Acts xiv, 23, that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders for *every* Church, several of them of course; and still more clearly by the direction given to Titus, Tit. i, 5, to ordain elders, that is a presbytery of such officers, in *every* city of Crete.* Some learned men indeed have imagined, that the arrangement in the larger cities included several congregations, while, however, each of these had but one elder or bishop; that the principle of congregational polity thus from the beginning was neither democratic nor aristocratic, but monarchical.† But this atomistic view is contradicted by the passages just quoted, in which the presbyters appear as a college, as well as by the associative tendency which entered into the very life of Christians from the beginning. The *household congregations*, (ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον,) which are often mentioned and greeted, (Rom. xvi, 4, 5, 14, 15; 1 Cor. xvi, 19; Col. iv, 15; Philem. 2,) indicate merely the fact that where the Christians had become very numerous, they were accustomed to meet for edification at different places, and by no means exclude the idea of their organized union as a whole, or of their being governed by a common body of presbyters. Hence, accordingly, the apostolical epistles also are never addressed to a separate part, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a conventicle, but always to the whole body of Christians at Rome, at Corinth, at Ephesus, at Philippi, at Thessalonica, &c., treating them in such case as a moral unity, (compare 1 Thess. i, 1; 2 Thess. i, 1; 1 Cor.

* Ἵνα. . . . καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. Dr. *Baur*, indeed, (in his tract against the genuineness of Pastoral Epistles ascribed to Paul, Stuttg. and Tübingen, 1835, p. 81,) takes the plural to refer to the collective sense involved in κατὰ πόλιν, so that Titus was to ordain only one presbyter for each city. But in that case we should expect either κατὰ πόλεις or πρεσβύτερον. The κατὰ πόλιν is more adverbial than collective, in the sense of *oppidatim*, by cities. The case is similar with κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts xiv, 23. Compare *Rothe*, p. 181, seqq.

† So Baur, in the tract just named; and, in somewhat different form, the low Dutch theologian *Kist*, in his article on the origin of episcopacy, (Utrecht, 1830,) translated in *Illgen's* Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie, Bd. II., st. 2, S. 46-90.

i, 2; v, 1, seqq.; 2 Cor. i, 1, 23; ii, 1, seqq.; Col. iv, 16; Phil. i, 1, &c.)*

Whether now a full parity reigned among these collegiate presbyters, or whether one, say the eldest, constantly presided over the rest, or whether finally one followed another in such presidency as *primus inter pares* by some certain rotation, cannot be decisively determined from the New Testament. The analogy of the Jewish synagogue leads here to no entirely sure result, since it is questionable whether a particular presidency belonged to its eldership as early as the time of Christ.† As regards the Roman municipal system, on the contrary, we know that in the senates of the cities out of Italy, one of the decuriones, the most ancient, acted as president under the title *principalis*.‡ Some sort of presidency indeed would seem to be almost indispensable for any well-ordered government and the regular transaction of business, and is thus beforehand probable in the case of these primitive Christian presbyteries; only the particular form of it we have no means to determine.§ So much

* *Neander* well observes against *Kist* and *Baur*, (Kirchengesch., Bd. I., S. 317, 2te Aufl.: "This unity presents itself not as something that should come to pass, but as an original fact grounded from the start in the very nature of the Christian consciousness; and the divisions which threaten to destroy it appear rather in the character of a later sickly accession, as in the Corinthian Church. If also particular meetings of certain portions of the congregation may have formed themselves, in the houses of such as had fit room for the purpose, or were specially qualified to make them edifying, this itself was a later result from the enlarged growth of the general Church already organized, and those who attended such meetings did *not* separate themselves in doing so from the great whole of the Church under its *leading* senate." Compare also *Neander's* Gesch. d. Pflanzung, &c., S. 55 and S. 253 Anm.

† As for example, *Vitringa*, de synag. vet. II, 9–11, and *Winer*, Reallexicon II., S. 550, assume. The only place where one is named directly ἀρχισυνάγωγος, (רֹאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת) is Luke xiii, 14. It may easily be, however, that at this time also, as was the case unquestionably in a later period, a single person sometimes presided over the synagogue in small places instead of a body of rulers; or that Luke means simply the president acting as *primus inter pares* at the time. It goes to make the last probable, that he names Jairus, chap. viii, 41, compare 49, at once ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς, whereas Mark, in the parallel passage, v, 22, describes him as εἷς τῶν ἀρχισυναγώγων. In other passages also besides this Mark v, 22, as Acts xiii, 15; xviii, 8, 17, several ἀρχισυνάγωγοι appear in one and the same synagogue; so that the word is here of the same sense with πρεσβύτεροι, only with the difference, probably, that the first refers to official activity (like ἐπίσκοποι,) but this last to official dignity.

‡ See *Savigny*, Gesch. des rom. Rechts im Mittelalter, I., S. 80–83. In the cities of Italy, a magistrate stood at the head of the body of decuriones.

§ *Rothe*, p. 240 and 528, is of the opinion indeed, that the presbyteries of this time did not need a particular president from themselves, because the apostles and their delegates stood to them in this relation. But these would not be present in every congregation, and on all occasions.

also lies in the nature of the case, that the presbyters divided the different functions of their office among themselves, so as to avoid promiscuous interference and confusion.

§ 10. *The Office of the Presbyters.*

Looking now at the proper official character of the presbyters, they are not to be put in the same class with the later bishops. For these are *Church* officers, and claim, whether it be with or without right, a similar position with that taken by the apostles and their immediate assistants, such as Timothy and Titus. The idea of episcopacy moreover, in its narrower sense, is essentially monarchical, and excludes plurality in one and the same place. The presbyter-bishops were officers rather, as already remarked, of a *single* congregation; within which, however, they had charge of all that pertains to the good order and spiritual prosperity of a religious community. Their office stood them primarily in the care and *conduct* of the congregation. This is indicated even by the different names applied to them and their duties,—namely, "pastors," (ποιμένες, Eph. iv, 11, corresponding with the Hebrew רֹעִים as applied also to synagogue rulers,) who are to "feed" the flock of God, (ποιμαίνειν, Acts xx, 28; 1 Pet. v, 2,) "overseers," (ἐπίσκοποι and ἐπισκοπεῖν, 1 Pet. v, 2, &c.,) "foremen," (προϊστάμενοι, προστῆναι, 1 Thess. v, 12; Rom. xii, 8; 1 Tim. iii, 4, 5, 12; προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Tim. v, 17; compare κυβερνήσεις, 1 Cor. xii, 28,) and "leaders," (ἡγούμενοι, Heb. xiii, 7, 17, 24.) This government of the congregation not only took in the charge of public worship, and a proper vigilant regard to the religious interests of the Church—in other words, the whole province of pastoral care and discipline—but extended to the management of the congregational property also and all pecuniary concerns, as may be inferred from the fact that the collections of the Church at Antioch for their brethren in Judea were delivered into the hands of the presbytery at Jerusalem, Acts xi, 30.

Then again, however, the presbyters were at the same time the regular *teachers* of the congregation, to whom pertained officially the exposition of the Scriptures, the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments. That this function was closely connected with the other is apparent, even from the conjunction of "pastors and teachers," Eph. iv, 11, where the terms, as we have already seen, denote the same persons. The same association of ruling and teaching occurs Heb. xiii, 7: "Remember them which have the rule over you, (ἡγουμένων,) who have spoken unto you the word of God (οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ;) whose

faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." Compare verse 17. Especially decisive, however, are the instructions of the pastoral epistles, where Paul, among the requirements for the presbyterate, in addition to a blameless character and a talent for business and government, expressly mentions also *ability to teach*, 1 Tim. iii, 2: "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, *apt to teach*, (*διδακτικόν*,) &c.;" so also Tit. i, 9, where it is required of a bishop, that he shall "hold fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, (*ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου*,) that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."

These passages forbid us to suppose two different classes of presbyters—one of which, like the lay elders in the Calvinistic Churches, took part in government only and had nothing to do with teaching and sacramental functions; while the other, on the contrary, was devoted entirely or at least mainly to the service of the word and altar. Such a distinction of *ruling* presbyters, belonging to the laity, and *teaching* elders or ministers proper, first suggested by Calvin,* and afterwards further insisted upon by many Protestant (especially Presbyterian) divines,† rests certainly on an altogether judicious ecclesiastical policy, and has so far its full justification; but it cannot be proved at all from the New Testament, and it presupposes besides such an opposition of clergy and laity in the apostolical period as had not yet come to be known. The only passage appealed to is 1 Tim. v, 17: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, *especially they who labour in the word and doctrine*," (*μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*.) This "especially," we are told, implies that there were presbyters also who had nothing to do officially with teaching, and that the teaching presbyters were of higher standing.‡ But this

* Inst. rel. chr. IV, 3, § 8; Gubernatores fuisse existimo seniores ex plebe delectos, qui censurae morum et exercendae disciplinae una cum episcopis praeessent.

† Compare, for example, Dr. *Samuel Miller's* Letters concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry, 2 ed., Phil., 1830, p. 27, seqq., and the declarations there quoted from English theologians. But many Lutherans also have zealously maintained the distinction, as *J. J. Böhmer*, *Ziegler*, &c. Compare *Rothe*, S. 222, Anm.

‡ Thus Dr. *Owen*, for instance, (as cited by Dr. *Miller*, l. c., p. 28:) "This would be a text of uncontrollable evidence, if it had anything but prejudice and interest to contend with. On the first proposal of this text, *that the elders who rule well are worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in word and doctrine*, a rational man who is unprejudiced, who never heard of the controversy of ruling elders, can hardly avoid an apprehension that there are two sorts of elders—some

conclusion is by no means so sure as it seems at first glance. For first, it is questionable whether the accent should not be laid rather on κοπιῶντες, on the laborious diligence shown in teaching, as also on the word καλῶς in the beginning of the sentence, so that the apostle is to be taken, not as opposing *teaching* elders to such as did *not* teach, but as making a distinction between those that ruled *well* and at the same time were *zealous* teachers, and such as attended to both functions in a less earnest way.* In this case the passage would tell rather for the conjunction of ruling and teaching in the same office. If, however, we should even allow the other interpretation, it would serve, at most, only to show the fact that there were presbyters who did not teach, but by no means that this fact was *regular* or *approved* by the apostle, which here is the main consideration. Rather, unless we choose to set him in contradiction with himself, we must assume just the reverse, since he makes aptness to teach, 1 Tim. iii, 2; Tit. i, 9; compare 2 Tim. ii, 24, an indispensable requisition for the presbyteral office, without noticing any exception. It has been pretended besides to find traces of the order of lay elders in the old African Church, and then to argue back from this to its existence in the age of the apostles. But when the documents bearing on the point, as they come down to us from the time of the Donatistic controversy in the beginning of the fourth century, are carefully examined, it is found that the "seniores" or "seniores plebis" in North Africa were not ecclesiastical officers, but civil magistrates belonging to the municipal corporations.†

Finally, also, we cannot approve the view of Dr. *Neander*, according to which the presbyters or bishops generally had nothing to do at first with instruction, but were simple rulers of the congregations, as Paul distinguishes the gift of government (the κυβέρνησις) from the gift of teaching, (διδασκαλία,) Rom. xii, 8; 1 Cor. xii, 28. Teaching, it is supposed, was not bound at first to any office, but exercised by every one who had the proper inward qualification;

that labour in the word and doctrine, and some who do not do so. The truth is, it was interest and prejudice that first caused some learned men to strain their wits to find out evasions from the evidence of this testimony; being so found, some others, of meaner abilities, have been entangled by them." On the other hand there have been distinguished Reformed scholars, even of older date, who have denied that this passage is of any force whatever in favour of lay elders, particularly *Vitringa*, de Synag. Vet., l. II., c. 2 and 3, p. 490–500. Compare also *Mosheim*, Comm. de reb. Christ. a Const. M., p. 126, seqq.

* So the passage is taken by *Rothe*, when he says, p. 224: "The apostle commends to respect those above all among the presbyters who make their official service laborious, and more particularly such as bestow their unwearied diligence mainly on the business of teaching."

† The proof for this is furnished by *Rothe*, p. 227–239.

only afterwards, at the time when the pastoral epistles were written, it was found advisable by the apostle, on account of the coming in of false teachers, to require of the presbyters ability to teach.* Here, however, it is taken for granted that the pastoral epistles are of later date than A. D. 60, an opinion that stands or falls with the extremely precarious hypothesis of a second Roman captivity of their author. Then again the circumstance that ruling and teaching are spoken of as two particular gifts, is no proof that they did not belong to one and the same office, since Paul places them also in close connexion, (Eph. iv, 11,) and Neander himself allows that they were thus joined together, at least in the latter part of the apostolical period. Finally, there are clear traces which go to show this connexion an original one; as the presbyters of Ephesus are exhorted to provide against unsound doctrine, (Acts xx, 29–31,) and the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii, 7) enjoins a grateful remembrance of their teaching rulers, then deceased, who must of course have belonged to an earlier generation. The general liberty of teaching amounted by no means to a provision for the *regular* instruction and edification of the Churches, and nothing was more natural than that the presbyters, as at a later period from the beginning also, should supply this want, and at the same time administer the sacraments as a part of their office. There were no other congregational officers from whom it could be expected.

We reach thus the result, that the presbyters or bishops of the apostolical period were the regular teachers and pastors, preachers and rulers of the congregations, to whom belonged, by office, the whole direction of public worship, the pastoral care, the exercise of discipline, and the management of the Church property. That all had not the same talent, but that one excelled in didactic ability, another in pastoral skill, a third in fitness to rule, lies of course in the nature of the case; and we may readily suppose also that where there were several of them they divided the different functions of their office among themselves, according to capacity, convenience, and taste. All this, however, regulated itself everywhere as it might happen, and by no means authorizes us to assume two different kinds of presbyters and two distinct offices of government and doctrine.

§ 11. *Deacons.*

Of the origin of the *diaconate* or *office of help*, we have a graphic picture in the sixth chapter of Acts. The immediate occasion for its institution lay in the voluntary community of goods adopted in Je-

* Ap. G., S. 259, seqq. So also in his K. Gesch., I., S. 320, seq.

rusalem; and specially, indeed, in the complaint of the Hellenists or Greek Jews, that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration in favour of the Hebrew-speaking converts of Palestine—which may have been owing either to the fact that their widows were not known, being as foreigners of a somewhat backward spirit, or possibly also to some jealousy existing between the proper Hebrews and their kindred from other lands. At first the apostles themselves, who had the charge also of the common fund, (Acts iv, 35, 37; v, 2,) superintended this service, employing intermediate agents, young men of the congregation probably, (Acts v, 6, 10,) who had given cause for the complaint now mentioned. In proportion, however, as the Church extended, the more impracticable did it become for them to give themselves to such outward concerns without wrong to their proper spiritual work. "It is not reason," said the twelve, "that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables,"—that is, superintend the daily love-feasts and the distribution of alms. In order, therefore, that they might give themselves wholly to prayer and the preaching of the gospel, and to provide against wrong and dissatisfaction by a fixed regulation, they proposed the election of seven men of good report, full of the Holy Ghost and of prudence, for this particular service, and set them apart to it solemnly, after they had been chosen by the people, with prayer and the imposition of hands. In the Acts, indeed, these officers are styled simply *οἱ ἑπτά*, the seven, (xxi, 8,) and not deacons,—that is, servants or helpers; but that this was their character we know, partly from the terms *διακονία, διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, used of their office, Acts vi, 1, 2, and partly from almost universal exegetical tradition.* From the Greek names of the persons chosen—Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch—we may infer, though not with absolute certainty, their Greek descent. This is sufficiently explained by the supposition that as there had been some sense of the grievance on the part of the Hellenists, pains were taken to throw all the advantage of the election to their side; and by no means sustains the opinion which has been held by some learned men, that Luke, Acts vi, only reports the institution of deacons for the Hellenistic part of the Church, and that for the Hebrew portion of it they had existed previously, it may be from the very beginning.†

* The ancient Church even held the sacred number seven in this case of obligatory force, and at Rome, for example, there were still as late as the third century only seven deacons, although the number of presbyters amounted to forty.

† *Mosheim*, (Comm. de reb. chr., etc., p. 111, sqq.,) *Mack*, (Commentar über die Pastoralbriefe, S. 269.) *Kuinöl*, *Meyer*, and *Olshausen*, (on Acts v, 6, and vi, 1,) appeal in favour of this view indeed to the "young men" mentioned Acts v, 6, 10,

From Jerusalem the same arrangement extended itself to other Churches. For although these did not adopt the community of goods, it was still necessary to provide in some regular way for the care of the poor and the sick, as well as for the external services of the sanctuary. Mention is made, Acts xiv, 23, indeed, (compare Tit. i, 3,) only of the appointment of presbyters;* but we have express notice of deacons in the congregation at Rome, (Rom. xii, 7, εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ;) at Philippi, (Phil. i, 1;) at Corinth, since the existence of a deaconess at Cenchrea (Rom. xvi, i) fully justifies the inference of male deacons, and since also the gift of "helps," ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Cor. xii, 28, must be understood particularly of qualification for this office; and generally the existence of it must be assumed in all the Churches planted by Paul, since the apostle gave special instructions to Timothy and Titus, in regard to the election of proper persons to fill it.

As to the *vocation* of the deacons, it stood immediately and mainly, as appears from the account of their institution, in the *care of the poor and the sick*. It does not contradict this, that the money collected at Antioch, according to Acts xi, 30, was delivered to the presbyters in Jerusalem. We must suppose the relation to have been such, that the presbyters were the proper treasurers of the congregation, and that the deacons distributed the contributions to such as had need under their supervision, perhaps also collected the alms. With this external charge, however, was of itself naturally associated also a certain sort of *pastoral care*, since it is just poverty and the sick bed that offer the richest opportunity for instruction, exhortation, and consolation, and according to the spirit of Christianity the relief of bodily wants should serve only as a bridge or channel for the ministration of the far more precious benefits of the gospel. The helps, (ἀντιλήψεις,) which the apostle, 1 Cor. xii, 28, enumerates among the gifts of the Spirit, regard probably the whole com-

(οἱ νεώτεροι, οἱ νεανίσκοι, compare Luke xxii, 26, where ὁ νεώτερος is taken as synonymous with ὁ διακονῶν,) who carried out and buried the corpses of Ananias and Sapphira. But this is not enough to show that they were regular Church officers, who, in distinction from the presbyters, (πρεσβύτεροι,) had charge of the outward affairs of the congregation. It may very well have been a voluntary service, for which the younger members offered themselves from a mere natural feeling of propriety. Compare against Mosheim also *Neander*, A. G., S. 47, seqq., and *Rothe*, S. 163, seq.

* Luke altogether never mentions the deacons except Acts vi, 3 and xxi, 8, and here also not under this name; the presbyters on the contrary frequently, (xi, 30; xiv, 23; xv, 4, 6, 23; xx, 17; xxi, 18.) This suggests the conjecture, that he employs the last term in a broad sense, including also the deacons, as the common title of the ἐπισκοποῦντες and διακονοῦντες. In this case there would be so much the less reason to refer νεώτεροι to the deacons.

pass of these works of charity belonging to the deacons. Hence respect was had beforehand in their appointment to the need of strong faith and exemplary piety for the service, (Acts vi, 3; compare v, 8;) and Paul requires, 1 Tim. iii, 8, seqq., that they should be of good report, upright, temperate, free from covetousness, (to which their handling of the public fund might be a temptation), and sound in the faith. The last point again looks to their participation in the pastoral work, and, at the same time, in the business of *teaching*. For that such helpers at this time also preached the gospel, when possessed of the requisite gifts, follows, first from the general liberty of teaching already noticed, and is there expressly confirmed besides by the example of Stephen, the highly-enlightened forerunner of the great apostle of the Gentiles, (Acts vi, 8–10; vii, 1–53,) and that of Philip, who was also one of the seven of Jerusalem, (viii, 5, seqq., 26, seqq.) It was very natural that those who distinguished themselves in this service by their gifts and zeal, should be advanced afterwards to higher offices. So Philip, just mentioned, is styled subsequently (xxi, 8) an "evangelist;" and most expositors understand the passage 1 Tim. iii, 13, of promotion from the diaconate to the presbyterate.

From all this it is plain that the deacons in the primitive Church had a higher and more spiritual vocation altogether than the attendants of the Jewish synagogues, the so-called חזנים, (*ὑπηρέται* in Luke iv, 20, compare John vii, 32,) who opened and closed the synagogue-houses, kept them clean, and handed out the books for reading. The Church office must not be taken then for a mere imitation of the other, as is sometimes done. They may be considered alike, however, so far that from a very early time there might be joined, as it were spontaneously, to the proper calling of the deacons, certain services also in connexion with the administration of the sacraments and the other parts of public worship. For although there is no direct proof of this in the New Testament, so much may be inferred still with tolerable certainty, partly from the close connexion which then existed between the common love-feasts, of which these officers had the charge, (*διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, Acts vi, 2,) and the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper, and partly from later ecclesiastical usage. Some one must perform these services, and plainly it came most naturally upon the deacons; only we must not think of this as their only or principal business. Thus these officers stood as living links between the people and the presbyters, proceeding from the bosom of the congregation, chosen by it in a fully democratic way, intimately familiar with its wants, and so admirably qualified to assist the presbyters with counsel and aid in all their official duties.

§ 12. *Deaconesses.*

Along with this class of helpers we find in the apostolical Church the institute of *female* deacons or *deaconesses*, which was supplementary to the other office and continued in the Greek Church down to the thirteenth century. It is generally derived from the Gentile Christian Churches, where the females lived in greater retirement, and were more shut out from intercourse with men than among the Jews.* But besides any rules of propriety, the general want of itself required that for special pastoral service, the care of the poor and sick among the *female* part of the congregation, there should be established a corresponding office. Here was opened for the sex, a fair and wide field for the development of its peculiar gifts, the exercise of its love and devotion, without any departure out of its natural and proper sphere. By means of this office they might carry the blessings of the gospel into the most private and delicate relations of domestic life; and, unseen of the world, accomplish in all quietness and modesty an unspeakable amount of good. To this care of widows, and of the poor and sick, various other services then came of themselves probably to be joined, as in the case of the male deacons, although they are not expressly mentioned. Among these we reckon the education of orphan children, attention to strangers, the practice of hospitality, (compare 1 Tim. v, 10,) and the assistance needed at the baptism of females.

The existence of such deaconesses in the apostolical Church is incontrovertibly clear from Rom. xvi, 1, where Paul commends to the kind interest of the Roman Christians the sister *Phebe*, who probably carried the epistle, and describes her as "a servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea," (οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς.) Possibly the women Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis, who are praised, verse 12, for their labour in the Lord, may have served in the same capacity in the Church at Rome. On the other hand it is still a matter of controversy, whether the widows, 1 Tim. v, 9–15, are to be taken as proper deaconesses,† or as presbyteresses, (πρεσβύτιδες; *viduæ ecclesiasticæ,*) such as in the period after the

* So *Grotius* remarks on Rom. xvi, 1: "In Judaea diaconi viri etiam mulieribus ministrare poterant: erat enim ibi liberior ad foeminas aditus quam in Graecia, ubi viris clausa γυναικωνῖτις. Adeo dupliei in Graecia foeminarum auxilio Ecclesiae opus habuere, etc. Compare *Rothe*, p. 246.

† As the Cod. Theodos., L. 16, Tit. 2, Lex 27, already supposes: Nulla nisi emensis 60 annis *secundum praeceptum apostoli* (compare 1 Tim. v, 9) ad Diaconissarum consortium transferatur. Among the moderns this view is defended, particularly by *Rothe*, p. 243, seqq., and *Wieseler*, Chronol. des apost. Zeitalters, S. 309, seq.

apostles exercised a certain oversight over the female part of the congregation,* particularly over widows and orphans; or finally, according to *Neander's* view,† as common widows only, who were supported by the Church and expected, without official character, to set before the rest of the sex the pattern of a walk and conversation entirely devoted to God. We hold the first interpretation to be the most probable. From the beginning, the care of necessitous widows formed an important branch of the practical charity of the Christian Church. (Compare Acts vi, 1.) On the other hand, however, it was in the highest degree desirable to turn the service of this class, if possible, at the same time to account for the Church, even out of regard to the poor themselves, that they might have their bread with honour and satisfaction, without violating the maxim: "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." (2 Thess. iii, 10.) On this, accordingly, Paul, 1 Tim. v, 3, seqq., furnishes such instructions as the case required. First he speaks of widows in general, and directs that provision be made for the support of such as were widows indeed, that is, truly solitary and helpless, (as the Greek word *χήρα*, the *desolate*, of itself implies,) and at the same time led an honourable and pious life in retired converse with God; but not for those who had children or other relatives bound to support them, or who by their irregular behaviour might have already lost the proper spiritual life of the Church, (verses 3–8.) Next he distinguishes, verses 9 and 10, in the circle of the pious widows, a still smaller class of matriculated or enrolled names, and requires of them certain qualifications which fall in most aptly with the idea of the office of deaconess. If *καταλεγέσθω*, verse 9, be understood of an insertion merely in the list of those who were to be supported from the congregational fund, it is felt to be against reason and Christian charity that such benefit should be restricted to those who were over sixty years of age and had only been once married, since younger widows and those of a second marriage might be just as much also needy and deserving of support; and it goes against the connexion too, inasmuch as Paul himself, verse 14, advises the younger widows to marry again, which would have been in this view to cut themselves off from the prospect of help in case of a new widowhood. We cannot see also, with this exposition, why he should speak, verse 12, of a special vow. This difficulty

* So after *Chrysostom*, above all *Mosheim*, in his Exposition of the Epistle to Timothy, p. 444–446, (in his Comment. de reb. Christ. a. Const. M., he had before, on the contrary, referred the passage to the deaconesses,) *Heidenreich* and *De Wette* ad loc.

† Ap. G., S. 265, seq. So also *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, and others.

falls away, if καταλεγέσθω be understood of choice and ordination to a particular congregational office. And to this also the other qualifications for the position in question would seem to look. For in addition to advanced age, insuring general respect and continuance in service,* and monogamy, which was made necessary also in the case of bishops and deacons, (1 Tim. iii, 2, 12,) the apostle requires of such a widow that she should be of good reputation, should have had experience in bringing up children, and should have gained some distinction for hospitality, benevolence, and general exemplary piety. This regulation, however, does not necessarily exclude virgins from the office of deaconess, if they had the qualifications otherwise required, although they were certainly not so well suited for many of its services as experienced venerable matrons.†

§ 13. *The Angels of the Apocalypse.*

Finally, we meet what seems another class of officers toward the close of the apostolical period,—namely, the *angels* of the seven Churches of Asia Minor, to whom the epistles of the Revelation of St. John, chap. ii and iii, are addressed. The interpretation of them, however, is a matter of controversy. We must start from the passage, i, 20: "The seven stars are the angels of the seven Churches; and the seven candlesticks are the seven Churches." 1st. The view is to be rejected in the first place, that they correspond with the deputies of the Jewish synagogues, (the שְׁלִיחֵי הַצִּבּוּר, *legati ecclesiae.*)‡ For these had an entirely subordinate position, and were simply readers of the standing forms of prayer, and messengers of the synagogues; whilst the angels here are compared with stars, and are represented as presiding over the Churches. 2d. On the other hand, however, we are not to understand either proper angels, the

* The Church subsequently did not feel itself bound strictly by the sixty years; we find the age of service for deaconesses brought down by the council of Chalcedon to the fortieth year.

† Many expositors, after *Chrysostom*, take the women mentioned 1 Tim. iii, 11 also for deaconesses. But the term γυναῖκες is too general for this, and it lies much nearer to the whole connexion to refer it here to the wives of the deacons and bishops.

‡ So *Vitringa*, *Lightfoot*, *Bengel* also, and recently even *Winer*, who in the third ed. of his Reallex., under the article "Synagogues," Part II, p. 550, Note 2, confidently affirms: "The ἄγγελος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Apoc. ii, 1, is no other than the שְׁלִיחַ הַצִּבּוּר," with a reference to *Ewald's* Comment., p. 104. With reason, however, *de Wette*, ad Apoc. i, 20, remarks against this: "No explanation can be more in conflict with the spirit of the book. How could the author, who so often speaks of angels, and of their presiding over particular spheres, (vii, 1; ix, 11; xvi, 5,) be led to use the word here in so low and common a sense?"

heavenly representatives and guardians, as it were, of the Churches, as with Daniel every nation has its supreme angel.* For it agrees in no sense with the biblical idea of angels, that letters should be addressed to them, with exhortations to repentance, fidelity, and constancy, describing them as being rich or poor, neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm, as having a particular place of residence, &c. 3d. More may be said in favour of the opinion that the angels here are nothing else than a figurative personification of the Churches themselves.† It speaks for this, that they are not named, that their persons fall completely into the background, and that what the Spirit writes to them is always for the whole congregation. But decisive against such views is the circumstance, that they are expressly distinguished, chap. i, 20, from the golden candlesticks or Churches; and as these are thus exhibited already under an image, it would be wholly incongruous and confounding to choose a new image again for their personification,—that is, to express one symbol, the candlesticks, by another symbol, the stars. 4th. The only right interpretation then, which is also the oldest and most generally received, is that which makes the angels to be Church *rulers* and *teachers*, who, in Dan. xii, 3, also are compared with stars. They are styled angels as being God's ambassadors or messengers to the Churches,‡ on whom rests their charge, (compare Matt. xviii, 10; Acts xii, 15,) for which they must render account, (Acts xx, 28.) The expression is selected thus, to remind the rulers of their divine mission, their high vocation, and their heavy responsibility. So Mal. ii, 7, 8, the priest is named the "angel of the Lord," and of the prophet who should prepare the way of the Messiah, Mal. iii, 1, it is said, "Behold, I will send my angel," (compare Hagg. i, 13, "Then spake Haggai, the Lord's angel, in the Lord's message to the people." Isa. xlii, 19; xliv, 26.)

But now within this interpretation two cases are still possible: either the angels may be regarded as concrete *individuals*, in which case they must pass for real *bishops*, (though with very small dioceses indeed,) according to the view of nearly all ancient expositors and of most among English Episcopalians, who find here accord-

* So some Church fathers, and among modern commentators on the Apocalypse *Züllig* and *de Wette*, who, however, approaches toward the third view, making the angels to stand for the Churches themselves in their heavenly relation.

† So *Arethas*, *Salmasius*, *Gabler*, and others.

‡ Not reversely as messengers of the Churches to God, according to the view of *Robinson* in his Lexicon, p. 6 of the new ed. of 1850: "The angels of the seven Churches are probably the prophets or pastors of those Churches, who were the messengers, delegates, of the Churches to God in the offering of prayer, service, etc."

ingly a proof of the existence of their system towards the close of the first century, when the Apocalypse was written;* or they may be taken to denote the *ministry* collectively, the whole *Church government*, the presbytery thus and deacons.† For this, it must be allowed, the passages already quoted from the Old Testament have some weight, where the whole priestly and prophetical order is made to bear the name angel, as has also the consideration that certainly not the bishop alone, but all the officers were responsible for the state of each Church and formed its proper representation. (Compare Acts xx, 28; 1 Pet. v, 1–5.)

Even in this last case, however, the impartial inquirer must allow that this phraseology of the Apocalypse already looks towards the *idea* of episcopacy; that is, to a monarchical concentration of the Church government in one person, bearing a patriarchal relation to the congregation, and responsible in an eminent sense for the spiritual welfare of the whole. This view is confirmed by the fact, that among the immediate disciples of St. John we meet one, at least,—namely, *Polycarp*,—who, according to the unanimous tradition of *Irenaeus*,‡ his own disciple, of *Tertullian*,§ of *Eusebius*,‖ and of *Jerome*,** was by apostolic ordination actually bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven apocalyptic Churches. If we take besides the statement of *Clemens Alexandrinus*,†† that John, after his return from Patmos, appointed "bishops;" also the Ignatian epistles from the beginning of the second century, in which the bishop already stands out in distinction from the presbytery as the head of the congregation, and the three orders culminate pyramidically in a regular hier-

* In antiquity, the word ἄγγελος, like the grammatically-synonymous ἀπόστολος, is sometimes used to denote a bishop, as e. g. with *Socrates* H. E. IV, 23, as we meet also in the Anglo Saxon Church the corresponding expression *God's Bydels*, i. e. Dei nuntii et ministri; comp. *Bingham's* Nig. 1, 83, and *Rothe*, l. c., p. 503. The occasion of this usage, however, lies no doubt in the above interpretation of the Apocalypse, and so proves nothing for the antiquity of episcopacy.

† So among the moderns, *Hengstenberg* in particular takes it, in his Commentary on the Revelation of St. John. He refers, with some force in the case, to the introduction of the Epistle of *Polycarp* to the Philippians: "Polycarp and the elders with him, (καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι,) to the Church of God dwelling at Philippi," and to the inscription of the epistle of *Ignatius* to the Philadelphians: "Especially when they are united with the bishop, and the presbyters and deacons who are with him."

‡ Adv. haer. III, 3.

§ De praesc. haer., c. 32: Sicut Smyrnaeorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert.

‖ H. E., III, 36.

** Catal. s. Polyc.: Polycarpus, Joannis apostoli discipulus, ab eo Smyrnae episcopus ordinatus, etc.

†† Quis dives salvus, c. 42.

archy; and finally, the circumstance that just in Asia Minor the rapid growth of heresy, and the pressure of danger from without, urged towards the consideration of a fixed uniform government for the Church,—it must be confessed certainly, that there is much in favour of the hypothesis so learnedly and acutely put forth by Dr. *Rothe*, according to which the commencement of episcopacy dates from the close of the first century and the sphere, in particular, of the later labours of St. John. Since, however, all the data for the rise of this monarchical system of government lie on the outside of the New Testament, the examination of them belongs not properly to a view of the apostolical Church government—which was the only object of this article—but to the history of the following period.

Art. V.—THE PATRIARCHAL AGE.

The Patriarchal Age: or, the History and Religion of Mankind from the Creation to the Death of Isaac; deduced from the Writings of Moses and other inspired Authors, and illustrated by copious References to the ancient Records, Traditions, and Mythology, of the Heathen World. By George Smith, F. S. A. 8vo., pp. 522. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1848.

The origin and early history of mankind have been subjects of anxious inquiry and investigation, in all ages and among all nations. Scientific men among the Egyptians, Hindoos, Greeks, and Romans, laboured with untiring industry to solve the great problem of man's origin and the events of his early history. Insuperable difficulties, however, prevented them from obtaining anything like accurate knowledge, since the field lay beyond the reach of authentic history; and tradition, corrupted by poetic fiction and philosophical speculation, afforded no certain clue to these mysteries. Hence, the absurdities of their cosmogonies, and of the theological systems built upon them.

The Jews and Christians, in possession of the clear and steady light of divine revelation, see through the clouds that enveloped the pagan world, and which still exist where that light has not yet shone. Nevertheless, the history of man after his creation and fall is so briefly related by Moses, who probably designed it as merely an introduction to his laws, that many difficulties and obscurities arise, in the removal of which the skill and ingenuity of the learned have been for ages greatly exercised.

But notwithstanding the labours of Josephus and Eusebius among the ancients, and Faber, Stillingfleet, Shuckford, and others among

the moderns, a consecutive history, combining chronology, biography, &c., illustrated and confirmed by the researches of modern science, was still a *desideratum*. The want has been supplied, to a certain extent, by the writer of the work before us, who has brought to bear upon the subject considerable learning, a spirit of acute investigation, and a deep reverence for the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. With these important qualifications are united a spirit of candour and a love of truth, which lead him to discuss every subject with fairness and due respect for the opinions of others; though, as might be expected, he has not arrived in every instance at what we conceive to be the truth.

The first point which our author investigates is the *chronology* of the Bible. Every one, in the least degree acquainted with Biblical criticism, knows that the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint differ, as to the age of the world, by one thousand five hundred years; the former reckoning about four thousand years from the creation to the birth of Christ, and the latter five thousand five hundred. As both of these chronological systems cannot be true, the question is, Which is entitled to our confidence? Our author decides in favour of the Septuagint on the following grounds, viz.:—1. That we have the testimony of the ancient Jews to the faithfulness of the Greek translation, consequently to its agreement with the original in chronology. 2. That from the time this version was made, which was about two hundred and eighty years before Christ, until the beginning of the second century, the chronology given us by the Jewish writers corresponds with that of the Septuagint. 3. That the following passage in the New Testament agrees with it, but not with the Hebrew: "He gave unto them judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet," (Acts xiii, 20.) 4. That the inference is, that the Jews corrupted the chronology of the Hebrew after the beginning of the second century; for it was exclusively in their hands for a century or more, and they had a sufficient motive to do it, as there was a tradition in the east that the Messiah should come into the world in the sixth chiliad. And as Christ did actually come in this period, they saw in this another argument in favour of Christianity, and their aversion to it led them to corrupt the text. And that the Septuagint could not be the corrupt copy, is evident from the fact that it was in the hands of both Jews and Christians. Besides these considerations, ancient authentic history agrees with the Septuagint, but is at variance with the Hebrew. Nor is Mr. Smith singular in thus preferring and defending this chronology. Dr. Kennicott had before done the same, in his dissertation prefixed to his Hebrew Bible, and his views have been adopted by some dis-

tinguished scholars, among whom is Richard Watson. This dissertation of our author is invaluable, and, in our judgment, is worth the price of the whole book.

Our author proceeds, in the next place, to inquire into the *learning of the early ages*, and rejects the absurd and infidel theory, that mankind were then in a state of barbarism and ignorance, but little elevated above the beasts of the field, and adopts the more pious and philosophic view that language and writing were communicated to Adam by his Creator. That Adam was possessed of speech, is clear from the sacred record; and the existence of books before the deluge is rendered highly probable. The author thinks it also evident that the antediluvians had a knowledge of astronomy. After having brought forward various arguments in proof of this, he remarks:—

"We are, then, in respect of this science, also conducted back to the period of the first separation of families after the deluge, or even beyond that, to the time when the postdiluvian race made but one people. The proofs of this are not found in one nation merely, but furnished by the Chinese, Persians, Egyptians, Jews, Chaldeans, and Indians; and all these concurring streams of evidence unite to establish the fact that astronomy must have been cultivated previously to the deluge, or it could not have exhibited such marks of its existence and power so soon after that calamitous event."—P. 78.

After these preliminary discussions, our author takes up the creation, and discusses the work of each day in order, quoting extensively, in illustration and confirmation of the subject, from pagan sources, especially in reference to the chaotic mass, which was the first state of the earth after its creation. But the most important part of the subject is that relating to geology. Numerous controversies, it is well known, have been carried on between geologists and those who contend for the literal interpretation of the six days' work of creation. And as Lord Bacon charges Aristotle with mutilating nature to make it fall in with his categories, so we may charge our geologists with mutilating Moses to make him fall in with their geological theories. Our author understands the days literally, and gives us an able defence of this view, though he seems to suppose that the matter of which the earth is composed was created long before the first day, as will be seen from the following passage:—

"'And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.' 'The few first words of Genesis' are appealed to by geologists, 'as containing a brief statement of the creation of the material elements,' at a time distinctly preceding the operations of the first day: because 'it is nowhere affirmed that God created the heaven and the earth in the *first day*, but in the *beginning*;' and it is contended, therefore, that 'this beginning may have been an epoch at an unmeasured distance, followed by periods of undefined duration, during which all the physical operations of geology were going on.'—*Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i, p. 21.

"If putting this sense on the narrative be sufficient to satisfy the demands

of geology, there cannot be the slightest reason for presuming that the science is directly opposed to the teaching of revelation. For the brief account of Moses certainly does not say that this creation took place on the first day; and, therefore, if it is really necessary, we do not see why this concession may not be made, without at all impugning the verity of holy writ. Yet we are by no means satisfied, either that the discoveries of geology at present establish a system of facts which necessarily demand this interpretation, or that it is the natural sense of the words. The terms, 'the beginning,' are thus in their application thrown back into eternity; their connection with the subject of the Mosaic narrative, if not cut off, is made distant and indirect; and, therefore, at present, we will not presume to dogmatize on the subject, but take the language as distinctly teaching the creation of the matter of which our earth is composed, without at all determining the chronology of this great event."—P. 100.

The next subject taken up is the primeval condition of man, his fall, the promised Redeemer, the location of paradise, &c. Our author's views on these points are about the same as those generally held by orthodox Christians. He brings in heathen tradition to confirm these great events, not of one nation only, but of many of the most distinguished. How far tradition should be considered confirmatory of Scripture history, has been a subject of dispute among the learned. One class imagine they see in almost every part of the heathen mythology an allusion to Scripture events, while others discover in them no historical foundation—nothing but the result of imagination and accident. We believe truth lies between the two extremes. It would be singular indeed if, out of the great mass of heathen tradition, in many respects contradictory, nothing could be obtained to favour the sacred history. Yet, at the same time, when we see independent and separate nations *concurring* in any historical event, it gives a strong presumption of its truth. Of such a nature are some of the traditions relating to Scripture events. Our author's tendency appears to be towards the views of the former class.

In respect to the location of Paradise, after speaking of the four rivers mentioned by Moses, he says:—

"Now it is evident that the names here used were given subsequently to the flood: Moses does not present us with antediluvian landmarks. Havilah, Cush, and Assyria, are names of postdiluvian origin, and must have been used for the purpose of defining the district spoken of. Euphrates, then, is one river; it has not changed its name since the time of Moses. Hiddekel is by all our best writers supposed, if not proved, to be the same with the Tigris. We are then conducted to the district where these rivers have their origin. There is more difficulty in defining the river Pison; but it has with great probability been supposed to be the same with the Absarus, which has its rise in the mountains of Armenia, not far from the origin of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which falls into the Black Sea in the territory of the ancient Colchians, famed in all antiquity for its gold. The fourth river, Gihon, appears to be the Gyndes, rising in the same district as the others, and ranging through Chusistan. We need scarcely add that this points out Armenia as the site of Paradise. (See this subject stated at length in Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. i, pp. 300–306)."—Pp. 141, 142.

The cherubim mentioned in Genesis are considered at length, and Mr. Smith supposes they were figures similar to those in the Jewish tabernacle, and that God dwelt between them as he did between those of the Jews:—

"'So he drave out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.' Gen. iii, 24. On this passage an excellent author observes: 'The word translated "placed" is literally "to dwell as in a tabernacle, to inhabit." The word "cherubim" has, in the original, the definite article "the" before it. "Sword" is introduced, while no such weapon as a sword had yet been known: the phrase is, "the fire of wrath." A sword, being the instrument of wrath, had afterward the name of "wrath" applied to it; but in this place the primary idea of the word should be used, because the object to which it was secondarily applied was then unknown. Besides, here, if the word meant "sword," the phrase would literally be, "the fire of sword," which is absurd. "Turning every way," is the *same word* which the translators render in Ezekiel, chapter i, "infolding itself;" and "keep," although properly translated, does not, in the original, mean here "to guard," but to keep in the sense of "observe;" in the same sense in which it is used in the phrase, "to *keep* the commandments of the Lord." Had the translators of the English Bible, then, not been misled by some idea about *a guard around the tree*, they would have rendered the verse thus: "So he drave out the man. And he inhabited" (or "dwelt between") "the cherubim at the east of the garden of Eden, and the fire of wrath" (a fierce fire) "infolding itself to preserve inviolate the way of the tree of life."'—*Morison's Relig. Hist. of Man*, p. 97."—P. 147.

And the conclusion at which he arrives is, that

"The cherubim, the fire, and the divine presence, were manifested in Eden as they were afterward in the temple, to show God's anger against sin; to teach, through the mediation of the promised Saviour, a way of life; and to afford sinful man a way of access unto God."—P. 148.

With this translation of the passage in Genesis, and the exposition founded upon it, we can by no means agree. It is true that the Hebrew word שָׁכַן or שָׁכֵן in *Kal* conjugation means *to inhabit, to dwell;* but the conjugation used in the text is *Hiphil*, which is causative, and consequently means *to cause to dwell*, i. e., to *place*. "And he caused cherubim to dwell, or be placed," &c. The difference between these two conjugations is so great, and the distinction so obvious, that it appears to us strange that it could have been overlooked. For example: the word בּוֹא in Kal means *to come*, but in Hiphil, הֵבִיא, *to cause to come, to bring;* so in the above passage, the Hiphil of שָׁכַן, הִשְׁכִּין, to cause to dwell, of which the future יַשְׁכֵּן is here used with vav (ו) prefixed, which is the historical tense of the Hebrew. This rule is uniform in the language. The word חֶרֶב, which our translators render "sword," as far as we can see, *never* means "wrath." Gesenius gives it to mean: 1, a *sword;* 2, a *knife, razor*, or some other cutting instrument; 3, *dryness, drought*, and that only in Deuteronomy xxviii,

22, where he thinks that perhaps it should be written חֶרֶב. In the objection that the instrument was then unknown, we can see no force; for doubtless the weapon was known to those for whom Moses wrote. The word לַהַט means *flame*, and the phrase לַהַט חָרֶב, *flame of sword*, is correctly rendered by our translators *a flaming sword*, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom. We believe that our translators have given the full force of the passage, which is confirmed by the Septuagint, which renders it: "And he placed cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned (every way) to guard the way of the tree of life."*

In discussing the history of mankind from the fall to the flood, Mr. Smith takes up the successive generations, and supports the sacred history by quoting from heathen records and traditions, especially from Sanchoniathon, whom we think to be doubtful authority.

The most difficult part of this history is that related in Gen. vi, 1, 2: "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose," &c. After noticing the different opinions that prevail on this subject, our author adopts the interpretation which makes "the sons of God" "the sons of kings, rulers, or other great men." The word unquestionably is thus used in the eighty-second Psalm: "I have said ye are gods (אֱלֹהִים): and all of you are children (or sons) of the Most High." Yet it does not appear clear that the word has this meaning in the passage under consideration. The word הָאֱלֹהִים, rendered GOD by our translators, cannot mean rulers or powerful men, for it has the article, and in this form is applied only to the Supreme Being. Very frequently it is put for Jehovah.† But whenever the word is used to denote rulers, it is used without the article; for example, in the passage quoted from Psalm lxxxii, and in Exod. xxii, 26, where it is said, "Thou shalt not revile the gods." Nor does Moses anywhere use the phrase "the sons of God," to denote rulers themselves: on the contrary, in Deut. xiv, 1, he applies it to the Israelites, as being the peculiar people of God. And we think in the passage under consideration it means the people of God. "And they took them wives of all which they chose:" this does not mean that they took them forcibly or ravished them, as asserted by our author. Quite the contrary. The phrase לָקַח אִשָּׁה, *to take a wife*, is used in various places in the

* Καὶ ἔταξε τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς.

† See Gesenius's Greek Lexicon, under the word אֱלֹהִים.

Bible where no violence is used. When Abraham sent his servant to get a wife for Isaac, the same phrase is used.* Nor is there the slightest reason for supposing the "daughters of men" to be women of the inferior sort, any more than there is for supposing the "son of man" or "sons of men" to be men of the inferior sort. Both phrases are used in the Scriptures for men and women in general. What is said of their offspring is not inconsistent with our view of the subject. It is not said they were giants, but simply valiant or mighty men.

In his exposition of the passage, "Then men began to call upon the name of the Lord," which he considers in connexion with this subject, our author endeavours to show that we are to understand it as meaning, "Then men profanely began to call themselves by the name of the Lord." In support of this interpretation we see no good reason offered. He argues that a conspiracy or combination of men calling themselves by the name of the Lord, accounts for the corruption of the antediluvian world, and that then the sons of these wicked rulers were called "the sons of God." We see no instance in the Bible of the word used in the text meaning to "begin profanely;"† at least it is used in various places to express "to begin," in a good sense. Nor do we approve of his rendering the phrase הֵחֵל לִקְרֹא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, *to call themselves by the name of the Lord.* It is used in various places in the Bible to express divine worship, and is rendered in the Septuagint by a phrase which in the New Testament expresses that worship.‡ Nor is it probable, if a conspiracy or combination of wicked men had been formed so soon after the creation, that God would have borne with them for so many centuries.

In regard to the difficulty suggested by our author of reconciling the authorized version with matter of fact, since he thinks it evident that Adam and Abel called upon God, and therefore it could not be properly said that men then "began to call upon the name of the Lord;" we reply, that of Adam's piety we know nothing, Abel was slain, of Seth's we have no proof, and of Cain's we have little to expect. There might have been a suspension of divine worship, which was revived by Enos.

Respecting the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Mr. Smith adopts the commonly-received opinion, that the cause of the acceptance of Abel's

* See also Gen. iv, 19; Exod. vi, 25; xxi, 10; 1 Sam. xxv, 43.

† See Gen. ix, 20; Num. xvi, 46; 2 Chron. xxix, 27; Deut. ii, 25, 31. Some may think that Gen. x, 8, forms an exception.

‡ Compare the phrase קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι (or τὸ ὄνομα) τοῦ Κυρίου, Gen. xii, 8; Psalm lxxix, 6; Isaiah lxiv, 6; Jer. x, 25, with Acts ii, 21; ix, 14.

offering was his faith in the promised Redeemer, in accordance with which he offered *animal* sacrifice, while faithless Cain was content to offer the *fruits* of the earth. In this view we agree with him, but not in his version of the following passage in regard to their offering: "And the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt not thou be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door: and unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him." Gen. iv, 6, 7. The latter part of the seventh verse he renders thus: "And if thou doest not well, a sin-offering coucheth at the door," p. 205. This emendation (first given by Dr. Lightfoot) he approves of, for the following reasons: That we cannot suppose that Cain was to rule over Abel, who is not mentioned in the connexion; that the word חַטָּאת in many places means a sin-offering; and that it affords some consolation to Cain. Now, in reply to the first objection, we have to say that we do not refer "him," in the phrase "thou shalt rule over him," to Abel, but to something totally different, which we will presently give. That the word חַטָּאת sometimes means a sin-offering, we readily grant. Which of the two meanings it has here, sin or a sin-offering, must be determined from the context. What he says respecting Cain's consolation, is but little to the point; Cain was admonished to be on his guard. The objections we have to our author's emendation are these: That the word רֹבֵץ, from רָבַץ, *to lie*, rendered "lieth" by our translators, is a participle, which in Hebrew, as well as in other languages, is frequently used for a noun. Here it means the *lurker*, as applied to the lurking lion who was at the door ready to devour him. Here a masculine pronoun is used, בּוֹ, which does not agree in gender with חַטָּאת, which is feminine, but agrees with רֹבֵץ, *lurker:* consequently the passage means that "sin, like a lurking lion, lies at the door; but unto thee shall (or may) be his desire: i. e., he shall be perfectly under thy control, and thou mayest rule over him."* This seems to us consistent with the whole scope of the passage. But to apply it to a sin-offering appears quite strange. What propriety would there be in representing a sin-offering lying (a lurker) at the door? and then what explanation can be given of the phrase, "Unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him?" To us this seems to admit of no probable solution.

With Grotius, Puffendorf, and many other distinguished men, he believes that God taught Adam what are commonly called the heads of natural law. This appears to us very reasonable; for we cannot suppose for a moment that God created man, and turned him loose

* See Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, under the word רָבַץ.

into the world, without giving him a knowledge of his will and the laws by which his life was to be governed. Among these laws, he thinks was the observance of the Sabbath; and he so translates the passage in Genesis, respecting the sanctification of that day, as to make it read that God commanded man to sanctify and observe it. "Perhaps the whole may be more correctly rendered as follows: And God rested on the seventh day from all his works which he had made; and God caused (man) to bless and worship on the seventh day, and ordered (him) to sanctify it." But here we must again differ from our author; we cannot perceive any reason for his emendation of the authorized version. In the original, the word בָּרַךְ does not mean to *cause to bless*, but simply to *bless;* קִדֵּשׁ is used frequently in the Bible, and never means to cause another to sanctify a thing, but merely to sanctify; and there is no word in the text corresponding to "worship." If this version of the passage be allowable, then as many and different versions may be given as Proteus has shapes, and every part of Scripture becomes dubious.

Next in order is the *Deluge*. After discussing the structure of the ark, the entry of Noah into it, and his abode there, our author answers in a very satisfactory manner the objections that have been made to a deluge:—

"1. The want of any direct history of a deluge by the profane writers of antiquity; 2. The apparent impossibility of accounting for the quantity of water necessary to overflow the whole earth; and 3. The absence of any apparent necessity for a universal deluge, as the same result might have been accomplished by a partial one."—P. 254.

In reply to the first objection, he shows conclusively that nearly all nations have a tradition of a deluge, and that it has been mentioned by some of the most distinguished historians of antiquity. The mass of evidence which he produces on this point, one might think would satisfy the most sceptical. In regard to the second, he observes that it is probable there now exists water enough to effect this purpose, which is concealed in the bowels of the earth and in the air, supported in the latter by electricity, upon the discharge of which it would fall to the earth,

"While the waters of the ocean, those from which fountains originate, and those contained in the solid earth itself, would rise from the very centre to meet the waters which descended from above. Thus the breaking up of the fountains of the deep, and the opening of the windows of heaven, would accompany each other, as Moses tells us they actually did; for, according to him, both happened at the same time."—Pp. 262, 263.

To the third objection he replies, that the language of Scripture implies the universality of the deluge: "And all the high hills that

were under the whole heaven were covered;" that it is probable that a large part of the earth's surface was then inhabited, and these districts could not be inundated for twelve months without affecting the other parts of the earth's surface; that if but one district had been inundated, there would have been no need of building the ark, &c., since Noah might have removed to another district.

The Triad, found in many systems of paganism, and considered by some Christian philosophers (among whom is the great Cudworth) as a reference to the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, is supposed by our author to refer to the three sons of Noah. This latter supposition seems to us more probable than the former; for it seems quite clear that the doctrine of the Trinity is not a doctrine taught us by anything in nature, but is peculiar to the gospel dispensation, although some divines think, but with little reason, that the plural form (אֱלֹהִים) for God, used in the Old Testament, is an intimation of that doctrine.* At the same time, we think there are some instances in which it will be very difficult to identify this Triad with the sons of Noah.

After some observations on the rainbow and the most common interpretation of it; which is, that the bow was seen before the flood, and after that event was appointed to Noah as a sign; and granting this interpretation to be allowable, he nevertheless says:—

"We have not, in the whole range of Scripture history, any case similar to the one before us, explained in this manner. We have, indeed, many instances in which the Lord has condescended to give signs to his creatures. Unto Ahaz he said, 'A virgin shall conceive,' &c., Isa. vii, 14; unto Abraham, a 'smoking furnace and a burning lamp' were displayed, Gen. xv. 1-7; unto Hezekiah, the shadow went ten degrees back on the dial of Ahaz, 2 Kings xx, 11; Isa. xxxviii, 8; and, in the case of Gideon, 'the fleece was wet, and all the ground about it was dry;' and then afterward, 'it was dry, and all the ground about it was wet,' Judg. vi, 38–40. But, in all these cases, we have something new in nature—no mere application of a well-known pre-existing phenomenon. We do not think that the case before us should be so interpreted as to form an exception to this general rule. Yet we do not clearly see our way to a satisfactory solution. The passage presents an indeterminate problem on the ground of insufficient data. We will not dogmatize on the subject; but venture to suggest what appears to us to be the most probable solution—that this bow had not been seen prior to the flood; and that some change at that time took place, either in the state of the atmosphere, or in the refrangible power of drops of rain, which then produced, and still continues to produce, the beautiful phenomenon which we call the rainbow."—Pp. 307, 308.

* It was a custom among the Hebrews, in speaking of anything great, to put it in the plural. Thus, אֱלוֹהַּ, *eloah*, sing., a god; plur., אֱלֹהִים, *elohim*, a great god, the Almighty: בְּהֵמָה, *bĕhēmah*, sing., a beast; plur., בְּהֵמוֹת, *bĕhēmoth*, a great beast, the behemoth: אָדוֹן, *adhon*, sing., master; plur., אֲדֹנִים, *adhonim*, Lord. This plural form is applied even to Abraham. חַיִּים, *hhayyim*, plur., life.

If there were any good reason to suppose that there was no rain before the flood, which is the opinion of some, all difficulty in regard to the rainbow would immediately vanish. The Scripture quoted to show its probability, appears to us to give no probability to it at all. "And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But (or, and) there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." Gen. ii, 5, 6. From this last verse some have concluded that the watering of the earth before the flood was not brought about by rain, but by a mist somewhat resembling dew, we suppose, in its effects. The Hebrew word אֵד, rendered "mist," means a vapour, such as clouds are formed of; and consequently the watering of the earth by this means was in fact rain.

The reason assigned for the non-existence of plants is, that "the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth." This shows that there was some connexion between the existence of plants and rain. Besides this, rain would have been of little use before plants were created. But after their creation (or rather, perhaps, at the very time of their creation) "there went up a mist," &c. And thus we think that the rain mentioned in the fifth verse, and the watering of the earth by a mist in the sixth verse, mean the same thing. But if there were no rain before the flood, the law of evaporation, or some other law, must have been different then from what it is now; and so nothing is gained by the hypothesis, for a miracle would still be necessary.

Upon the whole, we are disposed to adopt the opinion of our author, that the bow was not seen before the flood, and that it was caused by some change in the law of refraction.

In his history of the Scripture patriarchs, Mr. Smith discusses at length the history of Job, which has been a subject of more controversy than any other part of Scripture, and treats it with a great deal of ability and judgment. He renders it probable that "Job is the same person with Jobab, the son of Joktan," who is mentioned in Gen. x, 29, and flourished about 2338 B. C. The following are the arguments which he offers in support of this date: That Job's age, at the time of his death, was about the same as that of the patriarchs contemporary with Jobab; that the cardinal constellations of spring and autumn in his time were Chima and Chesil, or Taurus and Scorpio, and knowing their present longitude, we can compute from the precession of the equinox the time when they occupied that position in the heavens; that when Moses brought the Israelites out of Egypt every nation un-

der the heaven had lapsed into idolatry, especially the worship of images, so that Job must have lived before this event—otherwise it would be highly improbable that five such persons as Job and his friends should have been found in Idumea (in which he supposes Job resided) at that time; that when idolatry is alluded to, it is represented as being the worship of the sun and moon, and punishable by the judge, Job xxxi, 26–28. The astronomical argument appears to us very feeble, as there is no good reason, from the reference that is made to the constellations Taurus and Scorpio, to suppose that they were spring and autumn constellations. The following is the passage to which our author principally refers: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" Job xxxviii, 31. Our translators render the Hebrew word מַעֲדַנּוֹת "sweet influences," mistaking it for another word which has the same form in the plural in one instance in the Bible. The word means bands or ligatures, and is rendered by the Septuagint δεσμός, *a bond*. The Lord demands of Job whether he could (or did) bind together this cluster of stars, or loose the bands of Orion, which constellation, in accordance with the views of the ancients, is represented as a mighty giant bound to the sky. But it may be thought that the prominence given them indicates their occupying prominent positions in the zodiac. We think not; for, in the prophet Amos, who lived before Christ about 790, it is said, "Seek him that maketh the seven stars (Pleiades) and Orion," chap. v, ver. 8. Yet these could not have been the cardinal constellations of spring and autumn in the prophet's time, but must have differed from it by at least twenty degrees.

In reference to the Satan of the book of Job, which, however, Mr. Smith does not discuss in connexion with the preceding, he quotes the views of Wemys, and says: "His exposition is ingenious, and may be correct: if well founded, it certainly obviates a serious difficulty; but in this case we are not so fully satisfied as to feel at liberty to decide between these conflicting opinions." These views are, that the Satan of this book is a different being from the Satan of the other books of the Bible,—that he is a good angel, appointed by God to inspect the manners of men, and to give in his report at the divine judgment-seat; and having some doubt of Job's piety, he proceeded to test it. He supposes it to "be utterly incongruous to imagine that the enemy of God and man, the impure spirit, should have free and undebarred access whenever he chose it, to the divine presence; that the Almighty should hold colloquies with him, and condescend to gratify him, especially for the accomplishment of purposes which might appear wholly malignant." And, furthermore, Satan

"never exceeds his commission in the calamities with which Job was tried—which is a character scarcely attributable to him who is commonly called Satan and Abaddon." In replying to this, we will first give a quotation from Gesenius: "The empty hypothesis of A. Schultens, Herder, Eichorn, and others, who held the Satan of the book of Job to be different from the Satan of the other books, regarding him as a good angel appointed to try the characters of men, and who therefore proposed in the prologue of this book everywhere to read הַסֹּבֵב, i. e., *περιοδεύτης*, [one who goes about,] from the root שׂטם, is now universally exploded."* There is nothing inconsistent with the devil's character in regard to Job. In the book of Revelation, after Satan is represented as being cast out of heaven, it is said, "the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night," chap. xii, ver. 10. Nor is it strange that Satan never exceeds his commission. When our Saviour, on a certain occasion, cast out devils, they besought him to permit them to enter into the herd of swine; and after permission was given they went. Thus we see that they can do nothing without divine permission. Satan has his limits, which he cannot pass.

In describing the life and character of Abraham, our author meets with a chronological difficulty which has greatly perplexed the learned. "Moses says, 'And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran,' Gen. xi, 26. And again: 'And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran,' ver. 32. We are also told 'that Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran,' Gen. xii, 4. Yet, notwithstanding this, we are assured by Stephen, Acts vii, 2–4, that Terah was dead before Abram left Haran." Now if Abram was born when Terah was seventy years old, and he was seventy-five when his father died, then Terah, at the time of his death, would be but one hundred and forty-five. And since Abram stands first in the list of Terah's sons, it has been generally supposed that he was the oldest. Our author thinks that he was not, but that Haran was older than he, because he was married a considerable length of time before Abram was. This opinion he might have confirmed, and shown conclusively that Abram's standing first in the list is no proof of his being the oldest, by reference to an analogous case: "And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet," Gen. v, 32. Almost every one concludes from Shem's standing first in the list, that he was the oldest; yet such was not the case. In Gen. x, 21, it is said, "Unto Shem, also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of

* Hebrew Lexicon, under the word שָׂטָן.

Japhet the elder, even to him were children born." Here, then, Japhet, who is the last in the list, is declared to be older than Shem, the first one. It may be so with the list of Terah's sons—which removes the difficulty; for no one, we suppose, will contend that all three were born the same year. But we can easily conceive why Abram and Shem should stand first—they were the illustrious ancestors of the Hebrews, and consequently would be first in the mind of Moses.

The remaining chapters of the book are taken up in discussing the religion of the patriarchs and the rise of empires, to enter into a consideration of which would carry us beyond the limits we have prescribed for ourselves.

Art VI.—JOHN RANDOLPH.

The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke. By Hugh A. Garland. 2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1851.

John Randolph,—of Roanoke, as he loved to write,—was a son of "the Ancient Dominion," born on the 2d day of June, 1773. By his mother's side he was a descendant of Pocahontas, the celebrated Indian princess. In his childhood he was noted for the almost uncontrollable ardour of his temperament; and before he was four years old he would swoon away in fits of infantile passion. There was always, what he calls, "a spice of the devil in his temper." His constitution was frail, his complexion effeminate, and his skin as tender and delicate as an infant's. He cared not for the sports of his associates, and spurned the restraints of the pedagogue. He loved solitude, and pursued his own desultory course of reading, as chance or his own choice directed. In the family library, where he spent the larger portion of his time, he had devoured before reaching his eleventh year, Voltaire and Shakspeare, Tales of the Genii and the Arabian Nights, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Tom Jones, Plutarch, Gulliver's Travels, Thomson's Seasons, Robinson Crusoe, and Quintus Curtius. A strange medley for a child! And this rambling way of reading he lamented and denounced, though he pursued it in his mature age. "I have been," said he, "the creature of impulse, the sport of chance, the victim of my own uncontrolled and uncontrollable sensations." He deemed himself a child of destiny, a football for the fates. A curse, he was wont to say, clung to his race, and he was quite sure that, in all his wanderings, in solitary retirement

at Roanoke, and in the whirl of political dissipation, he felt this curse cleaving to himself. Mr. Garland mentions, as "a remarkable coincidence," that successively his birth-place, the cherished home of his childhood, and the house in which he spent the first fifteen years of his manhood, were each destroyed by fire. Randolph saw in these conflagrations the lowering curse which hung over him—the lurid reflection of inevitable destiny. In infancy he was left fatherless, and his mother appears to have had little, if any, control over him in his waywardness, although she lavished her love upon him, and aimed to instil into his youthful heart lessons of piety. And he never forgot her. She died when he was about fifteen. He carried her picture with him in all his journeyings, and was wont to speak of her as the only friend he ever had. Often was he known to ejaculate her name and to repeat the prayers she taught him with an earnestness that called forth tears from those who heard him. In a letter to a friend, written a quarter of a century after her death, he says:—

"When I could first remember, I slept in the same bed with my widowed mother: each night, before putting me to bed, I repeated on my knees before her the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; each morning, kneeling in the bed, I put up my little hands in prayer in the same form. Years have since passed away; I have been a sceptic, a professed scoffer, glorying in my infidelity, and vain of the ingenuity with which I could defend it. Prayer never crossed my mind, but in scorn. I am now conscious that the lessons above mentioned, taught me by my dear and revered mother, are of more value to me than all that I have learned from my preceptors and compeers. On Sunday I said my catechism, a great part of which at the distance of thirty-five years I can yet repeat."—Vol. i, p. 12.

By the occasional instructions of his step-father, a gentleman of literary taste, and a year's tuition at a grammar school in Virginia, young Randolph was prepared for college. He spent a few months at Princeton, whence he removed, for what cause is not mentioned, to Columbia College, in this city. Here he remained but a short time. His classical studies were closed, finally, before reaching his sixteenth year. In his own language, "all his noble and generous aspirations had been quenched." He was wont to charge it to his destiny; and, when at the zenith of his popularity as an orator and a leader in debate, he mourned over his lack of early training, and in the bitterness of his spirit would frequently exclaim, "I am an ignorant man, sir!" There is some truth, mingled with a little wormwood, in the following reminiscence from his own pen:—

"My mother once expressed a wish to me, that I might one day or other be as great a speaker as Jerman Baker or Edmund Randolph! That gave the bent to my disposition. At Princeton College, where I spent a few months, (1787,) the prize of elocution was borne away by mouthers and ranters. I

never would speak if I could possibly avoid it; and when I could not, repeated, without gesture, the shortest piece that I had committed to memory. I remember some verses from Pope, and the first anonymous letter from Newberg, made up the sum and substance of my spoutings, and I can yet repeat much of the first epistle (to Lord Chatham) of the former, and a good deal of the latter. I was then as conscious of my superiority over my competitors in delivery and elocution, as I am now that they are sunk in oblivion; and I despised the award and the umpires in the bottom of my heart. I believe that there is nowhere such foul play as among professors and schoolmasters, more especially if they are priests. I have had a contempt for college honours ever since."—Vol. i, p. 23.

This is highly characteristic. Mouthers and ranters are very apt to bear away the prize: yet it is not very wonderful if professors, even when they are priests, are unable to discern latent superiority in those who mount the rostra only when they cannot help it; and when there, repeat the shortest pieces, monotonously, and without gesture.

The sudden and untimely death of his elder brother, Richard, one of the most promising men in Virginia, appears to have affected him even more deeply than that of his mother. It was a blow from which he never recovered. In the language of Mr. Garland:—

"His extreme sensibility had been deeply touched, the quick irritability of his temper exasperated by the tragic events of his family. A father's face he had never seen, save what his lively imagination would picture to itself from the lines of a miniature likeness which he always wore in his bosom. The fond caresses of a tender mother, *who alone knew him*, were torn from him in his childhood. The second brother had died in his youth; and now the oldest, the best, the pride and hope of the family, after years of suffering and persecution, just as he had triumphed over calumny and oppression, was suddenly called away. We may well imagine how deep, how poignant was his grief, when, thirty years thereafter, in the solitude of his hermitage at Roanoke, his lively fancy brought back those early scenes with all the freshness of recent events, and caused him to exclaim with the Indian chief, who had been deprived of all his children by the white man's hand—'Not a drop of Logan's blood—father's blood except St. George, the most bereaved and pitiable of the step-sons of nature!'"—Vol. i, pp. 69, 70.

Thereafter Mr. Randolph, now at the head of a large household, became more and more repulsive in his temper. Restless and unhappy, with all the appliances of wealth about him, his morbid spirit appears to have taken its only solace from gloomy meditations upon his own wretchedness. He had no friends, and wanted none; and, as to looking to a higher source for grace and consolation, the idea appears not, as yet, to have entered his imagination. He had been crossed in love, too. His heart had been offered up, he says, with "a devotion that knew no reserve." "*One* I loved better than my own soul, or Him that created it;" and his biographer seems to think these things an all-sufficient reason for his hero's querulous misan-

thropy, and for the "melancholy gloom of fanciful despair," wherein he wrapped himself. Adverting to the effects produced by the death of his brother Richard, Mr. Garland says:—

"He had no confidential friend; nor would any tie, however sacred, excuse inquiry. Why should it? for who can minister to a mind diseased, or pluck from the heart its deep-rooted sorrow?"—Vol. i, p. 70.

That question was well enough in the lips of Macbeth, where the poet placed it, but rather too poetical for the sober page of a biographer in a Christian land. Our author is still more magniloquent, and runs into bombast, if not something worse, when speaking of his hero's youthful love-scrape, and the girl who jilted him:—

"Here, reader, we let drop the curtain. Its thick folds of half a century are impervious to the light of mortal eyes; ask not a look beyond the mysterious veil. There are secrets we trust not to a friend, that we betray not to ourselves, and which none but the impious curiosity of a heartless world would ever dare to penetrate. Let the gross impulses, the base considerations of worldly gain, that constitute the ground and the motive of most human associations, suffice as fit subjects for your cold observation, your ridicule and contempt; but hold sacred, or look with awe on, that deep *self-sacrificing passion, which, springing from the soul of man, is all-embracing in its love, fathomless, infinite, and divine!* Enough to know, that in the bosom of this man there glowed the fires of such a love, that continued to burn through life, and were only extinguished amid the crumbling ruins of the altar by the damp dews that gathered over them in the dark valley and the shadow of death."—Vol. i, p. 184.

Mr. Randolph made his first appearance as a public speaker at the Charlotte court, Va., in March, 1799. He was then a candidate to represent that district in Congress. The celebrated Patrick Henry preceded him in the last great effort he ever made. An outline of his speech is given in Wirt's life of that eminent orator. It was truly a master-piece of eloquence, and at its close his hearers were bathed in tears, so vividly had he pictured the evils of disunion; for even then the cry of State rights had led many of the leading minds of Virginia to the very verge of nullification and secession. Randolph, then unknown to fame, a beardless stripling, rose to reply. Mr. Garland describes his appearance on the occasion, and spreads out what the reader cannot help supposing will be an intellectual feast. It is John Randolph's maiden speech. The time, the occasion, the subject—all conspire to whet the reader's eagerness. Page after page is perused. It hardly meets expectation, and appears, despite its stilted phraseology, to grow flatter and more commonplace as he proceeds. Perhaps the reporters of that day were not skilled in their vocation. Even this fails to account for the drowsiness which steals upon the reader, and he is perplexed in the extreme to account for the effects said to have been produced upon

the vast multitude by the youthful antagonist of the veteran Henry. But the peroration, where the orator parodies the Shakspearian speech of Brutus on the death of Cæsar, is now reached; and at its close, the mystery is explained, and the reputation of Randolph vindicated, by the following decidedly cool statement:—

"We do not pretend, reader, to *give you the language of John Randolph on this occasion; nor are we certain even that the thoughts are his.* We have nothing but the faint tradition of near fifty years to go upon; and happy are we if all our researches have enabled us to make even a tolerable approximation to what was said."—Vol. i, p. 141.

In all fairness, a paragraph like this ought to have preceded, rather than followed, this invention. We are clearly of the opinion that if our author's happiness depends, as he intimates, upon the "if" in the last-quoted sentence, he has no right to be happy. There are, fortunately, numerous genuine specimens of Randolph's forensic efforts in the volumes before us; and in the first Congress, under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, he had already reached the high position of a leader in the debates. As chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means—in some respects the most important position in the House—he was brought into daily communication with the executive departments. He was remarkable for his untiring industry, and unremitting in his devotion to his public duties. In all his public career, mixed up as it is with many strange idiosyncrasies, there is ever apparent an unyielding adherence to what he thought the right. He hated, indeed, what he called federalism, with an intense bitterness; but he was never known to abandon principle for policy. He was equally unsparing in his denunciations of what he deemed wrong in his own party, and very soon became obnoxious to his chosen associates. What was called the Yazoo speculation—"a colossus of turpitude," in the language of Mr. Garland—called forth his most strenuous opposition. Members of Mr. Jefferson's cabinet had a pecuniary interest in the matter, and hence open and avowed hostility against the democratic leader pervaded the democratic ranks. Indeed, a party was soon formed for the purpose of putting down the member from Virginia: and they were successful. We quote from his biographer:—

"Times had changed; the country was involved in war, and all its resources were pledged to a successful issue; redoubled efforts must now be made to drive him from the councils of the nation, who had opposed its measures, and foreboded nothing but evil as their consequence. Never was a political canvass conducted with more animation. In Buckingham, Mr. Randolph was threatened with personal violence if he attempted to address the people. Some of the older and more prudent persons advised him to retire, and not appear in public. 'You know very little of me,' said he, 'or you would not give such advice.' He was a man incapable of fear. Soon proclamation was made that

Mr. Randolph would address the people. A dense throng gathered around; he mounted the hustings; on the outskirts there hung a lowering and sullen crowd, that evidently meditated insult or violence on the first opportunity. He commenced: 'I understand that I am to be insulted to-day if I attempt to address the people—that a mob is prepared to lay their rude hands upon me, and drag me from these hustings, for daring to exercise the rights of a freeman.' Then fixing his keen eye on the malcontents, and stretching out and slowly waving his long fore-finger towards them, he continued: 'My Bible teaches me that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, but that the fear of man is the consummation of folly.' He then turned to the people, and went on with his discourse. No one dared to disturb him—his spell was upon them—like the Ancient Mariner, 'he held them with his glittering eye,' and made them listen against their will to the story of their country's wrongs, and to feel that deep wounds had been inflicted in the sides of her constitution by those that now sought his political destruction, if not his life.

"Mr. Randolph made extraordinary exertions during this canvass. He felt that something more than his own success or his own reputation were staked on the issue; and never was he more powerful, more commanding, more overwhelming in his eloquence.

"In his favourite county of Prince Edward, where the people loved him like a brother, he surpassed even himself. A young man, who was a student in a neighbouring college, declares that he stood on his feet for three hours unconscious of the flight of time—that he never heard such burning words fall from the lips of man, and was borne along on the tide of his impassioned eloquence like a feather on the bosom of a cataract. When he had ceased—when his voice was no longer heard, and his form had disappeared in the throng, no one moved—the people stood still as though they had been shocked by a stroke of lightning—their fixed eyes and pallid cheeks resembled marble statues, or petrified Roman citizens in the forum of Pompeii or Herculaneum.

"But it was all in vain; the overwhelming pressure from without was more than even Charlotte district could withstand; and their favourite son was compelled to retire for a short time, while the storm of war was passing over the land, and to seek repose in the shades of Roanoke."—Vol. i, pp. 310, 311.

On his retirement from the councils of the nation, Mr. Randolph led a life of seclusion and solitude, unchequered—it is his own declaration—by "a single ray of enjoyment." In a letter to a friend, he says:—

"I had taken so strong a disgust against public business, conducted as it had been for years past, that I doubt my fitness for the situation from which I have been dismissed. The House of Representatives was as odious to me as ever school-room was to a truant boy. To be under the dominion of such wretches as (with few exceptions) composed the majority, was intolerably irksome to my feelings; and although my present situation is far from enviable, I feel the value of the exchange."

To the same friend, in a letter written a few months afterward, he says:—

"My body is wholly worn out, and the intellectual part much shattered. Were I to follow the dictates of prudence, I should convert my estates into money, and move northwardly. I wish I could say something of my future movements. I look forward without hope. Clouds and darkness hang upon my prospects; and should my feeble frame hang together a few years longer, the time may arrive when my best friends, as well as myself, may pray that a close be put to the same."

By the earnest solicitation of his friends, however, he again consented to be a candidate for Congress, and in 1815 was triumphantly re-elected. His success afforded him no pleasure, except as it was a source of gratification to others. He says:—

"I cannot force myself to think on the subject of public affairs. I am engrossed by reflections of a very different and far more important nature; and I look forward to the future in this world, to say nothing of the next, with anticipations that forbid any idle expression of exultation. On the contrary, my sensations are such as become a dependent creature, whose only hope for salvation rests upon the free grace of Him to whom we must look for peace in this world, as well as in the world to come."

We are thus introduced to the most interesting portion of Mr. Randolph's life, and gradually the secret of his disquietude and anguish of soul is revealed. He had been a student and an admirer of the more prominent teachers of infidelity. Hume and Hobbes, Bayle, Bolingbroke, Voltaire, and Gibbon, were his especial favourites. He had cultivated sceptical philosophy from what he calls his "vain-glorious boyhood." He had looked upon Christianity as cant, and deemed its professors hypocrites or fanatics. In his solitude at Roanoke—where, in his own language, he was as much out of the world as if he had been in Kamtschatka or Juan Fernandez—the terrors of hell got hold upon him. The delusions of infidelity melted away, and the expressions found in letters to his intimate friends, show very clearly that the Holy Spirit was striving with him. Thus to his friend Key he says:—

"Among the causes of uneasiness which have laid hold upon me lately, is a strong anxiety for the welfare of those whom I love, and whom I see walking in darkness. But there is one source of affliction, the last and deepest, which I must reserve till we meet, if I can prevail upon myself to communicate it even then. It was laid open by one of those wonderful coincidences, which men call chance, but which manifest the hand of God. It has lacerated my heart, and taken from it its last hope in this world. Ought I not to bless God for the evil (as it seems in my sight) as well as the good? Is it not the greatest of blessings, if it be made the means of drawing me unto him? Do I know what to ask at his hands? Is he not the judge of what is good for me? If it be his pleasure that I perish, am I not conscious that the sentence is just?

"Implicitly, then, will I throw myself upon his mercy: 'Not my will, but thine be done;' 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner;' 'Help, Lord, or I perish.' And now, my friend, if, after these glimpses of the light, I should shut mine eyes and harden my heart, which now is as melted wax; if I should be enticed back to the 'herd,' and lose all recollection of my wounds, how much deeper my guilt than his whose heart has never been touched by the sense of his perishing, undone condition!"—Vol. ii, p. 67.

And again, a little later, to the same friend:—

"I think that the state of solitude and dereliction in which I am placed, has not been without some good effect in giving me better views than I have had of the most important of all subjects; and I would not exchange it, comfortless

as it is, for the heartless intercourse of the world. I know that 'if a man says he loves God, and hates his brother, he is a liar;' but I do not hate my brethren of the human family. I fear, however, that I cannot love them as I ought. But God, I hope and trust, will in his good time put better dispositions into my heart. There are few of them, I am persuaded, more undeserving of love than I am.

"Every day brings with it new evidences of my weakness and utter inability, of myself, to do any good thing, or even to conceive a single good thought. With the unhappy father in the Gospel, I cry out, 'Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief!' When I think of the goodness, and wisdom, and power of God, I seem, in my own eyes, a devil in all but strength. I say this to you, who will not ascribe it to affected humility. Sometimes I have better views, but again I am weighed down to the very earth, or lost in a labyrinth of doubts and perplexities. The hardness of my own heart grieves and astonishes me. Then, again, I settle down in a state of coldness and indifference, which is worse than all. But the quivering of our frail flesh, often the effect of physical causes, cannot detract from the mercy of our Creator, and to him I commit myself. 'Thy will be done!'"—Vol. ii, p. 95.

Of course, by those who knew no better, these, and similar outpourings of the agony of a wounded spirit, were regarded as the ravings of delirium. His biographer evidently thought so; and his explanations of the causes of his hero's madness are put forth with a shallow profundity, which evinces that he knew nothing of the matter. He says:—

"When we come to consider the solitude in which he lived, the emaciated condition of his delicate frame, worn down by long and torturing disease, the irritable state of his nervous system—'he was almost like a man without a skin'—the constant and sleepless excitement of his mental faculties and of his brilliant imagination induced by this morbid irritability; when we throw ourselves into his condition, and conceive of the crowd of burning thoughts that pressed upon his mind—pass in melancholy review the many friends that had been torn from him by the hand of death, the many who had forgotten him and forsaken him as a fallen man, no longer serviceable to them—call to remembrance that his own father's house was desolate, St. George in the madhouse, himself, like Logan, alone in his cabin, without a drop of his father's blood save that which coursed in his own well-nigh exhausted veins—and, above all, when we call to remembrance his first, his youthful, and his only love, which is said to have greatly revived in his mind at this time with the painful yet hallowed associations that clustered around its cherished memory, who can wonder that a man with the temperament of John Randolph, under these circumstances should fling away all restraint, and should cry aloud in the anguish of his soul, and should so act and speak as to excite the astonishment of those around, and induce them to believe that he was a madman! In a similar situation David was a madman; Byron was a madman; Rousseau—all high-souled, deep-feeling men of genius, in the eye of the world, were madmen."—Vol. ii, pp. 97, 98.

Truly a strange collocation! David,—he means the sweet singer of Israel,—Byron, Rousseau, madmen all! And how satisfactory the reasons, philosophical and psychological, which he gives for his hero's grief at the newly-discovered hardness of his heart, and for his cry to the Holy One, "Help thou my unbelief!"

In this state of mind, Randolph appears to have continued for several months. He pored over the sacred volume, attended the public worship of God, fasted, and wept, and agonized in prayer. The result is told by himself, in a letter dated Roanoke, September 7, 1818:—

"Congratulate me, dear Frank—wish me joy you need not; give it you cannot—I am at last reconciled to my God, and have assurance of his pardon, through faith in Christ, against which the very gates of hell cannot prevail. Fear hath been driven out by perfect love. I *now know* that *you know* how I feel; and within a month, for the first time, I understand your feelings and character, and that of every *real* Christian. Love to Mrs. Key and your brood.

"I am not now afraid of being 'righteous overmuch,' or of 'Methodistical notions.' Thine, in truth, J. R. of R."

—Vol. ii, pp. 99, 100.

The reader will be pleased with a few more extracts from his correspondence at this period. To Dr. Brockenbrough, who had attributed the change in his religious sentiments to a heated imagination, he says:—

"I cannot express sorrow—for I do not feel it—at the impression which you tell me my last letter made upon you. May it lead to the same happy consequences that I have experienced—which I now feel—in that sunshine of the heart, which the peace of God, that passeth all understanding, alone can bestow!

"Your imputing such sentiments to a heated imagination does not surprise me, who have been bred in the school of Hobbes and Bayle, and Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, and Hume and Voltaire and Gibbon; who have cultivated the sceptical philosophy from my vain-glorious boyhood—I might almost say childhood—and who have felt all that unutterable disgust which hypocrisy and cant and fanaticism never fail to excite in men of education and refinement, superadded to our natural repugnance to Christianity. I am not, even now, insensible to this impression; but as the excesses of her friends (real or pretended) can never alienate the votary of liberty from a free form of government, and enlist him under the banners of despotism, so neither can the cant of fanaticism, or hypocrisy, or of both (for so far from being incompatible, they are generally found united in the same character—may God in his mercy preserve and defend us from both!) disgust the pious with true religion."—Vol. ii, p. 100.

The doctor, it seems, had indulged in a fling at what he called Methodism, in commenting upon his friend's rapturous expressions of assurance of the divine favour. Randolph says, in reply:—

"By the way, this term Methodist in religion is of vast compass and effect—like tory in politics, or *aristocrate* in Paris, 'with the lamp-post for its second,' some five or six-and-twenty years ago.

"Dr. Hoge? 'a Methodist parson.' Frank Key? 'a fanatic,' (I heard him called so not ten days ago.) 'a Methodistical, whining, &c., &c.' Wilberforce? 'a Methodist.' Mrs. Hannah More? 'ditto.' It ought never to be forgotten, that real converts to Christianity on opposite sides of the globe, agree at the same moment to the same facts. Thus Dr. Hoge and Mr. Key, although strangers, understand perfectly what each other feels and believes.

"If I were to show a MS. in some unknown tongue to half a dozen persons, strangers to each other and natives of different countries, and they should all

give me the same translation, could I doubt their acquaintance with the strange language? On the contrary, can I, who am but a smatterer in Greek, believe an interpreter who pretends to a knowledge of that tongue, and yet cannot tell the meaning of τύπτω?"—Vol. ii, p. 102.

Among Mr. Randolph's friends, there was one of a very different spirit from the generality of those who corresponded with him. It was Frank Key, as he calls him in the preceding extract—a man who was not ashamed of being styled a fanatic, and upon whom the dreaded epithet, Methodistic, had no influence. Here is his letter to Randolph, on receiving the news of his friend's conversion:—

"I do, indeed, my dear friend, rejoice with you—I have long wished, and often believed with confidence, that you would experience what God has now blessed you with. I need not tell you (if I could) of its value, for I trust you feel it to be 'unspeakable.' May the grace that has brought you from 'darkness to light,' from 'death to life,' keep you forever!

"Nor do I rejoice merely on your own account or mine. The wonders that God is everywhere doing show us that these are no ordinary times, and justify us in hoping and expecting for greater manifestations of his power and goodness. You stand on an eminence—'let your light shine' brightly, that all may see it—steadily, that they may know whence it comes, and 'glorify your Father which is in heaven.'

"Write to me often and particularly; 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;' and may I always hear that you are following the guidance of that blessed Spirit that will 'lead you into all truth,' leaning on that almighty arm that has been extended to deliver you, trusting only in the only Saviour, and 'going on' in your way to him 'rejoicing.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 103, 104.

From the same pen there are, in the volumes before us, several other letters breathing the same spirit,—full of Christian sympathy, earnest exhortation, and practical advice. We can afford room only for the following, on the subject of his friend's return to public duties as a member of Congress:—

"You know my opinion about public life—that a man has no more right to decline it than to seek it. I do not know, perhaps, all its dangers, but I have no doubt they are great. But whatever they be, the grace of God is sufficient for them; and he who enters upon them with a sole view to his glory, and depends entirely on his grace, will find 'crooked things made straight,' and the mountains made plains before him. Certainly in such a state, a man who lives 'by faith and not by sight' can evidently serve the cause of religion; and I trust and pray that thus your light may shine.

"You will indeed be set 'on a hill.' Innumerable eyes will be fastened on you. The men of the world will look for something with which they may reproach you, and your faith; while 'the blessed company of all faithful people' will look to see if they may 'take knowledge of you, that you have been with Christ'—may they have to 'thank God always for you!'

"You have no idea what an interest is excited in your behalf among religious persons. I believe that many a fervent prayer is offered up for you by people who never saw your face."—Vol. ii, pp. 106, 107.

In a few months after his conversion, Mr. Randolph was led to see the sinfulness of holding his fellow-men in bondage. In the

month of May, 1819, he made that "will," by which he emancipated his slaves, and which caused so much discussion and contention at his death. The following is the language of that document, written, as we have said, some eight months after the letter in which he calls upon his friend to rejoice with him in having attained assurance of the divine forgiveness:—

"I give to my slaves their freedom, to which *my conscience tells me they are justly entitled.* It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me, that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the laws of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my life-time, which it is my full intention to do, in case I can accomplish it."

Two years afterward he made another will, confirming the former, and appropriating a sum not exceeding eight thousand dollars for their benefit. Again in 1826, 1828, and 1831, by codicils, he reiterates his *will* upon this subject, and makes special provision for several of his favourites by name. There is something exceedingly touching and highly characteristic in the codicil of 1831. In it he says:—

"In addition to the provision which I have made for my faithful servant John, sometimes called John White, I charge my whole estate with an annuity to him during his life, of fifty dollars; and as the only favour I ever asked of any government, I do entreat the assembly of Virginia to permit the said John and his family to remain in Virginia."

The Old Dominion's favourite son *entreats* the legislature of his native state—the only favour he ever asked at their hands—to *permit* John and his family to remain in the land of their birth!

To the whole scheme of African colonization Mr. Randolph was bitterly opposed. He refused even to present a petition to the Senate from that society, although urged so to do by one of his warmest friends. He declared, as his deliberate judgment, that its tendency "was bad and mischievous; that a spirit of morbid sensibility, religious fanaticism, vanity, and the love of display, were the chief moving causes of that society."—(*Letter to Brockenbrough, 20th February*, 1826.)

On the subject of discussing, publicly, the slavery question, Mr. Randolph held views very different from those prevalent among his associates. In a debate in the national legislature, he said:—

"I know there are gentlemen, not only from the Northern, but from the Southern States, who think that this unhappy question—for such it is—of negro slavery, which the Constitution has vainly attempted to blink, by not using the term, should never be brought into public notice, more especially into that of Congress, and most especially here. Sir, with every due respect for the gentlemen who think so, I differ from them, *toto cælo*. Sir, it is a thing

which cannot be hid—it is not a dry-rot that you can cover with the carpet, until the house tumbles about your ears—you might as well try to hide a volcano in full operation—it cannot be hid; it is a cancer in your face, and must be treated *secundum artem;* it must not be tampered with by quacks, who never saw the disease or the patient—it must be, if you will, let alone; but on this very principle of letting it alone, I have brought in my resolution. I am willing to play what is called child's play—let me alone, and I will let you alone; let my resolution alone, and I will say nothing in support of it: for there is a want of sense in saying anything in support of a resolution that nobody opposes. Sir, will the Senate pardon my repeating the words of a great man, which cannot be too often repeated? 'A small danger, menacing an inestimable object, is of more importance, in the eyes of a wise man, than the greatest danger which can possibly threaten an object of minor consequence.' I do not put the question to you, sir. I know what your answer will be. I know what will be the answer of every husband, father, son, and brother, throughout the Southern States; I know that on this depends the honour of every matron and maiden—of every matron (wife or widow) between the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico. I know that upon it depends the life's blood of the little ones which are lying in their cradles, in happy ignorance of what is passing around them; and not the white ones only, for shall not we, too, kill?—shall we not react the scenes which were acted in Guatamala, and elsewhere, except, I hope, with far different success? for if, with a superiority in point of numbers, as well as of intelligence and courage, we should suffer ourselves to be, as them, vanquished, we should deserve to have negroes for our task-masters, and for the husbands of our wives. This, then, is the inestimable object, which the gentleman from Carolina views in the same light that I do, and that you do too, sir, and to which every Southern bosom responds;—a chord which, when touched, even by the most delicate hand, vibrates to the heart of every man in our country. I wish I could maintain, with truth, that it came within the other predicament—that it was a small danger, but it is a great danger; it is a danger that has increased, is increasing, and *must* be diminished, or it must come to its regular catastrophe."—Vol. ii, pp. 262, 263.

Returning from this digression, let us follow Mr. Randolph, from the time of his first professing faith in Christ, through a few of the more important events of his public life. As we have seen, he regretted his re-election to Congress. In his retirement at Roanoke, he continued in the enjoyment of great peace of mind; but very soon after entering upon his public duties at Washington, he rushed upon the arena of political strife, allowed his feelings to become exasperated towards his opponents, and thenceforward appears to have been a stranger to the consolations of divine grace. In the whole compass of modern biography, we know not a more striking illustration of the Saviour's words, "The last state of that man is worse than the first." He might have been, even in Washington, as a city set upon a hill,—happy in the love of God, and shedding light upon all within the circle of his influence. He threw away the pearl of great price, which he had found, after so long and painful a search; forgot Him who had spoken peace to his soul; derived no happiness from spiritual things, and found none in his worldly avocations or associates. Speaking of the friend, to whose deep interest in his

spiritual welfare we have already referred, he says, in a letter written after he had been a few months in Washington:—

"Yesterday I was to have dined with Frank Key, but was not well enough to go. He called here the day before, and we had much talk together. He perseveres in pressing on towards the goal, and his whole life is spent in endeavouring to do good for his unhappy fellow-men. The result is, that he enjoys a tranquillity of mind, a sunshine of the soul, that all the Alexanders of the earth can neither confer nor take away. This is a state to which I can never attain. I have made up my mind to suffer like a man condemned to the wheel or the stake. Strange as you may think it, I could submit without a murmur to pass the rest of my life 'on some high lonely tower, where I might outwatch the bear with thrice great Hermes,' and exchange the enjoyments of society for an exemption from the plagues of life. These press me down to the very earth; and to rid myself of them, I would gladly purchase an annuity and crawl into some hole, where I might commune with myself and be still." —Vol. ii, pp. 144, 145.

On another occasion he uses this language:—"No punishment except remorse can exceed the misery I feel. My heart swells to bursting at past recollections; and as the present is without enjoyment, so is the future without hope." And again, in the same strain:—"Dreary, desolate, dismal,—there is no word in our language or any other, that can express the misery of my life. I drag on like a tired captive at the end of a slave-chain in an African coffle."

The most prominent subject of discussion in Congress, of which Mr. Randolph was now a member, was what is known as the Missouri Question. It met with his most determined opposition, as did the compromise which was finally adopted, or, as Randolph said, "smuggled through the House." He declared of the speaker, Henry Clay, that he had taken advantage of his office; had deprived him and his friends of their constitutional rights; and thenceforward to the close of the session, he and the speaker never exchanged salutations, or even spoke to each other. The mutual animosity between these great men, each a leader of his party, appears to have increased until the election of Mr. Adams to the presidency, and the acceptance of the office of secretary of state by Mr. Clay. It resulted in a duel, the immediate cause of which was a speech of Randolph, then a senator, on a message from the president, relative to a proposed Congress of Nations at Panama. The gist of the offence in that message will be seen in the following sketch of Mr. Randolph's speech on the occasion. Referring to President Adams, he asks:—

"Who made him a judge of our usages? Who constituted him? He has been a professor, I understand. I wish he had left off the pedagogue when he got into the executive chair. Who made him the *censor morum* of this body?

Will any one answer this question? Yes or no? Who? Name the person. Above all, who made him the searcher of hearts, and gave him the right, by an inuendo black as hell, to blacken our motives? Blacken our motives! I did not say that then. I was more under self-command; I did not use such strong language. I said, if he could borrow the eye of Omniscience himself, and look into every bosom here; if he could look into that most awful, calamitous, and tremendous of all possible gulfs, the naked unveiled human heart, stripped of all its covering of self-love, exposed naked, as to the eye of God—I said if he could do that, he was not, as President of the United States, entitled to pass upon our motives, although he saw and knew them to be bad. I said, if he had converted us to the Catholic religion, and was our father confessor, and every man in this House at the footstool of the confessional had confessed a bad motive to him by the laws of his Church, as by this Constitution, above the law and above the Church, he, as President of the United States, could not pass on our motives, though we had told him with our own lips our motives, and confessed they were bad. I said this then, and I say it now. Here I plant my foot; here I fling defiance right into his teeth before the American people; here I throw the gauntlet to him and the bravest of his compeers, to come forward and defend these miserable lines: 'Involving a departure, hitherto, so far as I am informed, without example, from that usage, and upon the motives for which, not being informed of them, I do not feel myself competent to decide.' Amiable modesty! I wonder we did not, all at once, fall in love with him, and agree *una voce* to publish our proceedings, except myself, for I quitted the Senate ten minutes before the vote was taken. I saw what was to follow; I knew the thing would not be done at all, or would be done unanimously. Therefore, in spite of the remonstrances of friends, I went away, not fearing that any one would doubt what my vote would have been, if I had stayed. After twenty-six hours' exertion it was time to give in. I was defeated, horse, foot, and dragoons—cut up, and clean broke down by the *coalition of Blifil and Black George—by the combination, unheard of till then, of the puritan with the black-leg.*"—Vol. ii, pp. 253, 254.

The allusion in the latter part of this speech was too pointed to be misunderstood. Randolph was fully persuaded that the coalition between the president and his secretary of state was the result of corrupt motives, and his language can be construed in no other way than as a personal insult of the grossest kind. A challenge followed. Attempts were made, by the friends of the parties, to prevent a meeting, but without success. Randolph refused to retract or to apologize. "I have," said he, "no explanations to give—I will not give any. I applied to the administration the epithet puritanic, black-legged. I am called to the field—I have agreed to go, and am ready to go."

The following account of "the meeting," and the preliminaries, is from the pen of General Hamilton, of South Carolina:—

"The night before the duel Mr. Randolph sent for me. I found him calm, but in a singularly kind and confiding mood. He told me that he had something on his mind to tell me. He then remarked, 'Hamilton, I have determined to receive, without returning, Clay's fire; nothing shall induce me to harm a hair of his head: I will not make his wife a widow, or his children orphans. Their tears would be shed over his grave; but when the sod of Virginia rests on my bosom, there is not in this wide world one individual to

pay this tribute upon mine.' His eyes filled, and resting his head upon his hand, we remained some moments silent. I replied, 'My dear friend, (for ours was a sort of posthumous friendship, bequeathed by our mothers,) I deeply regret that you have mentioned this subject to me; for you call upon me to go to the field and to see you shot down, or to assume the responsibility, in regard to your own life, in sustaining your determination to throw it away. But on this subject, a man's own conscience and his own bosom are his best monitors. I will not advise; but under the enormous and unprovoked personal insult you have offered Mr. Clay, I cannot dissuade. I feel bound, however, to communicate to Colonel Tattnall your decision.' He begged me not to do so, and said 'he was very much afraid that Tattnall would take the studs and refuse to go out with him.' I, however, sought Colonel Tatnall, and we repaired about midnight to Mr. Randolph's lodgings, whom we found reading Milton's great poem. For some moments he did not permit us to say one word in relation to the approaching duel; and he at once commenced one of those delightful criticisms on a passage of this poet, in which he was wont so enthusiastically to indulge. After a pause, Colonel Tattnall remarked, 'Mr. Randolph, I am told you have determined not to return Mr. Clay's fire; I must say to you, my dear sir, if I am only to go out to see you shot down, you must find some other friend.' Mr. Randolph remarked that it was his determination. After much conversation on the subject, I induced Colonel Tatnall to allow Mr. Randolph to take his own course, as his withdrawal, as one of his friends, might lead to very injurious misconstructions. At last, Mr. Randolph, smiling, said, 'Well, Tattnall, I promise you one thing, if I see the devil in Clay's eye, and that with malice prepense he means to take my life, I may change my mind.' A remark I knew he made merely to propitiate the anxieties of his friend.

"Mr. Clay and himself met at four o'clock the succeeding evening, on the banks of the Potomac. But he saw 'no devil in Clay's eye,' but a man fearless, and expressing the mingled sensibility and firmness which belonged to the occasion.

"I shall never forget this scene, as long as I live. It has been my misfortune to witness several duels, but I never saw one, at least in its sequel, so deeply affecting. The sun was just setting behind the blue hills of Randolph's own Virginia. Here were two of the most extraordinary men our country in its prodigality had produced, about to meet in mortal combat. Whilst Tattnall was loading Randolph's pistols I approached my friend, I believed, for the last time; I took his hand; there was not in its touch the quivering of one pulsation. He turned to me and said, 'Clay is calm, but not vindictive—I hold my purpose, Hamilton, in any event; remember this.' On handing him his pistol, Colonel Tattnall spring the hair-trigger. Mr. Randolph said, 'Tattnall, although I am one of the best shots in Virginia, with either a pistol or a gun, yet I never fire with the hair-trigger; besides, I have a thick buckskin glove on, which will destroy the delicacy of my touch, and the trigger may fly before I know where I am.' But, from his great solicitude for his friend, Tattnall insisted upon hairing the trigger. On taking their position, the fact turned out as Mr. Randolph anticipated; his pistol went off before the word, with the muzzle down.

"The moment this event took place, General Jessup, Mr. Clay's friend, called out that he would instantly leave the ground with his friend, if that occurred again. Mr. Clay at once exclaimed, it was entirely an accident, and begged that the gentleman might be allowed to go on. On the word being given, Mr. Clay fired without effect, Mr. Randolph discharging his pistol in the air. The moment Mr. Clay saw that Mr. Randolph had thrown away his fire, with a gush of sensibility, he instantly approached Mr. Randolph, and said with an emotion I never can forget:—'I trust, in God, my dear sir, you are untouched; after what has occurred, I would not have harmed you for a thousand worlds.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 258–260.

Thus ended this affair; and the combatants, although never afterward friends, appear to have treated each other with respect. One of the last acts of Mr. Randolph's life,—it occurred indeed but a few days before his death,—was a visit to the Senate Chamber, for the purpose of seeing and shaking hands with his antagonist. Mr. Clay was on his feet addressing the senate. "Raise me up," said Randolph, "I want to hear that voice again." At the close of his speech Mr. Clay left his place, and accosting his rival, inquired kindly after his health. "I am a dying man," replied Randolph, "and came here expressly to have this interview with you." They shook hands, conversed together a few moments, and parted; Randolph having accomplished the desire of his heart, and shown that, "notwithstanding a long life of political hostility, no personal animosity rankled in his heart."

Soon after Mr. Randolph had retired from Congress, in 1829, with the avowed determination to take no more part in public affairs, he was elected a member of the Convention for revising the Constitution of his native State. He was nominated without his consent, and greatly against his wishes. He accepted the honour at the earnest solicitation of friends, and was one of the most industrious and useful members of that body. Associated with such men as Madison, and Marshall, and Monroe,—indeed with the congregated talent and eloquence of the Old Dominion,—he had full scope for his wonderful powers of debate, and greatly increased his reputation as a statesman and a man of political sagacity. It was a field in which, to the greatest advantage, he was enabled to display his knowledge of men and things; and his thirty years' experience of parliamentary proceedings, gave him a controlling influence in all matters before the convention. We make room for a short extract from one of his speeches, wherein he dilates upon his favourite axiom, *Pay as you go*, which, he contended, was the secret of public as well as private prosperity,—in fact the philosopher's stone.

"They may say what they please about the old Constitution. The defect is not there. It is not in the form of the old edifice, neither in the design nor the elevation—it is in the *material*—it is in the people of Virginia. To my knowledge, that people are changed from what they have been. The four hundred men who went out to David, were *in debt*. The partisans of Cæsar were *in debt*. The fellow-labourers of Cataline were *in debt*. And I defy you to show me a desperately-indebted people anywhere, who can bear a regular sober government. I throw the challenge to all who hear me. I say that the character of the good old Virginia planter—the man who owned from five to twenty slaves, or less, who lived by hard work, and who paid his debts—is passed away. A new order of things is come. The period has arrived of living by one's wits—of living by contracting debts that one cannot pay—and above all, of living by office-hunting. Sir, what do we see? Bankrupts, branded bankrupts, giving great dinners—sending their children to the most

expensive schools—giving grand parties—and just as well received as anybody in society. I say, that in such a state of things, the old Constitution was too good for them; they could not bear it. No, sir, they could not bear a freehold suffrage and a property representation. I have always endeavoured to do the people justice, but I will not flatter them; I will not pander to their appetite for change. I will do nothing to provide for change; I will not agree to any rule of future apportionment, or to any provision for future changes, called amendments of the Constitution. They who love change—who delight in public confusion—who wish to feed the caldron and make it bubble—may vote, if they please, for future changes. But by what spell—by what formula are you going to bind the people to all future time? *Quis custodiet custodes?* The days of Lycurgus are gone by, when he could swear the people not to alter the Constitution until he should return—*animo non revertendi.* You may make what entries on parchment you please. Give me a Constitution that will last for half a century—that is all I wish for. No Constitution that you can make will last the one-half of half a century. Sir, I will stake anything short of my salvation, that those who are malcontent now, will be more malcontent three years hence, than they are at this day. I have no favour for this Constitution. I shall vote against its adoption, and I shall advise all the people of my district, to set their faces—aye, and their shoulders against it. But if we are to have it, let us not have it with its death-warrant in its very face—with the *facies hypocritica*, the sardonic grin of death, upon its countenance."—Vol. ii, pp. 330, 331.

At the adjournment of this Convention, which continued in session about three months, Mr. Garland says:—

"No man stood higher than John Randolph in the estimation of the members or of the people. He had won greatly on their affections. A more familiar contact, and closer observation of the man, had served to remove many prejudices. They began to comprehend and appreciate one who had been so long the victim of wilful misrepresentation, and of calumny. Notwithstanding the boldness with which he spoke unpleasant truths in the Convention, his manner, on the whole, was so mild and conciliatory, his wisdom and his genius so conspicuous, that they won for him the esteem and the veneration of everybody. His friends, delighted with this state of things, wrote to him from all quarters, congratulating him on this agreeable termination of his labours in the Convention. Here is one of his letters in answer to a friend who had written him on this subject:—

"'How I have succeeded in gaining upon the good opinion of the public—as you and others of my friends tell me I have done—I cannot tell. I made no effort for it, nor did it enter into my imagination to court any man, or party, in or out of the Convention. It is most gratifying, nevertheless, to be told by yourself and others, in whose sincerity and truth I place the most unbounded reliance, that I have, by the part I took in the Convention, advanced myself in the estimation of my country. With politics I am now done; and it is well to be able to *quit winner.*'"—Vol. ii, p. 332.

From President Jackson Mr. Randolph received the office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. In a feeble state of health he sailed from Hampton Roads, in the month of June, 1830. The post, in his hands, was little more than a sinecure, and he failed to accomplish the special object for which he had been selected. Nor did he regain his health by the journey, as him-

self and his friends had fondly hoped. In a letter written a few months after his arrival, he gives the following graphic account of the Russian climate during the summer months:—

"You know I always dreaded the *summer* climate, when my friends were killing me with the climate of Russia before my time. Nothing can be more detestable. It is a comet; and when I arrived it was in perihelion. I shall not stay out the aphelion. Heat, dust impalpable, pervading every part and pore, and actually sealing these last up, annoying the eyes especially, which are further distressed by the glare of the white houses. Insects of all nauseous descriptions, bugs, fleas, mosquitoes, flies innumerable, gigantic as the empire they inhabit; who will take no denial. Under cover of the spectacles, they do not suffer you to write two words, without a conflict with them. This is the land of Pharaoh and his plagues—Egypt, and its ophthalmia and vermin, without its fertility—Holland, without its wealth, improvements, or cleanliness. Nevertheless, it is, beyond all comparison, the most magnificent city I ever beheld. But you must not reckon upon being laid in earth; there is, properly speaking, no such thing here. It is rotten rubbish on a swamp; and at two feet you come to water. This last is detestable. The very ground has a bad odour, and the air is not vital. Two days before my presentation to the emperor and empress, I was taken with an ague. But my poor Juba lay at the point of death. His was a clear case of black vomit; and I feel assured that in the month of August, Havana or New-Orleans would be as safe for a stranger as St. Petersburgh. It is a Dutch town, with fresh-water-river canals, &c. To drink the water is to insure a dysentery of the worst type."—Vol. ii, pp. 337, 338.

Mr. Randolph spent but a small portion of his time at St. Petersburgh, and returned to the United States after an absence of little more than a year. In enfeebled health, querulous, and dissatisfied with himself and with everybody else, the remaining months of his life were spent in a state of fatuity bordering upon insanity. Some years previously he had resorted to opium as an alleviation of his sufferings. The habit grew upon him, and he found himself, in his own language, fast sinking into an opium-eating sot. "I live," says he, "by, if not upon opium." And now the last scene of his strangely-eventful life was fast approaching,—a life which stands out like a blazing beacon, or rather like a wreck upon the ocean, telling its own sad tale of talents misdirected, of blighted expectation, and of hopes withered and blasted. He had determined upon a voyage to England, and hurried to Philadelphia to embark in the packet. But he had reached the end of his earthly journeyings. He put up at a hotel, and a physician was sent for. Mr. Garland must tell the sequel:—

"'How long have you been sick, Mr. Randolph?'

"'Don't ask me that question; I have been sick all my life. I have been affected with my present disease, however, for three years. It was greatly aggravated by my voyage to Russia. That killed me, sir. This Russian expedition has been a Pultowa, a Beresina to me.'

"The doctor now felt his pulse. 'You can form no judgment by my pulse; it is so peculiar.'

"'You have been so long an invalid, Mr. Randolph, you must have acquired an accurate knowledge of the general course of practice adapted to your case.'

"'Certainly, sir; at forty, a fool or a physician, you know.'

"'There are idiosyncrasies,' said the doctor, 'in many constitutions. I wish to ascertain what is peculiar about you.'

"'I have been an idiosyncrasy all my life. All the preparations of camphor invariably injure me. As to ether, it will blow me up. Not so with opium; I can take opium like a Turk, and have been in the habitual use of it, in one shape or another, for some time.'"

"Next morning, (the day on which he died,) Dr. Parish received an early and an urgent message to visit him. Several persons were in the room, but soon left it, except his servant, John, who was much affected at the sight of his dying master. The doctor remarked to him, 'I have seen your master very low before, and he revived; and perhaps he will again.' 'John knows better than that, sir.' He then looked at the doctor with great intensity, and said in an earnest and distinct manner, 'I confirm every disposition in my will, especially that respecting my slaves, whom I have manumitted, and for whom I have made provision.'"

"The doctor now said that he understood the subject of his communication, and presumed the Will would explain itself fully. He replied in his peculiar way—'No, you don't understand it; I know you don't. Our laws are extremely particular on the subject of slaves—a will may manumit them, but provision for their subsequent support requires that a declaration be made in the presence of a white witness; and it is requisite that the witness, after hearing the declaration, should continue with the party, and never lose sight of him, until he is gone or dead. You are a good witness for John. You see the propriety and importance of your remaining with me; your patients must make allowance for your situation. John told me this morning—"master, you are dying.'"

"The doctor spoke with entire candour and replied, that it was rather a matter of surprise that he had lasted so long. He now made his preparations to die. He directed John to bring him his father's breast button; he then directed him to place it in the bosom of his shirt. It was an old-fashioned, large-sized gold stud. John placed it in the button-hole of the shirt bosom—but to fix it completely, required a hole on the opposite side. 'Get a knife,' said he, 'and cut one.' A napkin was called for, and placed by John over his breast. For a short time he lay perfectly quiet, with his eyes closed. He suddenly roused up and exclaimed—'Remorse! remorse!' It was thrice repeated—the last time, at the top of his voice, with great agitation. He cried out—'let me see the word. Get a dictionary, let me see the word.' 'There is none in the room, sir.' 'Write it down, then—let me see the word.' The doctor picked up one of his cards, 'Randolph of Roanoke'—'shall I write it on this card?' 'Yes, nothing more proper.' The word *remorse* was then written in pencil. He took the card in a hurried manner, and fastened his eyes on it with great intensity. 'Write it on the back,' he exclaimed—it was so done and handed him again. He was extremely agitated—'Remorse! you have no idea what it is; you can form no idea of it, whatever; it has contributed to bring me to my present situation—but I have looked to the Lord Jesus Christ, and hope I have obtained pardon. Now let John take your pencil and draw a line under the word,' which was accordingly done. 'What am I to do with the card?' inquired the doctor. 'Put it in your pocket—take care of it—when I am dead, look at it.'"

"The witnesses were now sent for, and soon arrived. The dying man was propped up in the bed, with pillows, nearly erect. Being extremely sensitive to cold, he had a blanket over his head and shoulders; and he directed John to place his hat on, over the blanket, which aided in keeping it close to his

head. With a countenance full of sorrow, John stood close by the side of his dying master. The four witnesses—Edmund Badger, Francis West, Isaac Parish, and Joseph Parish—were placed in a semi-circle, in full view. He rallied all the expiring energies of mind and body, to this last effort. 'His whole soul,' says Dr. Parish, 'seemed concentrated in the act. His eyes flashed feeling and intelligence. Pointing towards us, with his long index-finger, he addressed us:'—

"'I confirm all the directions in my Will, respecting my slaves, and direct them to be enforced, particularly in regard to a provision for their support. And then raising his arm as high as he could, he brought it down with his open hand, on the shoulder of his favourite John, and added these words—'especially for this man.' He then asked each of the witnesses whether they understood him. Dr. Joseph Parish explained to them, what Mr. Randolph had said in regard to the laws of Virginia, on the subject of manumission—and then appealed to the dying man to know whether he had stated it correctly. 'Yes,' said he, and gracefully waving his hand as a token of dismission, he added—'the young gentlemen will remain with me.'

"The scene was now soon changed. Having disposed of that subject most deeply impressed on his heart, his keen penetrating eye lost its expression, his powerful mind gave way, and his fading imagination began to wander amid scenes and with friends that he had left behind. In two hours the spirit took its flight, and all that was mortal of John Randolph of Roanoke was hushed in death. At a quarter before twelve o'clock, on the 24th day of June, 1833, aged sixty years, he breathed his last, in a chamber of the City Hotel, No. 41 North Third street, Philadelphia."—Vol. ii, pp. 370–375.

Art. VII.—THE BIBLE AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The Bible and Civil Government, in a Course of Lectures. By J. M. Matthews, D. D. 12mo., pp. 268. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1850.

"The Scripture," says the great Hooker, the judicious Hooker, as he is often not unaptly called, "is fraught even with the laws of nature, insomuch that Gratian, defining natural right, termeth it that which the books of the law and the gospel do contain. Neither is it vain, that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws of this kind; for they are such as we of ourselves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands. Or, if they be so clear and manifest, that no man, endued with reason, can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the school of nature and applying them, is not without singular use and profit for men's instruction."

The author of the work whose title we have placed at the head of this article, might fitly have taken the above passage as the text of his treatise. To develop, illustrate, and confirm the truth which

it contains, is the leading design of his labours; and with admirable ability and force has he executed this design. The general subject of which he treats, is the connexion between the Holy Scripture and the science of civil government. His work consists of five lectures, delivered in the capitol of the nation, in the early part of the year 1848, "soon after the news reached this country, apprising us of the commotions in Europe, which have since formed a topic of absorbing interest to all intelligent observers of the times." —*Preface.*

The leading topics of these lectures are, the divine origin of civil freedom; civil freedom, as ordained in the Hebrew state; the influence of emigration on civil freedom, as illustrated in the history of the Israelitish and other nations; the indispensable necessity of general and sound education to civil freedom; and the power of agriculture, as an auxiliary to civil freedom.

These topics are handled by the reverend lecturer with no common vigour, discrimination, and effect. Seldom have we read an author, whose thoughts are more solid and truthful in themselves, or conveyed with greater clearness and transparency of expression. The reader is borne along, as if by a gentle but irresistible impulse, on the current of his flowing and well-sustained periods. Such is the interest and charm which he has managed to throw around the discussion, that we found it impossible to close the book till we had finished it, and went through the whole at a single sitting, on a hot summer's evening. We are gratified to learn, from our author's preface, that he is engaged in the preparation of an extended and elaborate work on the connexion between science and religion, of which, in fact, these lectures constitute a part. This is a most important design. One of the subtlest and most plausible grounds of attack on divine revelation, is the alleged want of harmony between the works of God and the word of God. It is not to be disguised, that many scientific minds are sceptical in regard to inspiration, because they conceive the revelations of the Bible to be irreconcilable with the revelations of science. Hence the great importance of having the entire harmony subsisting between these two classes of divine disclosures placed before the world in a clear, strong, and convincing light. Hence the justness of that observation of a distinguished writer, cited by Dr. Matthews, that "every age, as well as every individual, has its specific duty; and the duty of the nineteenth century is to bring science, in all its discoveries, to bear upon religion, and to corroborate, if we may so speak, the word of God." Yet, as our author suggests, although able minds have been directed to this subject, the work of illustrating the Scriptures by the discov-

eries of science, and of bringing the two into full accord with each other, is not yet completed. Much remains to be done before learning shall have paid the debt which she owes to revelation. If Dr. Matthews executes successfully the design which he has in hand, if he produces a standard work on the subject which he is treating, whatever he may have hitherto accomplished for the benefit of mankind as a Christian minister and Christian teacher, as the pastor of a Church and the head of a university, will be eclipsed by the good he will have achieved as a Christian author—as the champion and defender of the faith once delivered to the saints.

In the perusal of the volume before us, one thing forcibly struck our own mind, as we doubt not it will the minds of our readers, viz., its seasonableness. It is eminently a book for the times. The world is in a transition state; nations are in the birth-pangs of liberty; commotions and changes are the order of the day; the diadem is removed; the low are exalted; the high are abased; and the fountains of the great deep, both in Church and State, are breaking up. If the Bible has any utterances suited to such a condition of things, now is the time to interrogate it. That it has such teachings, few are wholly ignorant; of their extent and value, still fewer, perhaps, are adequately informed. This book is adapted to dispel ignorance, to rectify errors, and to communicate light, on this important subject. How common a thing it is to regard Greece and Rome as the greatest benefactors of mankind, and to look upon their institutions as the source of our own! Our liberty is supposed to be derived from theirs. Yet in truth, as our author shows, the principles of true civil freedom are, not less than the pure morals and immortal hopes of revelation, the gift of the God of Israel. These principles were proclaimed by the Hebrew lawgiver, when the Greeks and the Romans were still living on beech-nuts and acorns; nay, at a time when the word liberty was hardly known upon earth beyond the precincts of the chosen tribes. Is it not somewhat remarkable, that when so large a proportion of the presidents and professors of our colleges are ministers of religion, the mistaken opinion to which we have adverted, is permitted to remain in the minds of the young men who are there receiving their education to be American citizens? There is cause, we think, to administer a gentle rebuke to these excellent gentlemen, because they do not give the writings of Moses a more prominent place in their systems of instruction, and because they do not more distinctly inform their pupils that the true elements of republican freedom are to be sought in his institutions, but permit the Greek and Roman authors to monopolize their admiration and their gratitude. The very

nations whose legislation these writers so eloquently commemorate, are not a little indebted to the Hebrew sage for those qualities in their institutions which awaken our youthful enthusiasm. What can afford nobler themes of study than the master minds of our race? And what mind is more worthy to engage the profound attention of our age than his whose high mission, under Providence, it was to found a model government, combining, in so remarkable a degree, liberty with law—the freedom of the individual with the welfare of the community? The polity founded by that great man is as venerable for its wisdom, as it is for its antiquity. The best subsequent civilization has, beyond all peradventure, been built upon that ancient law, which Moses, by divine direction, gave to the Hebrew people. The Jewish lawgiver is, in many respects, the man for the present. He belongs not solely to the past, as too common prejudice imagines. The great principles of constitutional law and of civil and criminal jurisprudence, which he not only developed in theory, but embodied into a system, and reduced to practice in the administration of public affairs, are so many lessons of inspired wisdom, so many lights of experience, to direct the labours of statesmen and legislators to the end of time.

In his first lecture, Dr. Matthews, as already observed, considers the divine origin of civil freedom. He begins by remarking how fitly it corresponds with the uniform goodness of God, that he should give to the world a distinct revelation of his will on this subject. "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." There is an expansive power in the Bible, which reaches every want and condition of life. It lays down, in terms brief and clear, general principles of duty, and then teaches how they are to be applied to the various relations which men sustain to one another, both social and civil. Now, unless our civil relations are wisely regulated, men can have no security in any of their enjoyments. Rulers and ruled should each know their appropriate sphere, and keep it; and their respective rights should be accurately defined, and carefully guarded. Tyranny, at the time of the exodus, had become the sorest of curses, and one from which mankind knew no means of escape. Everywhere the life, happiness, and liberty of the subject were at the will of the one man who wore the crown, and who, intoxicated with power, ruled over men as over herds of cattle. There was much in a wretchedness like this, rendering it fit for Him whose tender mercies are over all his works, to interpose for the purpose of showing how a nation should be governed so as best to secure its rights and liberties.

The same conclusion, as to the probability of a special divine interposition to teach the true principles of government, is warranted

by the known and admitted influence of freedom in developing the higher faculties of man.

> "'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
> Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume."

History verifies this sentiment. Its voice distinctly declares, that freedom is the great moving power in human affairs. Freedom, when combined with the higher element of Christianity, is the source of the mightiest and sublimest efforts of human genius. It is the grand instrument of human advancement. Its leading characteristic is energy; energy arousing the dormant strength of the masses of society; energy awaking to life and action the power that sleeps in the peasant's mind, the might that slumbers in the peasant's arm. The grandest achievements of intellect, the noblest efforts of valour, the sublimest ministrations of benevolence, the richest fruits of human industry that have illustrated and adorned the annals of our race, have all sprung from this principle.

What was Holland before she became free? The minds of her people were as stagnant as the marshes that covered her soil. But freedom roused them to action; freedom warmed into vitality their lifeless energies; freedom bridled the stormy waves of the German Ocean; freedom built and manned the ships that poured into her lap the riches of the world; freedom covered her boundless marshes with a velvet carpet, and made them smile with fertility, and rejoice in abundance; freedom made her seminaries fountains of light to the nations, and her statesmen, jurists, lawyers, and divines, the oracles of their generation.

What was England before Magna Charta burst her chains and ended her thraldom? The extinction of fire and lights, enjoined upon her whole realm, when

> "The curfew toll'd the knell of parting day,"

was an apt emblem of the darkness which shrouded the minds of her people. Freedom wrought for her as it did for Holland. And what is England now? Pre-eminent among the nations of Europe, as our author beautifully says, "in all that the wise most seek to know, or the good most desire to know." Her name resounds in all lands, her empire encircles the globe, her keels vex every ocean, her influence reaches to the ends of the earth, and "she sits like a queen on the lap of the ocean," emitting a mild and healthful radiance on the surrounding darkness.

And what has freedom done, or, rather, what has it not done for us as a nation? Impregnated and vivified by gospel principles, and freed from corrupting alliance with royalty, it has, in an almost

incredibly brief space, raised this country from colonial bondage and insignificance to the rank and influence of a leading power among the nations of the earth. It has given her a career unparalleled for rapidity and brilliancy in all the annals of time. In resources, present and prospective, in available talent, in popular education, in religion and practical philanthropy, and in indomitable industry, to which obstacles are but incentives, we would not, at this moment, exchange conditions with the proudest nation on the globe.

Surely, then, as our author pertinently and forcibly argues, if freedom is thus interwoven with the improvement and happiness of our race, it may well be expected that whatever is essential to its establishment should be revealed in a volume which has the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come. When we are taught that the Most High governs in the minutest concerns of life, even to the numbering of our hairs and the fall of a sparrow, can we suppose that he would fail to instruct men in the nature and importance of institutions by which everything valuable in their personal, social, and civil welfare is so deeply affected?

In his second lecture, Dr. Matthews gives an interesting and instructive view of "civil government, as ordained in the commonwealth of the Hebrews." The first principle he finds in it, is "government by representation, the election of rulers by the ruled, the public officer chosen by the public voice." Chateaubriand has classed this principle among three or four discoveries that have created another universe. Where are we to seek the origin of it? Most nations know nothing of it even now. There was a time when all were ignorant of it. The question is, From what fountain did it spring? What nation first incorporated it into the frame of its government, and enjoyed the freedom which it insured?

Alison, in his History of Europe, traces it to the early councils of the Christian Church. Our author, with greater reason, we think, traces it to the Hebrew constitution. He finds this principle operating in the appointment of the Jethronian prefects or judges. "Take you [choose, elect for yourselves] wise men, and understanding, and known among yourselves, and I will make them rulers over you," are the words of Moses to his countrymen. It is evident that the people themselves were to select these officers, and that Moses was simply to inaugurate or induct them into office by suitable solemnities. Nor can there be any doubt that the object in view was the creation of a civil magistracy, of a species and in a form adapted to the existing wants of the nation. Here, then, in these proceedings, as Dr. Matthews thinks, and we think with him, we find the first precedent of elective and representative civil government.

Three things are observable in the transaction:—1. The candidates were not to belong to any privileged class, but were to be taken "out of all the people;" and that on the alone ground of wisdom, ability, truth, righteousness, and piety—in one word, fitness. Nothing like caste, nothing like exclusive privilege, appears in the whole proceeding. 2. The voice of the people to be ruled was all-powerful in the choice and appointment of the men to rule. The direction, "Take you wise men," &c., was given to "all Israel." 3. The induction into office was by an appropriate existing authority. Moses, who held his commission direct from Heaven, "made them rulers;" that is, "invested them," as our author says, "with the authority to which the people had previously chosen them, and gave them a charge, which might well be adopted as a manual by every one who is called to the exercise of civil magistracy."

Dr. Matthews adduces other instances, in which the voice of the people was heard in the election of public officers. The twelve men, appointed to "search out the land," were chosen by the vote of "all Israel." So were the three men from each tribe, who were deputed to "go through the land and describe it, and divide it into seven parts," viz., for the seven tribes which remained without their inheritance. Later in the history of the republic, it is distinctly declared by the sacred historian, that "the people made Jephthah head and captain over them." On the whole, there seems to be abundant evidence for believing and asserting, that the Hebrew government was a government of the people. The magistrate was chosen by the vote of the people; and, at the same time, integrity and competency were the only qualifications for office recognised as valid. Birth, it would seem, had nothing at all to do with it.

The second great principle which Dr. Matthews finds in the Jewish polity, is "a judiciary, which provided for the prompt and equal administration of justice between man and man." The fundamental law on this point was, "Judges and officers shalt thou make in all thy gates;" that is, in all thy cities and towns. Courts were so multiplied, that the administration of justice was brought to every man's door, and the people were effectually secured against the ruinous evil of the "law's delay." With a judiciary so ramified, justice could be administered promptly, and without subjecting the parties to more than a reasonable expense in obtaining it. At the same time, the evils resulting from hasty or prejudiced decisions were wisely and effectively provided against by the establishment of high courts of appeal in the several tribes, and of a supreme court for the whole nation at Jerusalem.

The last prominent feature which our author finds in the polity

of the Hebrew commonwealth, is that of a confederation of the different tribes into one great nation. Examples of the happy influence of such a federative bond are seen in the United Netherlands, and still more in the United States of America. The original model of such a confederacy is, beyond a doubt, found among the Hebrews. "Among them, the twelve tribes might fitly be called the twelve united states, united under one general government by a confederacy, which rendered the nation at large the only legitimate authority for purposes of general welfare. But, on the other hand, a careful examination of their polity and history will show that the tribes were not so absorbed by the national confederacy, as to lose their character of distinct states or communities. They maintained within themselves such an organization as furnished the most effective safeguards against the centralization of power, which has sometimes rendered civil freedom an easy prey to a daring usurper, or cost rivers of blood to defeat his purposes." It is a circumstance, by no means unimportant or uninteresting, that these great elements of liberty were embodied in a written constitution, the first, undoubtedly, which the world ever saw.

Dr. Matthews meets an objection to this view of the nature of the Hebrew polity, growing out of its supposed repugnance to the commonly-entertained opinion respecting the theocracy. He observes truly, that the Hebrew government was a theocracy only in a limited sense. The Hebrews had their civil rulers like other nations—men who exercised authority over other men, and who were acknowledged throughout the land as its rightful magistrates. The author admits that Jehovah was the lawgiver, judge, and ruler of Israel, in a sense peculiar to himself; but, at the same time, he holds it to have been one object of his divine legislation to frame the enactments, which show how civil authority of man over man should be created, and how it should be administered so as best to promote the welfare of a people. He draws a natural, solid, and important inference from the fact that the Bible contains the origin of civil liberty, viz., that by the Bible alone it can be sustained and perpetuated in a nation. This inference is confirmed by the facts of history. He who ordained that light should shine from the sun, ordained also that liberty should flow from and be sustained by the Bible. If the Bible goes, liberty follows. It was so with the Hebrews. When "the law of the Lord was not found," when it fell into general neglect and disuse, then the sun of their freedom and prosperity went down in darkness.

In his third lecture, Dr. Matthews presents an able and philosophical view of the general influence of emigration in changing and im-

proving the character of a people, with a special application to the Hebrew nation. But we pass his argument on this point, without an analysis of it, for the purpose of seeing what he has to say in the fourth lecture, on the subject of the necessity of general and sound education to civil freedom, and on the provisions of the Hebrew code in relation thereto. A commonwealth has been aptly compared to a pyramid, whose base is the common people. Unless the base is strong and well fitted to its place, the edifice will be weak and tottering. Hence the importance of rendering a free people an intelligent people. The duties of government demand inquiry, thought, judgment, firmness. These are qualities which must be developed and perfected by culture and discipline. Under a popular constitution, power belongs to the people, and the duties connected with the exercise of it devolve upon them. Hence they must be trained up, educated, to understand their privileges, to appreciate their responsibilities, and to discharge their trusts. Let us see, then, what, in our author's estimation, God ordained on this point for the nation of the Hebrews, when he organized them into a commonwealth.

He thinks that there has hardly ever been a nation, in which the rudiments of learning were so universally taught. It is evident that the ability to read was very general among the people in the time of our Saviour. This appears from his frequent appeals to the common people in such words as these: "Have ye not *read* what Moses saith? Have ye not *read* in the Scriptures?" The same thing appears from the fact, stated by the evangelical historians, that the title placed over the head of the Redeemer was "*read by many of the Jews.*" This, however, only shows how the express law of the Hebrew code was carried out. It was an explicit injunction of that code upon parents, that they should teach their children the statutes and ordinances that God had revealed. Now how was this instruction to be given? The law says: "Thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way; when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." "But," inquires our author, "was this oral instruction all they were bound to give? Was there no other mode of teaching enjoined?" The law adds: "Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates." Here parents are enjoined to instruct their children in God's law by writing it for them. Must they not, then, have been required to teach them to read it when written? This seems a just inference, for otherwise the writing would have been comparatively useless. Here we see the importance which the Most High attributed to the ability to read, as a

means of preparing a free people for the discharge of their various duties as men and citizens. Accordingly, Jewish writers testify that the school was to be found in every district throughout the nation, and under the care of teachers who were honoured alike for their character and their station. Josephus affirms, that if any one asked any of his countrymen about their laws, they would as readily tell them all as they would tell their own names. But more than this: the law rendered it obligatory on parents to see that their children were suitably educated, especially in the knowledge of the constitution, laws, and history of their own country.

Schools, designed to impart the rudiments of knowledge to the masses of the people, were not the only institutions of learning among the Hebrews. There were higher seminaries among them, known as the "Schools of the Prophets." It must not be inferred from the name of these institutions, that prophecy was taught among the Hebrews as the mechanic arts among us are. The schools of the prophets were, in all likelihood, primarily designed for the study of the Jewish law; but they included also, in their plan of instruction, other branches of knowledge, which were reckoned among the pursuits of learning in that day. These schools were under the care of men distinguished for their attainments, standing, and ability. Samuel is commonly regarded as the founder of them; and he took a part, notwithstanding the abundance of his other public cares, in teaching the young scholars of the nation, who were afterwards to be its leading men, in both Church and State.

The result of such a wise attention to learning was seen in what may be called the golden age of Hebrew genius and literature. Solomon and his court were, in their day, the centre of attraction for the admirers and lovers of knowledge in all nations, and Jerusalem was more than the Athens of that age. "The wisdom of Solomon excelled all the wisdom of the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. He spake of trees, from the cedar in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. He spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes. His songs were a thousand and five, and his proverbs three thousand." Thus it appears that the royal scholar was a voluminous writer on scientific, literary, and ethical subjects. And while he excelled in these departments, his temple reared its magnificent proportions before the world, a monument of architectural skill and taste, which rendered it in after ages the model of grace, majesty, and grandeur.

Such gifted luminaries in the intellectual world, our author well remarks, do not shine alone. They usually belong to a constella-

tion; and the king who sets such an example is not likely to be without followers. There was, indeed, one cardinal feature in the Hebrew polity which was pre-eminently favourable, at all times, to the cultivation of knowledge. The whole tribe of Levi were set apart for the service of religion and letters. While many were employed in the temple, many others were devoted to study. Of these, not a few reached a high name for their attainments in the science of their age, and the fidelity with which they made their knowledge available for the benefit of the people. Among the Hebrews there was no monopoly of knowledge among a favoured few. Intelligence was general, in the degree and of the kind adapted to the various duties and pursuits of those among whom it was spread. The tongue and the pen of even learned royalty were industriously employed in giving to knowledge that condensed and practical form, which might bring it within the reach, and make it available for the advantage of all—of the shepherd and vine-dresser, as well as of the sons of the prophets. When the learned act with this generous and dutiful spirit, they are always sure to reap as they sow. The minds of those who receive instruction will react upon the minds of those who give it, imparting to them higher aspirations, and leading them to greater acquisitions.

These provisions of the Hebrew code for the perpetuation and diffusion of knowledge, cannot be regarded otherwise than as excellent and admirable enactments. They have, as our author truly says, been sanctioned by universal history as inseparably interwoven with national prosperity. No people can rise from civil or social degradation without education; and no ruler deserves the reputation of a public benefactor, who would not give his unremitting care to this object, as of paramount importance.

In his concluding lecture, Dr. Matthews treats, with much ability, the subject of agriculture, as an auxiliary to civil freedom. Ownership in the soil, he says, is indispensable to the best cultivation. On this principle the Hebrew agrarian law was framed. Small proprietorships, and the land farmed by its owners, was the policy of Moses. The tendency of the Hebrew land laws was to make the people both owners and cultivators, and to give importance and honour to husbandry. The entire territory of the Canaanites was to be divided among the whole six hundred thousand free citizens, in such a manner that each should have a full property in an equal part of it. And this estate was to descend to his legal heirs by an indefeasible entail in perpetual succession. The fee simple of the soil could not be sold; nor could any alienation of a landed estate take place exceeding fifty years. This was a fundamental principle in the

Hebrew polity. It was a principle of utmost importance in promoting both public and private prosperity. A man's property in his land could never be permanently alienated. It might cease to be his for a term of years, but the year of jubilee restored it to him free of all encumbrance. Nor, indeed, was it necessary for him to wait till the jubilee to re-enter his alienated field, provided he had the means to redeem it; for the right of redemption remained always in the owner. The necessary effect of such a system of landed property was to make the Hebrews a nation of farmers. The cultivation of the earth was stimulated to the highest degree. The occupation of the husbandman was held to be the most honourable pursuit of man, and it became, as a natural consequence, the most general. The most illustrious citizens were husbandmen. Saul, David, and Elisha, may be noted as examples; and of King Uzziah it is recorded that he loved husbandry.

The agrarian laws of Moses were attended with several striking economical advantages, which are well stated and illustrated by our author.

1. They stripped poverty of its worst evils: they soothed it with the hope of better days; they softened its sense of degradation; they kept the poor man's heart whole; they preserved within him the love of home; they nourished in him a feeling of independence. Whatever else he had lost, his land remained, and no power on earth could deprive him of the title to it.

2. These laws tended strongly to prevent the accumulation of debt. Few would have occasion to borrow; and there was little inducement to lend, since no man was permitted, by the Mosaic laws, to make profit out of a loan.

3. The agrarian laws of Moses tended also to cherish among the people a spirit of equality, and of sympathy one with another. Under their operation there could be, properly speaking, neither nobility nor peasantry, neither lords nor serfs, but a *brotherhood* of hardy yeomen.

4. Agriculture strengthens the sentiment of patriotism. The heart of the husbandman is bound to the fields on which he bestows his labour, and which respond to his industry by clothing them with the beauties of spring and the riches of summer and autumn.

Such are the leading positions taken by Dr. Matthews in his work. He has certainly succeeded in showing a very close connexion between the Bible and the science of civil government, and also between the Bible and the enjoyment of civil liberty. The ability and judgment with which he has executed the present treatise, have quickened our appetite for his more extended work on the connexion between science and revelation.

Art. VIII.—ORIGEN OR HIPPOLYTUS?

Ὠριγένους φιλοσοφούμενα· ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος. E Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit Emmanuel Miller. Oxon.: 1851.

We rejoice to notice this book as one of the richest fruits of antiquarian research in modern times. Its importance in the sphere of ecclesiastical history and antiquities cannot be overrated.

The work was printed at the Clarendon press, under the direction of M. Miller, librarian to the national library, and well known for his skill in Greek letters, and for his sagacity in searching out ancient manuscripts. The MS. itself was brought from Greece in 1842 by M. Mynas, who was employed by M. Villemain to make search for literary treasures in the Levant. It was described as a "MS. on cotton paper, containing a refutation of heresies by an anonymous author," and, as such, was deposited in the Royal Library. It remained for M. Miller to suspect its value, and to bring it forth from obscurity. He has done his editorial work with great skill and judgment, making many silent corrections of obvious errors, and offering many shrewd conjectural emendations for the consideration of the learned. The text, however, is still in a very corrupt condition, and demands a great deal of critical labour. The work has already attracted much attention in England, and the (London) Quarterly Review, for June, contains a very learned and spirited exposition of its contents. It will excite still greater interest and study in Germany, as it is full of value for the history of the first three centuries of the Christian Church, a period to which German theologians have devoted themselves with the most industrious and persevering research.

It is well known to those who are versed in Church history and antiquities, that we had, before the discovery of this MS., a book under the name of *Philosophoumena Origenis*, (edited by J. C. Wolff and others,) which was supposed by some to be really Origen's, while other critics denied its genuineness. But *one* book was given in this volume, while the whole work was known to have comprised ten. The newly-discovered MS. gives *seven* books more—the second and third are still wanting. M. Miller does not hesitate to ascribe the whole to Origen, and this view is followed by the article in the Quarterly above referred to. We trust we shall be able to show ample grounds for a different opinion, founded upon a close study of the book, of the time to which it belongs, and of all the accessible evidences that bear upon the question of its origin.

Our first argument against the genuineness of the book is founded upon its very plan and fundamental idea. It professes to be a "refutation of all heresies;" and the aim of the author is to show that the opinions of the heretics were not original with themselves, but had been before propounded by the heathen philosophers. He makes extracts from both the philosophers and the heretics, compares the two, and, supposing the heresies to be derived from the philosophers, he *therefore* infers that they are untenable. This mode of procedure bespeaks much more the ideas of philosophy held by an Irenæus or a Tertullian, than by an Origen. That a doctrine was to be found in one of the old philosophers was, with Origen, anything but an evidence of its falsity: on the contrary, his own system received its character, to a very great extent, from those same philosophers. In the second place, the author of the book gives a short sketch of his own dogmatic system, which is not at all in harmony with that of Origen. On the one hand, it lacks some of Origen's peculiar views (e. g., the doctrine of the fall of souls, the ἀποκατάστασις); and, on the other, it gives other doctrines (e. g., a Trinity and an anthropology) precisely opposed to Origen's. In a word, whatever philosophical culture and method the book may show, it is *not* that of Origen. The *style*, moreover, is remarkably unlike that of Origen.

M. Miller appeals to a passage of Origen's in Eusebius, (vi. 19,) but he applies it incorrectly. Origen does not speak, in that passage, of this treatise, or of any single treatise of his own, but of his course of study in general.

We think it may be held as a matter established, therefore, that Origen was *not* the author of this book. But it is equally clear that the author was contemporary with Origen. He places himself in that age, and all his statements harmonize with this view. Taking him, then, accordingly, to have lived in the first quarter of the third century, at the time of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, and of Callistus, we should be led, by Eusebius, to identify him with the learned Presbyter CAIUS, or with HIPPOLYTUS. It is easily shown, however, that Caius could not have been the author of the book, for he was *specially* distinguished for his writings against Cerinthus, and for his peculiar views in regard to that Gnostic leader; while our author has nothing of his own to offer about Cerinthus, and borrows all that he does say, (and that is not much,) word for word, from Irenæus. Caius ascribed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus—our author assigns it to the Apostle John. The former was a strenuous opponent of the sensual Chiliasm; the latter, while he blames much in Montanism, does not include Chiliasm under it, and indeed it is more than probable that he was a friend of that doctrine. On the

other hand, there are many reasons for ascribing the work before us to HIPPOLYTUS. From the titles of his many exegetical works, it may be inferred that he was originally from the East, perhaps from Antioch. He is shown to have been skilled in astronomy by his Easter-cycle of sixteen years, which was deemed to be of sufficient importance to immortalize him, as appears from the marble monument dug up in the neighbourhood of Rome in 1551, with his image seated on a chair, with cycles of sixteen years engraved in Greek letters. Eusebius and Jerome mention also many polemical treatises of his. He appears to have dwelt in Rome as presbyter, and finally to have suffered martyrdom. Prudentius narrates the martyrdom of the Presbyter Hippolytus, and can hardly refer to any other than the well-known writer of that name. This martyr, according to Prudentius, had been a Novatian;* but in view of death repented of his schism, and exhorted his followers to return to the bosom of the Church.

Let us see now what parallels we can find for this account in the history, as far as we can gather it, of the author of the work before us. It is highly probable, in the first place, that he was of oriental origin: he sets forth the doctrine of the Trinity in its oriental form; he shows peculiar acquaintance with the oriental sects, and is, in fact, for many of them the only voucher. He shows that he had busied himself much with astronomy and astrology, and was acquainted with the technical language and the peculiar theories of the astronomers and astrologers; e. g., Ptolemy, whom he ridicules for his bold hypotheses, while at the same time he makes use of his formulas for astronomical calculations. He is, moreover, at enmity with the bishops of Rome, and writes especially against them on those very points on account of which Novatian separated from the Church. He supports the theory, that no person who had committed deadly sin could be re-admitted into the bosom of the Church without defiling it, and denounces Zephyrinus and Callistus not only for false doctrine but for loose discipline.

These internal evidences go strongly to prove that Hippolytus was the author of the book. But other and confirmatory proofs are not wanting. The author states that he had written a book *Concerning the substance of the universe* (περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας). Now this very title is given among the list of the works of Hippolytus, engraved upon the statue above referred to as having been disinterred near Rome. Photius knew this book, and ascribed it to Caius; apparently on no other ground, however, than the fact that the name of Caius was marked upon the margin of the manuscript by the

* No historical grounds for this statement are given.

transcriber. The Monophysite Gobarus, in the sixth century, cites some passages from a manuscript which he ascribes to Hippolytus: these passages are to be found in the book before us. All these considerations taken together give so high a degree of probability to the theory that Hippolytus was the real author of the book, as to bear down all that can be said on the opposite side.

To give our readers some idea of the value of this newly-discovered work to our knowledge of antiquity, and to show that it must be especially welcome in the present stage of inquiry and criticism in early Church history, a single statement may suffice. We obtain from it a collection of new fragments from Empedocles, Heraclitus, and other philosophers; a number of important illustrations of ancient mythology; and, especially, a rich exhibition of astrology and the magic arts, as practised by the pagans, and borrowed from them, according to the statements of the book, by the Gnostic heretics. It sets forth the laws of stellar influence upon the bodies and souls of men; the horoscope, and the modes of casting it; the tricks of the professors of magic, and their explanations on natural grounds.

Still more rich and valuable, in a different field, is its exhibition of heretical theories, and of the internal evils and discords of the Catholic Church. It also throws light upon the Gnostic system, and in this respect is next in value to the treatise of Irenæus. Names, and even facts, are here given of which we knew absolutely nothing before; while others, that were held to be as unimportant as they were obscure, are brought out into light and prominence, illuminating many dark nooks of Church history. The book tells us of a Gnostic, by name Justin, of whom we had not before heard; and describes at length Monoïmaos and the Peraticians, of whom we knew only the names. The Simonians, and the strange, fragmentary, and enigmatical ideas generally attributed to Simon Magus, are here treated with something approaching to orderly and clear connexion. The book gives us also much information in regard to the strange and widely-diffused sect of the Ophites; it throws new light upon the notions and history of Basilides, perhaps the acutest of the Gnostics, who was known to us before only from scanty fragments; and it gives much instructive information with regard to Valentinus and his school. Of Marcion, and his interesting follower Apelles, we gather little new knowledge—much to our regret. We learn much more about the history and usages of the sect of the Elkesaites, who spread from Syria and Parthia even to Rome. The account given of them by Epiphanius is well pieced out in this work of Hippolytus. In this, as in other cases, the writer cites from writings of those

heretics which he himself had read, and so gives us new and accurate information on the Gnostic literature. His book has this advantage (for us at least) over those of Epiphanius and Irenæus, that he is very sparing of his own remarks, and allows the opposing parties to speak for themselves. Among his Gnostic fragments are a number of poetical ones, which will be of great service to the history of hymnology. To the Noetians or Patripassians, as a contemporary and restless sect, he devotes special attention. He depicts their influence upon the Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, and sketches the condition of the existing Church at Rome, in a way full of instruction, especially as our knowledge of that period (the beginning of the third century) may be said to be confined almost entirely to a list of the names of the bishops. We learn that even at this period there had arisen great difficulties and disputes within the Church of Rome with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity—difficulties, the origin of which we have been heretofore accustomed to refer to the period of Dionysius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria. On the one side were the Theodotians, Unitarians, or Monarchians, who held (somewhat like Paul of Samosata) that Christ was only a man of supernatural origin and enlightenment; on the other, the Patripassians, who held Christ to be the Father incarnate. To this last view Zephyrinus, and especially Callistus, inclined. Nay, we make the further discovery that Sabellius was already active at this period, that he appeared in Rome, and was excommunicated by Callistus. It was not the interest of Callistus, in spite of his favour for the *ὁμοούσιον*, to be deemed a Sabellian. The Church held that God was in Christ, yet that it was the Son who suffered, not the Father. The Church recognised the designation of Christ, according to John's Gospel, as the Logos incarnate; but deemed that the strict subordination of the Logos to the Father, as taught by the orientals and by the author of the book before us, included too little of the *ὁμοούσιον*, removing the equality of the Father and the Son. We thus see clearly from whence sprung the strenuous support which Rome gave to the *ὁμοούσιον* in the later periods of the third century, and in the Arian controversy. The controversy (or something very like it) had been gone over in her midst before. It is clear that the prevailing tendency of the Church, at the earlier date of which we speak, was to set forth the deity of Christ most emphatically; in fact, two of its bishops in succession were called Patripassians. This fact completely invalidates the hypothesis of the new Tubingen School, that the prevailing ideas concerning Christ at Rome were akin to those of the Ebionites and Theodotians; viz., that he was simply a man filled with the Spirit of God. Those

who advocate this hypothesis, assert further, that St. John's Gospel was not written by the apostle, but appeared towards the end of the second century, bringing out the doctrine of the Logos in opposition to the Judaizing view of Christ. The work before us affords new grounds of opposition to this species of criticism; for, in the first place, it shows that the doctrine of the Logos existed in the Church of Rome as a well-known tradition in the beginning of the third century, and that the question then was not whether the Logos were Christ, but what degree of deity dwelt in the Logos. Again: the book cites a passage from the Gnostic Basilides, in which John i, 9 is quoted, and another in which John ii, 4 is appealed to. Now Basilides lived and wrote under Hadrian, and was a younger contemporary of the apostles. This is the *oldest* testimony to John's Gospel that we possess—older than that of Justin Martyr, which is thereby confirmed. Let us hear no more, then, that this Gospel was written after the middle of the second century.

That part of the work before us which treats of the *morals* of the Roman Church, and of its clergy, is full of interest. Hippolytus censures them for unchastity, and casts it up to them as a great reproach that many, even of the higher orders of clergy, were married—some of them more than once. His account of Callistus throws so much light upon the state of society and of religion in Rome, at the time, that we cite it at some length, from a translation furnished in the article before spoken of:—"Callistus was the domestic servant of a certain Carpophorus, a Christian in the household of Cæsar. Carpophorus intrusted to him, as a fellow Christian, a considerable sum of money, instructing him to lend it out at interest. Callistus set up a bank for loans (τράπεζα) in what is called the Piscina Publica. At his bank, in process of time, many pledges of widows and poor brethren were deposited, on the credit of the name of Carpophorus. But Callistus, having made away with the whole, fell into difficulties. His proceedings were soon made known to Carpophorus, who immediately said that he would call upon him for his accounts. When Callistus knew this, dreading the danger with which he was threatened by his master, he ran away towards the sea; and finding a ship in the port ready to set sail to the place of her destination, got on board and engaged his passage. He could not, however, escape detection; there were those who instantly communicated his flight to Carpophorus. Carpophorus hastened to the harbour, and endeavoured to get on board the ship. She was in the middle of the harbour; the captain slackened her course, and Callistus, recognising his master, became desperate and leaped into the sea. But the sailors, jumping into the boats, took him up against his will.

A great cry was raised from the shore, and Callistus, delivered up to his master, was led back to Rome. His master threw him into prison (*εἰς πίστρινον*). After a certain time, it happened that some of the brethren came to Carpophorus, entreating him to release the runaway from prison, for he had confessed that he had money in the hands of certain persons. Carpophorus, being an upright man (*εὐλαβής*), replied that he did not care for his own losses, but for the poor people's pledges; for many had come to him in tears and said that they had trusted Callistus with all the property they had placed in pawn, entirely on the credit of his name. Carpophorus, however, was persuaded to let him out. But Callistus, having nothing to pay, and finding it impossible, being carefully watched, to make another escape, thought of some means of death; and, on the Sabbath, pretending to go out to meet his creditors, he went into the synagogue of the Jews, there assembled for worship, and stood up and made a great disturbance. The Jews, upon this disturbance, fell violently on him, beat him, and dragged him before Fuscianus, prefect of the city. This was their charge:—'The Romans have granted us the privilege of reading in public the laws of our fathers; but this fellow came in and interfered with us, raising divisions, and saying that he is a Christian.' Fuscianus betraying his indignation at the charges brought against Callistus, some one ran and told Carpophorus what was going on. He, making all haste to the tribunal of the prefect, cried out, 'I entreat you, my Lord Fuscianus, do not believe him—he is not a Christian; he is only seeking some means of death, having made away with money belonging to me.' The Jews thought this a mere trick to screen the criminal from justice, and continued to clamour with more vehement hostility. The prefect was moved by them, and having scourged Callistus, transported him to the mines in Sardinia. After a certain time, other martyrs being there, Marcia, the godly (*φιλόθεος*) mistress of Commodus, wishing to do some good work, sent for the blessed Victor, the bishop of the Church, and inquired about the martyrs in Sardinia. Victor gave her all their names, but left out that of Callistus, being aware of his crimes. Marcia, having obtained the grant of her petition from Commodus, intrusted the order for their release to Hyacinthus, an aged eunuch, who set sail with it to Sardinia, and delivered it to the governor of the island. The governor released all the prisoners except Callistus. Callistus fell on his knees, and entreated with tears to be released with the rest. Hyacinthus, yielding to his importunity, asked this favour of the governor, asserting that it must have been an omission on the part of Marcia, and promising to bear him harmless. The governor was persuaded

to release Callistus also. Victor, however, was much grieved at what had taken place, but, being a kindly man, held his peace. But to avoid reproach, (for the misdeeds of Callistus were of recent date,) he sent him to live in Antium, making him a monthly allowance for his support."

We have given a meagre account, indeed, of this book, but quite enough, we think, to justify our assertion, in the beginning of this article, that it is an invaluable *discovery*. And it is gratifying to know that its value remains unaffected by the proof that *Origen* was not its author.

Art. IX.—DEATH OF PRESIDENT OLIN.

"Our graveyards," says Sir Thomas Browne, "are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory in Adam." The triumph of that dismal victory is heightened when a leader, a guide, or a hero falls. And such was Stephen Olin. Had we no trust in Him who shall finally conquer even the "last enemy," this late victory of the grave would chill our hopes and hearts forever. And even with all the light which the word of God affords, and with all the strength which faith imparts, we can still only say, *It is the Lord: his will be done.*

It is fitting that this journal should contain some memorial, some tribute of grateful love, for one who was its ablest contributor. Not that *he* needs, or would wish, any words of praise that we or other men could utter: few men were more careless of praise than he. His life was a simple, earnest striving for moral purity,—something far nobler than the highest aims of mere human ambition. It could almost be said of him,—so free was his beautiful soul from all merely earthly aspirations,—as a wise man said of himself—that he "cared not for monument, history, or epitaph, not so much as that the bare memory of his name should be found anywhere, but in the universal register of God."

Stephen Olin was born in Vermont, on the 2d of March, 1797. His academical education was completed in the college at Middlebury, in his native state, where he graduated with the highest honours of his class. In a genial notice in a daily journal,[c] we see it stated that at the close of the Commencement at which he graduated, it was remarked by one of the professors, that "Mr. Olin was the ripest scholar who had ever come before him to be examined for his degree." Soon afterwards, to benefit his failing health, he removed to South Carolina, and was elected Principal of Tabernacle Academy, Abbeville District. Here he was converted to God, and, very shortly after, he began to preach the gospel. In 1824, he was admitted on trial in the South Carolina Conference, and stationed in Charleston, S. C. His labours

[c] The New-York Commercial Advertiser.

were excessive, and his health soon gave way, compelling him to locate. In 1827, he was married to Miss Bostwick, of Milledgeville, Ga. In 1830, he was chosen Professor of English Literature in the University of Georgia, but did not hold the office long. In 1832 he was called to a professorship in Franklin College, Ga., and in 1833, to the Presidency of Randolph Macon College, Va.; but in 1837 he found it necessary to free himself from all professional responsibilities, and seek health in foreign travel. He spent several years in Europe and the East, and has given the results of his observations in the latter region in the two excellent volumes of "Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land." In 1842 he was elected President of the Wesleyan University, and continued to fill that office to the time of his death. In 1843 he was married to Miss Julia Lynch, daughter of the Hon. Judge Lynch, of New-York. During the latter years of his life, his health was always feeble; and when, in the summer of the present year, he was attacked with a prevailing and acute disease, his shattered organization soon sank under it. On the 16th of August he died.

Dr. Olin was a man of remarkable organization. His physical and mental proportions were alike gigantic. His intellect was of that imperial rank to which but few of the sons of men can lay claim. At once acute, penetrating, and profound, it lacked none of the elements of true mental greatness. We have known many men far superior to him in acquired learning; but for breadth and comprehensiveness of range, for vigour and richness of thought, for fertility and abundance of invention, we have never met his equal. The great things that he did in preaching, in talking, in writing, for the last thirty years of his life, were accomplished rather by observation and thought, than by reading or study; of these his uncertain health made him incapable. Yet his acquisitions were of no mean order; a broad and deep foundation had been laid in the severe studies of his youth and earlier manhood; and he had a wonderful sort of intuition, if such it may be called, into all forms of human thought and knowledge. His judgment was so profound, that on all subjects of an ethical, political, or religious character, his *a priori* judgments were of more value than most other men's conclusions on the largest collection of facts would be.

But grand as was Dr. Olin's intellectual being, his moral life was still grander. So overshadowing, indeed, was its majesty, that we can hardly contemplate any portion of his nature apart from it. The whole truth, were we to set it down as our eyes see it, would, perhaps, be judged by those who did not *know* Dr. Olin, to be but another addition to the fond exaggerations of friendship. We see so much of earthliness in men, even in men of deservedly high name and station, that it is hard to believe in a life free from this base alloy. If man *can* be free from it, he was. He walked on in the daily path of life, spending his great mind in the service of the humblest of his fellows more cheerfully than if he had been serving kings—in the world, working for the world, but not of it. Presenting in himself an embodiment of the loftiest ideal of human purity and love, it was the effort of his life to raise others to breathe in his own celestial heights.

Not that he *felt* himself to be thus elevated. The crowning beauty of his

whole nature was its humility. Severe as was his virtue, he knew too well that, after all, it was not *his*, ever to know or think himself more virtuous than others. And so, charity, the meek attendant of humility, was ever by his side. In all things else but intellectual and moral pride, he would have been a fit companion for those great spirits that taught of old in the Stoa, or discoursed of virtue and beauty in the groves of the Academy. He had their supreme love of truth,—he had their profound contempt for all that is low, grovelling, and earthly,—but he had, too, what they had not, a clear apprehension of the relation between man and his Creator, and a deep sense of the corruption and debasement of humanity as estranged from God.

And the basis of this high morality was laid in pure religion—in an humble and total self-consecration to the service of God his Creator, and in a most ardent love of Christ, his Redeemer. He had but one aim in life—to realize a high idea of Christian holiness, and so to promote Christ's kingdom upon earth. To this point all his studies tended,—for this all his intellectual treasures were lavished—for this he freely spent his worldly goods,—to this he devoted health, and strength, and life.

The highest style of man is that which combines a loving heart with high intellectual and moral power. A more genial and affectionate nature than Stephen Olin's we never knew. His religious affections overflowed in the broadest Christian sympathy for the race; while upon his family and friends he lavished a wealth of love which few men are endowed with. His social life was all affection and tenderness. His friendship! O! how pure, and deep, and ardent it was! Could we unveil the inner sanctuary in which the sacred things of love and friendship are, and must be, guarded, we could show many a treasure,—all the fruit of his overflowing heart. With his friends there was no restraint or reserve. His whole heart was poured forth in the gushing flow of sympathy. He delighted, too, in all the manifestations of affection—"in the *detail* of feeling—in the outward and visible signs of the sacrament within—to count, as it were, the very pulses of the life of love."

With such qualities of mind and heart, it is not wonderful that he was preeminent as a preacher. In overmastering power in the pulpit, we doubt whether living, he had a rival, or dying, has left his like among men. Nor did his power consist in any single quality—in force of reasoning, or fire of imagination, or heat of declamation—but in all combined. His course of argument was always clear and strong, yet interfused throughout with a fervid and glowing passion—the two inseparably united in a torrent that overwhelmed all who listened to him. His was, indeed, the

> "Seraphic intellect and force,
> To seize and throw the doubts of man;
> Impassion'd logic which outran
> The hearer in its fiery course."

Of his writings we have left ourselves no room to speak. More fitting space for this, and a better time, will come hereafter. It is the grand *totality* of his character that we have sought to express—yet our feeble utterances have fallen below our aim. His life, his spirit, and his death, are fitly embodied in a noble strain of Wordsworth's, that reads almost as if it were written for him:

"Who is the happy warrior? who is he,
That every man in arms would wish to be?
'Tis he . . . . . .
Who fixes good on good alone, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows—
Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means, and there will stand
On honourable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire—
Who therefore does not stoop or lie in wait
For wealth, or honours, or for worldly state—
Whom they *must follow*—on whose head must fall,
Like showers of manna, if they come at all—
Who, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of heaven's applause,—
This is the happy warrior—this is he,
Whom every man in arms should wish to be."

Art. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) Augustus Neander devoted his life, from 1810 to 1850, chiefly to the study of the history of Christ's Church. The results of this life-long devotion have been, to a great extent, brought before American readers in the several translations of the "Life of Christ," the "History of the Apostolic Age," and the "Church History." In 1822, with a view to make Church history conducive to general Christian edification, he published "*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens*," (Memorabilia from the History of the Christian Life, 3 vols.,) which was very successful, having passed through three editions. A very dear friend of ours undertook a translation of the whole work some years ago, but was called away (alas!) before this and other noble projects of a noble mind could be accomplished. The work now before us (*Light in Dark Places; or Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages*) is a translation of part of the second volume, made, and very well made too, by an English lady. It is divided into two parts: I. The operations of Christianity during and after the irruptions of the barbarians; II. Memorials from the History of Missions in the Middle Ages—both covering periods of romantic interest in the history of the Church, and affording many examples of pure faith, entire devotion, and heroic fortitude, in the ages of the Church's greatest trials and darkness. We give a few specimens of the graphic narratives with which the book abounds:—

"Germanus of Auxerre (Antistodorum).—Such was Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, who held this office in 418, from the narratives of whose life and labours we will here give some extracts. It happened, about ten years after his entering on his office, that he was summoned by Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, into Britain, in order to oppose the spread of the Pelagian doctrine, as a system which taught men to rely rather on their own strength than on the grace of the Redeemer, and by the illusions of self-righteousness alienated them from the essence of true inward holiness. They preached not only in the churches, but in the streets, and in the fields; whithersoever they went, these zealous men gathered crowds

around them, to whom they proclaimed the grace of God. The Britons, who could obtain no assistance from the falling Roman empire, were then driven to great distress by a war with the wild Saxons and Picts. Both bishops were called into the British camp, and their presence infused into the desponding Britons as much courage and confidence as if an army had come to their help. As it was a season of fasting, the bishops preached daily amid the perils of war, and many were induced by their sermons to be baptized. At Easter the church was splendidly decorated and garlanded with green boughs for the festival of their baptism. The Britons enjoyed their Easter festivities in quiet. The Picts had, indeed, formed a project to take advantage of their negligence, in order to surprise them unarmed; but their design was discovered, and Germanus showed the Britons a valley enclosed by mountains, where they could wait the coming of the foe. He himself went thither with them, and told them, when he should cry Hallelujah, all to join him with one accord. This was done, and the loud accordant cry of the vast multitude resounding amongst the hills, made so powerful an impression on the Picts, that they fled precipitately.

"At another time, when he was just returned from a second journey to Britain, his aid was besought by the inhabitants of the province of Bretagne, to avert a great danger which threatened that region; Aëtius, then a distinguished and influential general of the Western Empire, having called in the king of a wild tribe of Alani to chastise them for a revolt. As the biographer of Germanus relates, he, a gray-headed man, yet through the protection of Christ stronger than all, went alone to encounter the warlike people and the heathen king. He passed calmly through the midst of the army to the king; and when the monarch would not hearken to him, but persisted in riding on, he seized his bridle-rein. His daring so astounded the rude warrior, that he yielded, promising to spare the province until the bishop should have endeavoured to procure a pardon for it from the imperial government. In order to effect this, Germanus immediately set out for Italy. On his way he joined a company of poor mechanics, who were returning to their homes after having completed a bargain in a foreign country. Amongst them was a lame old man, whose strength failed him when he had to follow the rest in wading through a brawling torrent with his heavy burden. Germanus relieved him of his burden, and carried first the burden, and then the old man, through the stream.

"As he was coming out of the rich city of Milan, where he had been preaching a great deal, some poor people met him, begging alms. He asked his attendant deacon how large their store of money was. The deacon replied that he had not more than three gold pieces left. Thereupon the bishop desired him to distribute it all among the poor. 'But, then, what shall we live on to-day?' asked the deacon. Germanus replied: 'God will feed his poor. Only do thou give away what thou hast.' But the deacon thought he would be more prudent: so he gave two pieces away, and kept back one. When they had travelled a little farther, two horsemen came after them, to entreat a visit in the name of a rich landed proprietor, who, with his family, was afflicted with many diseases. The place lay off the road, and his attendants therefore entreated Germanus not to accept the invitation, but he answered: 'It is the first thing of all to me to do the will of my God.'

"When the horsemen heard that he had resolved to come, they presented him with the sum of two hundred solidi, (a gold coin of the time,) which had been given them for Bishop Germanus. Germanus gave it to his deacon, and said: 'Take this, and acknowledge that thou hast robbed the poor of one hundred of these pieces; for if thou hadst given all to the poor, He who repayeth a hundredfold would have restored to us three hundred pieces to-day.' His arrival diffused universal joy at the estate: he visited master and servant, with equal sympathy, on their sick beds; he went even into the poorest huts, and strengthened all by prayer.

"At the imperial court of Ravenna, Germanus received universal honour; and he could easily have obtained whatever he wished. The empress sent to his dwelling a large silver vessel full of costly provisions. Germanus divided the victuals amongst his servants, and kept the silver for himself, in order to lay it out to the best advantage for the poor. As an acknowledgment, he sent the empress a wooden dish with black bread upon it, such as he was accustomed to

eat. But in the eyes of the empress it was a precious remembrance, and she afterwards had the dish enchased in gold.

"Once when, during his residence at Ravenna, he was conversing with the bishops on religious topics, he said to them: 'My brethren, I wish you farewell in this world. The Lord appeared to me to-night in a dream, and gave me some travelling money. And when I asked the object of the journey, He answered me: "Fear not, I do not send thee into a strange land, but unto thy fatherland, where thou wilt find everlasting rest." ' The bishops sought to apply the dream to his return to his earthly country; but he would not suffer the mistake, saying: 'I know well *what* fatherland the Lord hath promised his servant.'

"Into this heavenly country he soon after passed."—Pp. 50–54.

Here is a specimen of gospel preaching in the sixth century. Speaking of Cæsarius of Arles, Neander proceeds:—

"If, amongst men who were inclined to place religion in a dead faith and ceremonial observances, he insisted on the necessity of good works as the fruits of faith, and set the requirements of the Holy Ghost before their eyes in all their strictness, he was, nevertheless, no preacher of the law, which killeth, and can never make alive. He did not direct men to their own strength; but sought rather to bring them to a true sense of their powerlessness, that they might learn to draw from that Eternal Fountain of all strength to which he directed them. He says, after representing what belongs to a holy life, 'All this, my brethren, seems to be wearisome, until it becomes habitual; or, to speak more justly, it will be deemed impossible as long as men believe they must fulfil it with human strength. But when any one is convinced that it may be obtained and fulfilled by God's power, it no longer appears anything hard and painful, but something mild and easy, according to the words of the Lord: "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light." ' He told me to rely on the strength of the Redeemer in the contest with the Evil One; as when he says, 'How can we fear the devil, if we are united to God? Thou hast such a leader in the strife, and yet fearest the devil? Thou fightest under such a king, and yet doubtest of victory? Daily, indeed, does Satan oppose thee, but Christ is present. The devil would crush thee to the earth, Christ will raise thee erect; the one would kill, the other will keep thee alive; but be of good cheer, brethren, Christ is better able to bear you up, than Satan to beat you down.' And in another sermon: 'Because we were insignificant, He has made himself lowly. Because we lay dead, the tender Physician has bowed himself to death; for, truly, he who will not stoop, cannot raise the prostrate.' "—Pp. 81, 82.

The chapter on Gregory the Great is highly eulogistic. The following will show how far later bishops of Rome have wandered from the spirit of the earlier ones:—

"It was Gregory's strenuous endeavour to extend the study of the Scriptures among the clery and the laity. He says in a sermon: 'As we see the face of strangers and know not their hearts, until these are opened to us by confidential intercourse,—so, if only the history be regarded in the divine word, nothing else appears to us but the outward countenance. But when, by continual intercourse, we let it pass into our being, the confidence engendered by such communion enables us to penetrate into its spirit.' 'Often,' he observes elsewhere, 'when we do something, we believe it to be meritorious. But if we return to the word of God, and understand its sublime teaching, we perceive how far behind perfection we stand.'

"A bishop, whom Gregory advised to study the Scriptures, had excused himself on the plea that the troubles of the times would not permit him to read. Gregory showed him the barrenness of this excuse, referring him to Rom. xv, 4. 'If,' he replied, 'the Holy Scripture is written for our consolation, we should read it more, the more we feel oppressed by the burden of the times.' "—P. 127.

Again:—

"While recommending the study of Holy Scripture, he discriminates between its false and its true use; and counsels that manner of reading the Bible in

which the regard to self-improvement should be paramount. 'Those,' says he, 'who seek to fathom the mysteries of God beyond their power of comprehension, become unfruitful by their hunger; for they seek not what can train them in humility, patience, and long-suffering, but only what serves to show off their learning and enables them to talk. They often speak boldly about the being of God, while they are so unfortunate as not to know themselves. While they strive after what they cannot comprehend, they neglect that which might have made them better men.' He shows, however, at the same time, how every one, seeking in the right way, may find an answer to his questions, and the satisfaction of his wants in the Holy Scriptures. 'God does not,' he says, 'answer individual minds by special voices, but he has so arranged his word as to answer all questions thereby. If we search for our particular cases in the Scripture, we find them there. A general answer is given therein to us all about that which each in particular suffers. Let the life of those who have gone before be a pattern for those that follow. To adduce one instance among many: When we are seized with pain or any bodily annoyance, we wish perhaps to know its hidden causes, finding some consolation even in knowing what it is which we suffer. But since no especial reply is bestowed on our especial search, we have recourse to the Holy Scripture. There we find how Paul, when he was tempted with the infirmities of the flesh, received this reply: "My grace is sufficient for thee, my strength is made perfect in weakness." It was said to him in his particular infirmity, that it need not be particularly repeated to each one of us. Thus we hear the voice of God in the Holy Scripture, on occasion of the sufferings of Paul, in order that we, if we have sorrows to bear, need not each one seek a similar voice for his own consolation. The Lord does not answer our every word, because he has once spoken and will not repeat it. That is to say, whatever was said to our fathers through the Holy Scriptures, was said for our instruction. The teachers of the Church may, therefore, confidently say, when they see many grieving and faint at heart, because God does not answer their every word, that God had once spoken and will not repeat it; that is to say, that he does not now come to the aid of individuals in their thoughts and temptations, by special prophetic voices and angelic ministrations, because the Holy Scriptures include all that is necessary to meet individual cases, and they are constructed so as to mould the life of later times by the examples of the earlier.'"—Pp. 131, 132.

The following passage from the "History of Missions in the Middle Ages," is pregnant with important truth.—

"Christianity can indeed be propagated in a few generally comprehensible doctrines, which are preserved by the power of God in the minds of men. These doctrines, as is shown by the experience of recent times amongst the Hottentots, Greenlanders, and Negroes, as also by the experience of earlier ages, are such as to find access even amongst those deficient of all kind of civilization; for everywhere there lies hidden in man something akin to God, which can only be awakened to consciousness by the revelation of its source,—can only be released from its veil of corruption by the breath from above. Irenæus was able to appeal to the fact, that without paper and ink, the doctrine of salvation could be written by the Holy Spirit on the hearts of those who were unacquainted with letters, and could not have received any doctrine in writing.

"But experience also teaches that divine truth has never been able to propagate itself continuously, when the written records have not been added to the oral preaching—those records from which every age and every individual may draw afresh the living truth in its purity, and appropriate it in its characteristic and applicable form. By the propagation of these records, the divine contents could be preserved from all falsifications; or, if these had arisen, could be purged from them. Certainly all which has proceeded from the operations of pure and genuine Christianity,—all which in all ages has been thought, and purposed, and done, and instituted in the true Christian spirit,—is inwardly linked together; all the operations of the Holy Spirit in the life of humanity, form one great invisible chain, and it must ever give us a holy joy when we can recognise the links of this chain in history, and in this sense trace a Christian tradition in

all times and places in which the gospel has been preached. But this operation of the Holy Ghost, this Christian tradition flowing from it, is never, and nowhere, pure and untroubled, but is everywhere, and at all times, disturbed by the mixture of the flesh, and of that which is not divine. Everywhere, and always, we find in tradition the antichristian beside the Christian, as every one must in himself, in his inward and outward life, be conscious of the same mixture; and what is seen in a small scale in the life of every individual Christian, is seen on a large scale in the life of the whole Church. We are thus always in danger of confounding the Christian with the unchristian, what is of the flesh with what is of the Spirit, if *we have not in the divine word, which mirrors to us purely the operations of the Holy Spirit*, a trustworthy source of knowledge, a sure testing principle, a fixed rule, by which, as in our own souls, so also in the traditions of the whole Church, to separate that which is of God from that which is not."—Pp. 158, 159.

But the whole book is made up of beautiful thoughts and touching narratives. It cannot fail to enlarge our sympathy with the universal Church to find such bright illustrations of Christian holiness even in the lives of men whose minds were darkened, to a considerable extent, by the clouds that overhung the middle age.

(2.) "*The Star of the Wise Men: a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew*, by RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 171.) Mr. Trench is well known from his treatises on the Parables and Miracles of Christ, and from his Hulsean Lectures, heretofore noticed in this journal. The work now before us is a fine specimen of commentary,—abundant in learning, yet adapted to general apprehension and use. Instead of evading the difficult points of the text—a practice too common among commentators—he boldly seizes upon them, and brings to bear upon their elucidation a practical sagacity, combined with an amount of erudition, quite rare in these days. We quote the eighth section, on the *gifts* of the Magi, as a specimen of Mr. Trench's happy style of exposition:—

"§ 8.—*The Gifts.*

"'*And when they had opened their treasures*,'—by which '*treasures*' we must understand, not the precious things themselves which they had brought, but the chests, caskets, vessels, (which is the word of the Arabic version,) or other receptacles which contained them,*—'*they presented unto Him gifts*,'†—after the cus-

"* Θησαυρός=אוֹצָר, Deut. xxviii, 12, the receptacle for treasure, (Josephus, Ant., ix, 8, 2,) whether portable as here,=אֲצָרוֹת, 2 Kings xii, 9, (LXX.) or the treasure-chamber, as often elsewhere: Matt. xii, 35; xiii, 52; Joshua vi, 19. (LXX.)

"† There was another passage of prophecy besides the more obvious ones, Psa. lxxii, 10; Isa. lx, 6, alluded to already, which was very commonly, in the early Church, held to have found its fulfilment in these gifts—namely, Isa. viii, 4. Such an application of the passage was favoured by the earlier Latin translation, which, as we gather from Tertullian (Adv. Jud., c. 9; cf. Adv. Marcion., l. 3, c. 13), was: *Accipiet* virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariæ; and not as in the Vulgate: Auferetur fortitudo Damasci et spolia Samariæ. How the application was exactly made may be best understood by a quotation from Augustine, (Serm. 202, c. 2,) who, however, is plainly following therein the footsteps of Tertullian. Alluding to these gifts, he says: Tunc enim puer prius-quam sciret vocare patrem et matrem, sicut de illo fuerat prophetatum, accepit virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariæ: id est, antequam per humanam carnem humana verba proferret, accepit virtutem Damasci, illud scil. unde Damascus præsumebat. In divitiis quippe civitas illa secundum sæculum floreus aliquando præsumserat. In divitiis autem principatus auro defertur, quod Christo magi supplices obtulerunt. Spolia vero Samariæ iidem ipsi erant, qui eum incolebant. Samaria namque pro idololatriâ posita. . . . Debellaturus scil. Christus gladio spiritali per universum orbem regnum diaboli, hæc prima puer spolia idololatriæ dominatione detraxit, ut ad se adorandum magos conversos a peste illius superstitionis averteret; et in hâc terrâ nondum loquens per linguam, loqueretur de cælo per stellam; ut et quis esset, et quò, et propter quos venisset, non voce carnis, sed virtute Verbi, quod caro factum est, demonstraret.

tom of the East, which will not allow any person to come empty-handed into the presence of the great, but requires that the inward devotedness should embody itself in an outward gift. Thus we have continual mention of such gifts, as made to kings and other great persons on earth, and to the King of kings in heaven. (1 Sam. x, 27; 1 Kings x, 2; Gen. xxxii, 13; xliii, 11, 25; 1 Sam. ix, 7; xxv, 18, 27; Job xiii, 11.) That these gifts on this occasion presented were themselves mystical;° that they who offered them meant more, or, at any rate, that more was meant by the Spirit which prompted them to these, than merely that they would present to this Child the costliest things which they had; that in these, no less than in the worship which went with them, there was a confession of faith,† explicit or implicit;—this the Church has evermore felt; and the special symbolic significance which has been attributed severally to the three gifts is probably familiar to all. The frankincense, the choicest of all odours, was offered to the Son of God, who as such was himself also God, and to whom therefore the sweet odours of prayer and all other sacrifices were rightly due: the myrrh to the son of Mary, who, as man, was subject to mortality, while, at the same time, he should be free from corruption; the myrrh, therefore, used in burial, and yet preserving from decay, containing a latent prophecy, not of his death and burial only, as it is sometimes explained, but the pledge also of his resurrection:‡ and the gold to the Son of David, the King of Israel, to whom all other kings and people should yield tribute of the most precious things which they had.§

"But these gifts—royal, divine, and human—may claim to be considered somewhat more in detail. There is a *sacred* character belonging to all three, and not the least to the gold. Even now in the East there are nations,—the Burmese, for instance,—among whom it is not permitted to coin gold into money, or otherwise to employ it in common and profane uses; this metal being reserved exclusively for divine, or, which is there the same thing, royal uses.‖ and being with them a usual offering to their gods, (cf. Psalm lxxii, 15: 'To Him shall be given of the gold of Arabia.') On this, its sacred character, rests the fact that in the holy of holies, as the image of heaven, all is either of massive gold, or thickly overlaid with gold. (Exod. xxxviii; cf. 1 Kings vi.) For heaven is the palace of light—of light, it needs not to say, ethically contemplated; and in the bright shining of gold there is that which better symbolizes light than anything besides. And thus, too, the New Jerusalem, 'having the glory of God,' the brightness of God's presence, is a city of pure gold. (Rev. xxi, 11, 18, 23.) Alike in the actual tabernacle and in the ideal city, something more than the costliness of the gold is to be taken into account, to explain its selection as the material of which the one and other is composed; and so is it here. This gift is not less significant of the higher character of Him to whom it is offered than the two with which it is joined.¶

"The frankincense,°° among all the odours of antiquity the highest prized and

"° Mystica munera, Juvencus calls them.

"† Leo the Great: Quod cordibus credunt, muneribus protestantur. Fulgentius: Attende quid obtulerint, et cognosce quid crediderint.

"‡ So in the ancient hymn:—

"'Myrrha, caro verbo nupta,
Per quod manet incorrupta
Caro carens carie.'

"§ The earliest writer, I believe, who makes this application, at least of those who have come down to us, is Irenæus (Con. Hær., l. 3, c. 9, § 2): Matthæus magos ait per ea quæ obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur. Myrrham quidem, quod ipse erat, qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur; aurum vero quoniam Rex, cujus regni finis non est; thus vero, quoniam Deus, qui et notus in Judæâ factus est, [Psa. lxxv, 2,] et manifestus eis, qui non quærebant eum. Cf. Origen, Con. Cels., l. 1, c. 60; and generally for passages from the Greek fathers, Suicer, Thes., v. λίβανος."

"‖ Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, 4, 1, 244.

"¶ The suggestion which has been sometimes made, that this gold may have served, and by the providence of God was intended, in the deep poverty of the holy family, to serve as a viaticum on occasion of the hurried flight into Egypt, which was so near—this suggestion is not altogether to be rejected, since we know that at a later period the Lord condescended to accept and use the offerings of his servants. (Luke viii, 3.)

"°° Λίβανος only occurs here and Rev. xviii, 13, in the New Testament. It is strictly the tree which yields the frankincense, and λιβανωτός, (which is used with a certain impropriety for the censer or thuribulum, Rev. viii, 3, 5,) the frankincense itself. But

the costliest, was a gum exuding, with slight solicitation, from a plant about which there is nearly as much uncertainty now, as Pliny confesses that in his time there was.* The Jews obtained it from Arabia Felix, (Jer. vi, 20,) and in all antiquity it was considered to be native there, and there only.† Yet modern naturalists are now generally agreed that the genuine frankincense is a product of India, and was only believed to be of Arabia, because it could not be traced farther than to the Arabian merchants, through whose hands the inhabitants of Western Asia and Europe obtained it. How frequent its use in the Levitical offerings, need not be observed; so frequent and so predominant, that although we cannot affirm it to have been absolutely restricted to the service of God, yet we justly feel that there was an ascription of divine honours to Him unto whom this offering was made.

"In the myrrh there is no such explicit recognition of a divine character in Him to whom it is presented, as in the two preceding gifts; nor was it to be expected that there should, since in this lay rather the confession of his mortality. It appears, indeed, as one of the four ingredients of the holy anointing oil, (Exod. xxx, 23,) but this is the only occasion on which we find it serving for holy uses. It oozed from an acacia-like plant, found chiefly in Arabia, and was used dry as a gum, or liquid as an ointment. Its antiseptic qualities caused it to be employed freely for purposes of embalming; and thus it was largely imported into Egypt, (Gen. xxxvii, 25; xliii, 11;) and in a hundred pounds' weight of myrrh and aloes Nicodemus wrapped the dead body of our Lord, (John xix, 39,) so that in his very cradle he receives already the prophecy of his death."‡

Aristotle does not observe the distinction, and in Hellenistic Greek—in the Septuagint, for instance—it is entirely neglected. Thus, often as the frankincense is there named, λιβανωτός is found only once, (1 Chron. ix, 29,) but λίβανος continually.

"* H. N., l. 12, c. 31.

"† Odor Arabicus, as it was therefore called. Cf. Herodotus, 3, 107.

"‡ It is well known that the dramatic representation of modern Europe grew up under the wing of the Church, and only slowly detached itself from this its earliest shelter. Of the dramatic element, which was allowed to find place in its own services, we have a curious illustration in the manner in which this offering of the Magi was set forth in some churches on the festival of Epiphany. (Binterim, Denkwürdigkeiten, v. 5, p. 316.) Three boys, clothed in silk, with golden crowns upon their heads, and each a golden vessel in his hand, represented the wise men from the East. Entering the choir, and advancing toward the altar, they chanted the following strophe:—

O quam dignis celebranda dies ista laudibus,
In quâ Christi genitura propalatur gentibus,
Pax terrenis nunciatur, gloria cœlestibus;
Novi partâ signum fulget Orientis patriâ.
Currunt reges Orientis stellâ sibi prævia,
Currunt reges et adorant Deum ad præsepia,
Tres adorant reges unum, triplex est oblatio.

During the singing of these verses they gradually approached the altar; there the first lifted up the vessel which he held in his hand, exclaiming:—

Aurum primo,
And the second:—
thus secundo,
And the third:—
myrrham dante tertio.

Hereupon, the first once more:—

Aurem regum,
The second:—
thus cœlestem,
And the third:—
mori natat unctio.

Then one of them pointed with his hand to the star hanging from the roof of the church, and sung in a loud voice: Hoc signum magni Regis; and all three proceeded to make their offerings, singing meanwhile the responsal, Eamus, inquiramus eum, et offeramus ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham. At the conclusion of this responsal, a younger boy lifted up his voice, which was meant to imitate the voice of an angel, from behind the altar, and sung: Nuntium vobis fero de supernis: Natus est Christus dominator orbis. In Bethlehem Judæ; sic enim prophetæ dixerat ante. Hereupon the three who represented the kings withdrew into the sacristy, singing, In Bethlehem natus est Rex cœlorum, &c."

(3.) "*The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, condensed from the larger work*, by JOHN KITTO, D. D., &c." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 8vo., pp. 800.) The "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," from which this work is abridged, is well known to all Biblical students as, on the whole, the best digest of the present stock of our knowledge on the subject known in the English language. That work, however, was prepared chiefly in view of the wants of theological students, and from its very objects, necessarily includes many things of no use to the general reader. Dr. Kitto has done an excellent work in preparing this abridgment for the use of Bible classes, Sunday schools, and the great body of the religious public. Some dictionary of the Bible ought to be had in every religious family, and we know of no one which is abreast, or nearly so, of the present state of Biblical knowledge, except the work before us. It abounds with pictorial illustrations very well executed, and is, in all respects, well got up by the enterprising publishers.

(4.) WE have another gratifying contribution to the history of our Church in "*Memorials of the Early Progress of Methodism in the Eastern States*," by ABEL STEVENS." (Boston: C. H. Peirce & Co., 12mo., pp. 492.) The volume corresponds in form and size to the delightful one published by the same author some time since, entitled "Memorials of the *Introduction* of Methodism into the Eastern States," and which met with unparalleled success, no less than ten thousand copies having been rapidly sold. After an introductory chapter, containing a brief summary of the history and statistics of New-England Methodism up to the opening of the present century, the work treats, in forty-two chapters, of the progress of the Church from 1800 to 1810. Although the author modestly disclaims writing *history* in this work, he has yet done it most effectually. The essential facts of the history, so far as they can be ascertained, are fully given—but interwoven with what must have been, of itself, a dark web of dry detail, we have a glowing, many-coloured woof of biography, incident and description, so that the whole texture is no common product of the loom, but a piece of highly-wrought tapestry. In fact, men are beginning to learn that biography *is* history, or at least the chief key to history—the French and Macaulay have taught us that. We welcome Mr. Stevens's book, and trust that he will yet find time and strength to write the history of universal Methodism as well as he has sketched his New-England memorials.

(5.) A COMMENTARY upon the Scriptures is the great *want* of our Church in these times. Those that we have, however excellent they may be in many respects, are so far behind the present state of knowledge, especially with regard to the geography of Palestine, as to be useless, or even worse, so far as the illustration of Scripture from that source is concerned. But we do not want a commentary made up of extracts from antiquated authors, or prepared by any other than a thorough scholar—one who can stand in the advanced rank of modern philology, and rely upon *his own* knowledge for his interpretations. The man, or men, for this work exist among us—when will they address themselves to the great task?

A specimen of a new commentary has reached us in the first number of

"*Critical and Exegetical Notes and Discourses on the Gospels, designed for Theological Students, Bible Classes, Families, &c., composed with a view to meet the Infidel objections of Paine, Bolingbroke, Herbert, and others*, by Rev. Andrew Carroll." (Cincinnati: printed for the author, at the Methodist Book Concern.) The work is well-meaning, and must have cost a great deal of labour, but Mr. Carroll does not exhibit the qualifications necessary, in our view, for a task so great as that which he has undertaken.

(6.) "*The Methodist Almanac*" for 1852 is a great improvement on preceding years. We know no Almanac surpassing it in the abundance and beauty of its illustrations, except that published by the American Tract Society; while, in intrinsic excellence of matter, the Methodist Almanac is unrivalled. As a text-book of ecclesiastical information, it is indispensable to every Methodist family.

(7.) We have long felt the want of a summary view of the geography of the Holy Land, which should embody the latest results of travel and discovery. That want is now fully supplied by "*Palestine: its Geography and Bible History*, by F. G. Hibbard, of the East Genesee Conference." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 12mo., pp. 354.) The work is divided into two parts, of which the first treats of the geography of Palestine under four geographical eras, the first extending from the call of Abram to the arrival of the Israelites at Canaan: the second to the revolt of the ten tribes; the third to the restoration from Babylon; the fourth to the final overthrow of the Jewish polity, A. D. 70. The abodes of Jewish life, and the political and other divisions of the country, are thus described, in their proper relations to chronology and history, with a clearness, accuracy, and fulness to be found in no similar work within our knowledge. The second part exhibits the history of Palestine under precisely the same division; the two parts thus running parallel with each other throughout. This part of the work is marked by the same pains-taking accuracy and fidelity as the former. The work is illustrated by *twenty* lithographic maps. A full index closes the volume. Our full conviction is that there is no book extant on the subject so well adapted for the use of Sunday schools and Bible classes, as well as for general study.

(8.) "*Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive*," (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 18mo., pp. 90,) is a full description of the celebrated waterfall named in the title-page. It is profusely illustrated, and in every respect got up in the best style of the typographic art.

(9.) We have received two new volumes of Bohn's Classical Library; viz., "*The Fasti, Tristia, Pontic Epistles, Ibis and Halieuticon of Ovid*, translated into English prose by H. T. Riley," (12mo., pp. 503;) and "*The Works of Plato*, vol. iv., translated by G. Burgess." A constant supply of these libraries, of whose valuable substance and convenient form we have repeatedly spoken, is kept in New-York by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co.

(10.) Messrs. Harpers have issued the third volume of "*Cosmos; a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, by Alexander von Humboldt," (12mo., pp. 219,) containing that grand outline of the whole field of phenomena which Humboldt alone, of living men, was capable of conceiving. The first volume exhibits the external world of nature under a general picture of the heavenly and terrestrial spheres; the second gives the reflection of this image impressed by the senses upon the inner man, that is, upon his ideas and feelings. The design of the third volume is to present those "results of observation on which the present condition of scientific opinion is especially grounded." As a "first attempt" to combine all cosmical phenomena in one sole picture of nature, this work is not simply entitled to the indulgence which the author, with the true humility of science, asks for it, but to the genuine praise which is due only to the highest class of works of genius. At the same time, it is deeply to be regretted that the *God* of nature is so seldom named in the work.

(11.) Professor C. D. Cleveland's "Compendium of English Literature" has found great favour with the public, as it deserved to do. It is now followed by a work on the same plan, entitled "*English Literature of the Nineteenth Century, designed for Colleges and advanced Classes in Schools*, by Charles D. Cleveland." (Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, 12mo., pp. 746.) The editor's refined taste and catholic spirit are admirably shown in this compilation from our more recent literature; and the biographical sketches scattered through the volume are brief, pointed, and in general satisfactory. We trust that the volume will be as successful as its predecessor.

(12.) "*Travels in the United States during* 1849 *and* 1850, by the Lady Emeline Stewart Wortley." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 463.) This book stands in marked contrast with almost every English book of travels in America heretofore published. The author seems to have gone on her way through the country in the happiest humour possible, and determined to be pleased with everything. At every step she "likes the Americans more and more," and finds that "either they have wonderfully improved lately, or else the criticisms on them have been wonderfully exaggerated." Instead of the rude vulgarity which Capt. Marryat and Mrs. Trollope met at every turn, she finds the people "particularly courteous and obliging, and amiably anxious that foreigners should carry away a favourable impression of them." She discovers just as much difference among different classes of people in America as anywhere else, and remarks that "the superior classes here have almost always excellent manners, and a great deal of real and natural, as well as acquired, refinement." It was not her purpose on leaving England to write a book, and the present work is made up of letters written home during her excursion, so that it is very loose and fragmentary in its structure, though perhaps not the less agreeable on that account.

(13.) "*The Christian Retrospect and Register*, by Robert Baird," (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1851; 12mo., pp. 420,) is one of a class of books that we

are glad to see multiplying among us. In the humble guise of a summary of the scientific, moral, and religious progress of the first half of the nineteenth century, it contains an amount of useful knowledge for which one might search in vain through many volumes. It is divided into two parts, of which the first sets forth the social, material, and political progress of the race during the last fifty years; the second treats of the moral and religious advances of mankind during the same period. This last part is of special interest to all Christian readers, as it presents a summary, condensed indeed, but ample enough for all the purposes of ordinary reference, of the growth of Christianity since 1800, of its present condition, and of the means employed, in the form of missionary and other societies, for its advancement. The book bears evident marks of the haste with which it has been compiled, and it would be no difficult task to note many deficiencies in it. But, such as it is, it is the best we have of its kind, and should find a place on every minister's table, and in the library of every Christian family that can afford to purchase it.

(14.) Mr. W. Gowans (New-York) has issued a new edition of "*Elements of Thought*, by Isaac Taylor." (12mo., pp. 168.) The work contains concise explanations of the principal terms employed in the several branches of intellectual philosophy, and is designed to impart, in a familiar form, elementary instruction on these branches. It is calculated to be eminently useful as a book of reference for all who are not familiarly conversant with metaphysical topics. At the same time, it furnishes a clear summary of mental science in a convenient and portable form.

(15.) "*Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, late Rector of Watton, Herts*, by Rev. T. R. Birks." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 2 vols., 12mo.) The name of Bickersteth is like ointment poured forth. It has been the synonyme of ministerial devotion and fidelity for many years. Almost every Christian enterprise of modern times has been aided by his labours or cheered by his sympathy. As an earnest Christian minister, Edward Bickersteth has had but few equals in any age. "The zeal of God's house" was the impulse of his life, the advancement of Christ's kingdom was his only aim. The memoir before us is an ample record of his religious experience, of his faithful labours, and of his untiring devotion to his work; but at the same time it is prolix to a degree which must greatly hinder its usefulness. All that is characteristic of the man in these two volumes might easily have been given in one.

(16.) It is grievously to be regretted that there ever should have arisen cause for the publication of such a book as "*The Methodist Church Property Case, heard before the Hon. Judges Nelson and Betts, May 17–29, 1851*, by R. Sutton, Special and Congressional Reporter." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1851; 8vo., pp. 372.) But as the necessity has arisen, it is well that the case is so fully and admirably exhibited as in this ample volume—one of the best specimens (if not the very best) of reporting that we have ever seen. It is a pleasant feature, also, that the two parties to the suit have not got up rival

reports, but that the present one is agreed upon by both, and is published, with their common sanction, by the book agents at New-York and Richmond. Would that the whole question could be as amicably arranged!

The volume is taken up with the speeches of Mr. Lord, Mr. Choate, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Johnson; the first and last, with Mr. Johnson, Jr., being counsel for the Church, South; and the other two, with Mr. E. L. Fancher, the counsel for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Of the eminent ability with which the case was argued on both sides, the report affords the most ample testimony. The volume will be a repository of principles for our Church courts, as well as for the law courts, in all time to come. The origin and structure of our ecclesiastical system can be better studied here than in any single work with which we are acquainted.

It is due to Mr. Choate to say that, owing to his numerous engagements, his speech did not receive his personal revision, as did those of the other counsel.

(17.) THE Chiswick edition of Shakspeare, published in 1826, was the most desirable and useful, in point of size, type, &c., that had ever appeared; and it is a little strange that no attempt has been made to reproduce it in this country until very recently. Messrs. James Munroe & Co., of Boston, have commenced the issue of an edition retaining all the advantages of the Chiswick, without its defects, under the title of "*The Works of Shakspeare; the text carefully restored according to the first editions; with Introductions, Notes, original and selected, and a Life of the Poet;* by the Rev. H. W. HUDSON, A. M." The whole work will be completed in eleven volumes, crown octavo, of which the first is before us. It is in the most acceptable of all shapes for ordinary readers, portable in size and form, and neatly printed on clear white paper. The text is thoroughly revised "in every line, word, letter, and point," with continued reference to the folio edition of 1623, and to the earlier impressions, where such exist. Mr. Hudson's competency to edit Shakspeare needs no guarantee from us: it may be proper hereafter, when the edition is completed, to give a careful judgment of the way in which he has done his work. In the meantime, we commend this as the best edition of Shakspeare for general use that has ever been issued in this country.

(18.) "*Elements of Algebra, designed for beginners,* by ELIAS LOOMIS, M. A., Professor of Mathematics in the University of New-York." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 260.) This work is intended for the use of young students, who have just completed the study of arithmetic. It is prepared with the care and judgment that characterize all the elementary works published by the same author.

(19.) "*A Manual of Roman Antiquities, with numerous Illustrations,* by CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851, 12mo., pp. 451.) This is quite a copious compilation, and amply sufficient for all purposes of school instruction on the subject. It will also be valuable as a book of reference.

(20.) KALTSCHMIDT'S "*School Dictionary of the Latin Language,*" (Part I., Latin-English; Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 12mo., pp. 478,) has several decided advantages:—1. It is properly a *school* dictionary, portable in form, and free from all discussions, and even words, likely to puzzle a school-boy, as it contains only words and phrases occurring in the best Latin authors usually read in schools. 2. It gives, as far as possible, the etymology of every word, not only by tracing it to its Latin or Greek root, but also to roots in the cognate forms of the Indo-Germanic family. 3. It is careful to give the marks of quantity over each syllable where they are needed. The omission of the proper names is a defect in our judgment. As a whole, we know no better *school* dictionary.

(21.) "*The Ohio Conference Offering,* edited by Rev. MAXWELL P. GADDIS, of the Ohio Conference." (Cincinnati: printed for the editor, 1851; 12mo., pp. 429.) This volume is the fruit of a most laudable and benevolent purpose, as the entire proceeds from its sale are to be devoted to the relief of the widows and orphans of deceased ministers of the Ohio Conference. It consists of two parts, the first containing twenty-five sermons by junior members of the Ohio Conference, and the second including twelve sermons from deceased ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Among the latter we find discourses by Bishop M'Kendree, Rev. W. B. Christie, and Rev. Russel Bigelow,—names that are honoured in all the Churches of the land. The volume is worthy of a most extended circulation, in view as well of its intrinsic excellence, as of the praiseworthy object to which its profits are to be devoted.

(22.) "*Travels and Adventures in Mexico,* by WILLIAM W. CARPENTER," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 300,) is a plain account of the adventures of a private soldier in the late Mexican war, who was taken prisoner by the Mexicans, escaped, and traversed the country to the Pacific. The writer is unskilled in authorcraft, as he states in his preface; but the narrative is full of incident and adventure.

(23.) "*Elements of Latin Pronunciation, for the use of Students in Language, Law, Medicine,* &c., by S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M., Professor of Natural History in the University of Pennsylvania." (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851; 12mo., pp. 76.) From the title of this book, one would expect to find it a mere empirical manual to aid the multitudes of young men, who enter upon professional or scientific studies without adequate preparation, in picking their way among the hard names and technicalities which are so formidable to sciolists. A book more ill-adapted to such a purpose could not well have been put together; a book more entirely removed from the sphere of *mere* empiricism and book-making, has rarely been laid on our table. It is, in fact, the ripe fruit of large study, of rare research, and of an ingenius aptitude and sagacity in the higher walks of philology, most unhappily infrequent in American scholarship. Professor Haldeman is well known to naturalists as one of the most enthusiastic and successful of their class; and the work before

us grew out of his pursuit of natural science in one of its richest fields—the field of comparative philology. He accounts for the origin of the work as follows: "In making some inquiries into the phonetic peculiarities of the aboriginal languages of North America, I found myself at a loss, from the want of an alphabet in which to record my results, those of Europe being more or less corrupt; and finding the statements respecting the Latin alphabet to a certain extent contradictory and unsatisfactory, I resolved to investigate it, with the intention of using it strictly according to its Latin signification, as far as this could be ascertained. This special inquiry being made, a view of the results is here presented." In some modest "preliminary remarks," Mr. Haldeman states the object of his work and the materials upon which it is founded, and gives a brief statement of what had been done by previous writers upon the subject. His results, he says, "usually agree with those of his predecessors;" but whether they do or not, his procedure is eminently original, and is precisely the one to lead to "results" that may be relied on. In the body of the work the subject is taken up in the following order: (1) The Alphabet; (2) the Vowels; (3) the Nasal Vowels; (4) the Diphthongs; (5) the Labials; (6) Dentals; (7) Palatals; (8) Gutturals; (9) Glottal Consonants. We cannot enter into details upon these several points; it is enough to say that they are treated throughout with the most conscientious accuracy and scholarly thoroughness—not as by an advocate for any school, but by an honest inquirer after scientific truth.

One of the most novel features of the book, and, indeed, one which lies at the root of many of its views, is the "scheme of affinities between the vocal elements in Latin" (§ 35). Under the head of the Vowels, Prof. Haldeman sets forth the form of the Latin vowel characters and their quantity, in what, after long examination of the subject, appears to us the only true light. He exhibits them in the following table:—

A	is *long*	in	Ārm, *short*	in Ărt.
E	"		thEy, "	Eight.
I	"		marIne,"	deceIt.
O	"		Own, "	Obey.
U	"		fOOl, "	fUll.

Could this single table be incorporated into our elementary books, and brought into use in the schools, it would go far towards securing at least a *general* uniformity in pronunciation. But our limited space will not allow us to go into any further analysis of the work. We trust it will find its way into the hands of every professor of ancient languages in our colleges, and of every teacher in our schools. As a contribution to *real* philology, it is certainly the most substantial production, in an unpretending form, that has ever issued from the American press. We hope hereafter to return to it, and to a general discussion of the whole subject.

(24.) From the Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, we have received a copy of a very neat Sunday-school hymn-book. (*Neuer Liederschatz für die Jugend und Lum Gebrauch in Sonntags-Schulen*, 32mo., pp. 160.) We welcome gladly every such publication for the benefit of our immense German popula-

tion. From the same publishers we have also *Betrachtungen über die biblische Geschichte*, von W. Ahrens, Prediger in der Ohio Conferenz. (18mo., pp. 256.) This is a sketch of Bible history from the creation to the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. It is intended for the use of Sunday schools and Bible classes, and is appropriately divided into chapters, and furnished with questions for the purpose.

(25.) We have received a copy of "*The Literature and Literary Men of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Abraham Mills, A. M." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 576 and 598.) The work consists of a series of forty-six lectures on English literature, which have been annually delivered by Mr. Mills for the last twenty years. As it was placed upon our table at the last moment before going to press, we are unable to give any critical estimate of its value.

(26.) Of the following addresses, pamphlets, serials, &c., we regret that we can give nothing more than the titles:—

Defence of an Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Θεός into the Chinese Language. By William J. Boone, D.D., Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States to China.

A Semi-Centennial Sermon, delivered before the New-York East Conference, and published by their request. By Rev. Laban Clark.

Popular Amusements: a Discourse delivered in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winchester, Va., on the afternoon of Whitsunday, June 8th, 1851. By Rev. Chas. Porterfield Krauth, A. M.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, New-York, for the year ending July 10th, 1851.

Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History. An Inaugural Address delivered in the Mercer-street Church, New-York, Feb. 12, 1851. By Henry B. Smith, Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Pennington Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the academic year ending Wednesday, Oct. 1, 1851.

Address before the Graduates of Washington University, of Baltimore, at the Twenty-sixth Annual Commencement, held March 3, 1851. By Thomas E. Bond, A. M., M. D.

Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Third Annual Catalogue and Circular of the Newark Wesleyan Institute.

Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the years 1850–1851.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the American and Foreign Bible Society, presented May 9, 1851; with the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, Anniversary Addresses, Correspondence, a list of Auxiliary Societies, Life Directors, and Members, &c.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Indiana Asbury University, for the year 1850.

A Lecture on the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch, and several other Books of the Old Testament, its Chronology, Language, &c.; delivered in Emory Chapel, Ellicott's Mills. By the Rev. HENRY M. HARMAN, of Anne Arundel Co., Md.

ART. XI.—MISCELLANIES.

The relationship sustained toward Christ by "Mary the wife of Cleophas," John xix, 25.

"Now there stood beside the cross of Jesus, his mother, and the sister of his mother, Mary the [widow] of Clopas, (*Μαρία ἡ τοῦ* Κλωπᾶ,) and Mary, the Magdalene."

THE first remark we have to make on this text is, that Κλῶπας has been mistranslated by "Cleophas." It must not be confounded with the name Κλεόπας in Luke xxiv, 18; which is probably a contraction for the true Greek Κλεόπατρος, like Ἀντίπας for Ἀντίπατρος. It is now generally conceded that the name Κλῶπας is identical with Ἀλφαῖος, these being only different modes of spelling in Greek the Hebrew name חַלְפַי, which we may suppose to have been pronounced either *kalpai* or *halphai*, and so corrupted by Galilean provincialism into these two Greek forms. This being assumed, we may identify this Clopas with the Alphaeus mentioned in Matt. x, 3, (and the parallel passages, Mark iii, 18; Luke vi, 15; Acts i, 13,) as the father of one *James*, and thus ultimately determine the inquiry proposed above; provided we can satisfactorily settle two subsidiary points, the last of which, however, is affirmed by Dr. Neander to be the most difficult in the Gospel history.

1. What affinity existed between the two Marys stated in the above text to have been *sisters?* Some interpreters distinguish between the terms "the sister of his mother," and "the [widow] of Clopas," as different individuals, thus making four females in the enumeration, instead of three; but the insertion of the distinctive particle καὶ between each of the other terms, and its omission between these, must fairly be understood as denoting their identity by grammatical *apposition*. It is manifest, however, that no two sisters-*german* would have the same name given to them; such an unprecedented oversight would produce continual confusion in the family. Besides, the Law did not allow a man to be married to two own sisters at the same time, (Lev. xviii, 18,) as we shall see would then have been the case here. Nor would either of these objections be obviated by supposing these two Marys to have been half-sisters. The only other plausible explanation is, that they are called sisters (that is, sisters-in-law) because of their marriage to two brothers respectively, namely, Joseph and Clopas; a supposition that is strengthened by their apparent intimacy with each other, and by their similar connexion with Jesus, intimated by their both remaining near his cross. Clopas (or Alphaeus) seems to have been an elder brother of Joseph, and dying without issue, Joseph apparently married his wife,

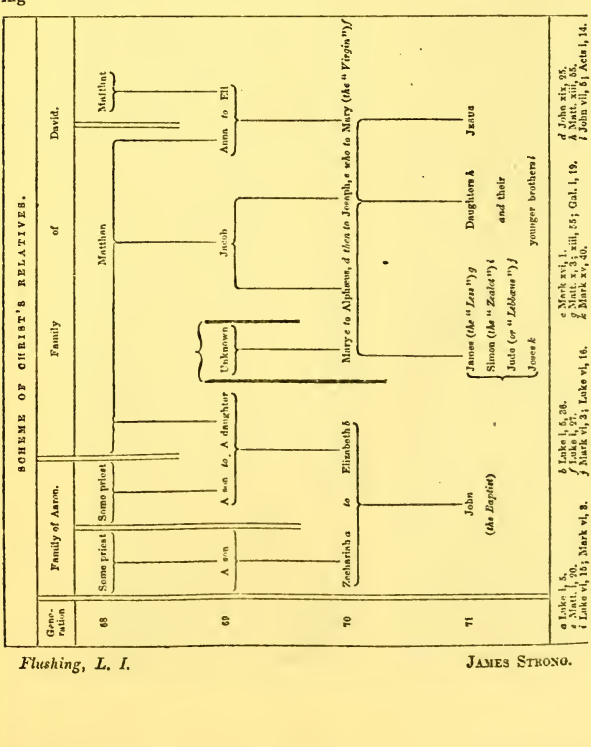
(probably before his marriage with the Virgin, as he seems to have been much older than the latter,) according to the Levirate law, (Deut. xxv, 5.) On this account,

2. James II. or "the Less," Joseph's oldest son by that marriage, would be styled the [legal] son of Clopas, as well as the [reputed half-] brother of Jesus. This helps to clear up the controversy whether this is the same with "James the Lord's brother." Gal. i, 19. However, the express title of Apostle given the latter in this last passage, as well as in 1 Cor. xv, 7, (compare also Acts ix, 27,) seems decisive as to their identity, no other James being mentioned among the twelve except "James the brother of John," who was no relative (so immediately at least) of Christ. Another question is, whether he was the same with the James mentioned along with Joses, Simon, and Judas as Christ's brothers, in Matt. xiii, 55, and parallel passages. This is almost certain, if the above view of the sisterhood of the two Marys be allowed. Its direct determination depends upon the interpretation of the term "brother" as used in these texts last cited. That the title is intended to be taken in its proper sense, and not in the general signification of kinsman, is pretty clear from its use there, (as well as in John ii, 12; Matt. xii, 46–50; Mark iii, 31–35; Luke viii, 19–21; Acts i, 14,) in explicit connexion with his actual mother, and under relations which imply that they were members of his immediate family; especially as no intimation is there or elsewhere conveyed to the contrary. This inference is sustained by the striking coincidence in the names of the brothers in the list of the Apostles (namely, James, Judas, and apparently Simon, in Luke vi, 15, 16; Acts i, 13) with those in the reference to Christ's brothers, (namely, James, Judas, Simon, and Joses, Matt. xiii, 55, and parallel places;) and also by the fact that both "James the Less and Joses" are said to be the sons of the same Mary who was the widow of Clopas. (Mark xv, 40, and Matt. xvii, 56, compared with John xix, 25.) Moreover, "the brethren of the Lord," referred to as Apostles in 1 Cor. ix, 5, could have been no other than this James and these his associated brothers. (Compare Jude 1.)

This arrangement meets all the statements in the case, and is confirmed by declarations found in early Christian writers, which may be seen in full in Lardner's Works. (Consult the Index.) The only objection of any force against such an adjustment is, that toward the latter part of our Saviour's ministry it is said, "neither did his brethren believe on him," (John vii, 5,) whereas two of them at least are in this way included among his Apostles, (namely, James and Judas, if not Simon;) and although they are mentioned in Acts i, 14, as subsequently yielding to his claims, yet the language in John vii, 7 seems too strong to admit the supposition that those there referred to can then have sustained so prominent a place among his converts. A more likely mode of reconciling these two passages is, to suppose that there were still other brothers besides those chosen as Apostles, not mentioned particularly anywhere, perhaps only Joses and one younger, who may not have believed in him until after his resurrection. Indeed, if three of these "brethren" were Apostles, the language in Acts i, 13, 14, requires such a supposition of additional brothers; for after enumerating the Eleven, (including, as usual, James, Simon and Judas,) it adds "*and with his brethren.*" Whether these unmentioned brothers (as indeed may be said also of the "sisters," and perhaps of Simon) were the children of Mary, Clopas's widow, or of the Virgin Mary, is uncertain; but in the expression, "her *first*-born son," applied to Jesus, (Luke ii, 7,) as well as in the intimation of limited abstinence in Matt. i, 35, there seems to be implied a reference to other

children of Joseph by the latter; and be that as it may, there can be no good reason given why such should not naturally have been the case, popish sanctimony to the contrary notwithstanding. We may therefore conjecture, that while James, Simon, Judas and Joses, were Joseph's children by Clopas's widow, and the first three of sufficient age to be chosen Apostles, all the others were by the Virgin, and among them only some sisters were of such age and notoriety at Christ's visits in Nazareth as to be specified by his townsmen; the children of the Virgin generally (including perhaps Joses) being the "brethren" that did not believe in Christ till late. To the objection, that if the Virgin had had other children, especially sons, she would not have gone to live with the Apostle John, a comparative stranger; it may be replied, that they may have been still too young, or otherwise not suitably circumstanced to support her: and if there had been no inconvenience of this kind, the express direction of Christ, her eldest son, would have decided her residence with "the beloved disciple;" who was moreover eminently fitted, by his amiable manners and comparative affluence, to discharge that bequest.

To illustrate in one view this whole subject, I have constructed the following



Flushing, L. I. JAMES STRONG.

Art. XII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

The reputation of Professor Ebrard, of Erlangen, in the department of New Testament criticism and Apologetics was established by his Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte, the second edition of which we noticed briefly some time ago. We have now before us his *Christliche Dogmatik*, vol. i., (Königsberg, 1851, pp. 552.) In the preface, Dr. Ebrard defines his book to be a *Christian* theology, written from the *Reformed* stand-point, but not with strict conformity to the older Reformed theologians. He further states that it will appear, especially in the second volume, that, with regard to the doctrine of Predestination, he is a follower of Melanethon rather than of Calvin. The general division of the work numbers three parts:—1. Die Lehre von der Verklärung Gottes als des Ursprungs der Creatur. II. Die Lehre von der Verklärung Gottes als des Mittlers in dem Faktum der Erlösung. III. Die Lehre von der Verklärung Gottes als des Vollenders. The subordinate divisions are logical and exhaustive, but we have not space to give them here.

We have received a copy of "*Synopsis Evangelica, ex quatuor Evangeliis ordine Chronologico concinnavit, praterito brevi commentario illustravit, ad antiquos textus apposito apparatu critico recensuit.* Constantinus Tischendorf (Lipsiæ, 1851; 8vo., pp. 202). The volume gives us the last results of Tischendorf's critical labours in the appropriate form of a harmony of the Gospels. He adopts the *tripaschal* theory, and his harmony is framed according to it. The book is neatly printed, but it adopts the upright Greek type which the French have introduced, and which, while it economizes room, is yet very painful to the eye. The margin is crowded with references and critical remarks, the same, in substance, as are furnished in Tischendorf's last critical edition of the New Testament.

Our readers will remember a translation of part of Otto Von Gerlach's Commentary on the New Testament, and also a brief estimate of his character, in a former number of this journal. We have since received a copy of "*Predigten über herkömmliche Perikopen und freie Texte*," preached by him in the Elizabeth church in Berlin, in the years 1836-1840. They furnish a fair impression of his religious and intellectual activity at the best period of his life.

A new school of theology, or something very like it, is springing up on the Rhine, under the impulse of Prof. Scherer, late of Geneva, whose ultra-liberal views on the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures have been heretofore made known to our readers. It finds an organ in the "Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne," published in Strasbourg, and edited by Licentiate Colani, a friend of Scherer's. From this school also comes a new work, which is greatly praised in the *Studien u. Kritiken* for ability and thoroughness; viz., *Recherches critiques sur l'Epitre de Jude*, par E. Arnaud, Strasbourg, 1851, pp. 218.

One of those exhaustive discussions which only Germany can furnish, lies before us in "*Die Volkertafel der Genesis; Ethnographische Untersuchungen* von August Knobel, Professor zu Giessen." (8vo., pp. 358.) It traces the generations of the sons of Noah, as given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, by the light of history and of ethnographical science, as far down as possible in the history of humanity. Whatever may be thought of Prof. Knobel's conclusions, none can refuse him the praise of great erudition, ingenuity, and research.

Tholuck's "*Discourses on the Leading Questions of the Age in regard to Religion*," are in process of translation by Rev. W. Farrer, and are published in single numbers at three-pence each. The first sermon treats of "The Worth of Human Reason."

Messrs. Johnstone & Hunter, of Edinburgh, have issued their prospectus of "*The Protestant Library*," and announce that the first year's issue will contain the following works:—Vol. I. Barrow on the Supremacy claimed by the Pope of Rome: Vol. II. On the Rule of Faith: Vol. III. On the Infallibility claimed by the Papacy: Vol. IV. Treatises on the Reformation, and on the Church. The subscription price will be one guinea a year.

Messrs. Bagster & Sons announce the third volume of Dr. Davidson's "Introduc-

tion to the New Testament, containing an Examination of the Authority, Interpretation, and Integrity of the Canonical Books, with reference to the latest inquiries." This volume completes the work.

Number 1 of a new series of The Journal of Sacred Literature, edited by John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., will be published on the 1st of October, 1851. In this series more equal attention will be given to *all* the departments of sacred literature, and an effort will be made to render the Journal more generally readable to *all* who take interest in Biblical investigations, without compromising the character for sound scholarship which the publication has already won.

A new edition of Chevallier's Translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius; and of the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian; with an Introduction and brief notes illustrative of the Ecclesiastical History of the first two Centuries, has been recently issued. This edition contains an introduction treating of the integrity of the Greek text of the Epistles of Ignatius, with reference to the Syriac version lately edited by Mr. Cureton.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR JACOBI.

Berlin, 28th July, 1851.

The Conference of Ministers at Berlin, June 18–20, 1851.

The Annual Conference of Ministers opened its session at Berlin on the 18th of June. The first question considered was, whether Christian men destitute of literary and theological training might be safely employed as missionaries, or whether the choice should be confined only to educated theologians. Dr. Lehnerdt (successor of Neander in the University of Berlin) opened the discussion in a speech which received great approbation. He took the ground that, as a *rule*, missionaries should be men of thorough education. In support of his views, he distinguished between the position of Christ, his apostles, and modern preachers of the gospel, as follows: Christ was θεόσοφος, because in him dwelt the wisdom of God and the fulness of the Spirit; the apostles were Θεόπνευστοι, because endowed with special inspiration of the Spirit; the preachers of the gospel, however, are Οεδίδακτοι, because their Christian knowledge stands in need of *science*. He did not mean to deny, however, that study and science are *human* means, additional and subordinate to Christian faith. The apostles, indeed, were uncultivated fishermen; but the Jews, as such, had this superiority over the heathen—that they stood upon a higher religious platform than the heathen,—being trained to refer all the forms of ordinary life to the law of God, which was, in a certain measure, itself a theology. God has given us an intimation of his own will in this respect, in that the Bible is given to us in ancient and foreign tongues, making philological science necessary for an independent understanding of its contents. Dr. Lehnerdt therefore argued that it was very important to the missionary to be able to compare the original languages of Scripture with the current versions. His calling also demands more than ordinary knowledge of Exegesis and of Church History. So he should understand the heathenism with which he has to fight, and this knowledge would be greatly aided by a thorough acquaintance with ancient heathenism. Lehnerdt was followed by Ahlfeldt, of Leipsig, (formerly of Halle,) one of our most distinguished preachers, especially pre-eminent in the gift of popular oratory, who supported Lehnerdt's opinion, and added, that the missionaries should hold it as part of their duty, when Providence opened their way, to plant the seeds of science and knowledge in the minds of their converts. At the same time, he thought it should be well settled, that while preparatory education should be the *rule*, it should also be understood that *helpers*, without such training, might be advantageously employed, and that education to the same extent was not equally necessary among all the heathen nations to which missionaries might be sent. The United Brethren were cited as showing great prudence and wisdom in the adaptation of their missionaries to the fields they were to occupy. The forenoon of the second day was occupied by Professor Jacobi, in an address on the "Age of the Reformation compared with our own time;" and the afternoon by the Missionary Anniversary. On the morning of the 20th, Dr. Nitzch delivered a most instructive lecture on "The Recent Conversions to Romanism," in which he gave an excellent statement of the characteristics of true Protestantism. You will find this lecture printed in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*.

New and Important Works.

Among the recent publications, there are two of special importance and value

to theological science, particularly with reference to ecclesiastical antiquity. The first is "*Berengarius Turonensis, oder eine Sammlung ihn betreffender Briefe* herausg. von Dr. H. Sudendorf." Berengarius, a contemporary of Pope Gregory VII., was one of the ablest thinkers of his age, and the greatest among those theologians of the eleventh century who sought to establish a theological science derived from the Scriptures, the fathers, and reason. Doctrines derived from these three sources, were not, he thought, to be subordinated to those whose only support was Church tradition. It is well known that Berengarius's doctrine on the Lord's supper was very similar to that of Calvin, and that he declared himself boldly against transubstantiation, for which he was persecuted, though at first protected by Gregory, who sympathized more with his views than those of his opponents. He was weak enough to recant, yet continued afterwards to spread his opinions. The present remarkable collection of his letters is edited by Dr. Sudendorf from MSS. in the Hannover library. It throws much new light upon the character of Berengarius. It shows him as a worthy man, a loving Christian, and a man of tender and placable nature. It shows also that his learning embraced a wide range: he was a most zealous student of the fathers, he practised medicine as a physician, and was much admired as an orator. It shows further, what was not before known, that he was in intimate relations with some of the foremost men in France; and that, in particular, Godfrey of Anjou was his friend and protector. We also learn a great deal from this book of Gregory's conduct during his stay in France, and find that a very general sympathy with Berengarius's views existed among the chief clergy of France and of the neighbouring German border. Dr. Sudendorf's historical explanations are both acute and thorough.

The second of the works referred to is the so-called manuscript of Origen, of which a fuller notice is given at page 645 of this number.

There is another work, longer before the public than the two mentioned above, but which has not yet, I think, received, in America, the attention it deserves. It is "*Briefe an Kaiser Karl V., geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater in d. Jahren* 1530-32. *In dem Spanischen Reichsarchiv von Limnaeus aufgefunden u. mitgetheilt* von Dr. G. Heine." (Berlin, 1848, pp. 562.) The editor was a young man who studied theology in Berlin, and then went to Spain and devoted himself to the search for literary treasures in the libraries of Spain, several of which have never yet been thoroughly examined. His labours were rewarded by several valuable discoveries—among them a fragment of Livy. On the memorable revolutionary night of 18th March, 1848, he was mortally wounded. The "Letters" before us furnish the most important result of Heine's travels that has yet appeared, and they throw much light upon some of the most important years of the Reformation. The "Letters" were written by the emperor's confessor, Cardinal Garcia de Loaga, who kept up a constant correspondence with him from Rome on political and personal affairs, and was one of his most trusted advisers. They afford us glimpses of the most private relations of the emperor, of Pope Clement VII., and of other very important personages. The cardinal himself was a fine specimen—even a model—of the zealous, politico-religious Catholic priesthood. He fulfilled his duties as confessor to the emperor most conscientiously. Contrary to our previous understanding, these letters show that Charles had occupied his thoughts with religious subjects from early youth. The emperor was penetrated with a sense of gratitude to God for the vast power which had been committed to his trust, and often expressed to his confessor his wish to do battle for Christ, and to lay down his life in testimony of his gratitude for the great blessings he had received. The confessor warned him of the sins to which he was most liable,—unchastity, intemperance, and indolence,—and urged him to abandon them all; reminding him that the great task was laid upon him of re-establishing the peace of the Church, and of freeing it from the Protestant heresy. Any and all means to that end he justifies. He advises the emperor to gain over influential Protestants by bribery, and to fill even the Spanish bishoprics with Germans, if necessary. The political and theological leaders of Protestantism, he says, must be *bought:* no price could be too great for such a purchase: God would reimburse the emperor for money so spent, not only in success and honour, but also in fine ducats. Succeeding with the leaders, he advises the emperor to issue admonitions and edicts to the common people; and finally,

should they not obey, to employ the best medicine to heal them—force. The emperor, delighted with his success at Augsburgh in 1530, proposed to settle the dispute by a council—a proposal from which the pope, and, in secret, the cardinal also, shrunk back with fear. It is well known, however, that Charles, after being long kept in suspense, finally brought about the convocation of the Council of Trent.

Dr. Heine has given us these remarkable letters in Spanish, with a good German version, and has added other important documents, as well as very valuable remarks and observations of his own.

J. L. J.

Our esteemed correspondent, Professor J. L. Jacobi, has been transferred from the University of Berlin to the University of Königsberg, and will continue his letters to us from the latter place.

We propose hereafter to give statements of the contents of *all* the foreign theological journals of importance. Our readers will thus be enabled to see what subjects are treated of in these journals, and those who wish it, can send for single numbers containing articles of interest to them, through Mr. Putnam or Mr. Wiley, of New-York.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July contains the following articles:—I. Neander's Services to Church History, by Prof. L. R. Hagenbach, of Basle: II. Ernesti on Phil. ii, 6, in reply to Baur: III. Umbreit on the Seventh Chapter of Romans: IV. A new Explanation of Rom. viii, 18–23, by F. Zyro, of Bern: V. A Review of Semisch's Justin Martyr, by Grimm: VI. A Review of Arnaud's Critical Researches on the Epistle of Jude, by Dr. Kienlen: VII. The Ecclesiastical Assemblies in Wittemberg, 1849, and in Stuttgardt, 1850, by Lechler.

Niedner's *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie* for July contains the following articles:—I. A Survey of the Literature of Church History from 1825 to 1850, by Dr. Engelhardt of Erlangen: II. The relation of the Syriac recension of the Ignatian Epistles to the shorter Greek Version, and the authenticity of the Epistles themselves, by Uhlhorn, of Göttingen.

The *British Quarterly* for August contains the following articles:—I. Theories of Human Progression: II. Dramatic Poetry in the Age of Elizabeth: III. Thoughts on the Labour Question: IV. The German Romanticists: V. Missions in South Africa: VI. Lancashire and Yorkshire since 1800: VII. The Papal Index of Prohibited Books: VIII. The Correlation of Physical Forces: IX. Naturalism *versus* Inspiration.

The *Prospective Review* for August has the following articles:—I. Moral Limits to Economic Theory and Socialist Counter-Theory: II. Serpent-Worship and the Age of Stonehenge: III. Life and Writings of Zumpt: IV. Casa Guidi Windows: V. Bland and Kingsley's Sermons: VI. Ruskin on Sheepfolds: VII. Reformatory Schools: VIII. Oakley's Ritual of the Mass.

The *North British Review* for August contains the following articles:—I. The Social Science—Its History and Prospects: II. Literature of Apologetics: III. Net Results of 1848 in Germany and Italy: IV. Typical Forms—Goethe, Professor Owen, and Mr. Fairbairn: V. Recent Works of Fiction: VI. Kingsley's Saint's Tragedy, and Sermons: VII. Character in Architecture—Ruskin's Stones of Venice: VIII. The Five Wounds of the Holy Church: IX. The Exposition of 1851.

The *Edinburgh Review*, August:—I. The Greek Text of the New Testament: II. Johnston's Notes on North America: III. Hartley Coleridge: IV. Fatal Accidents—How far Preventible: V. Pulszky's Tales and Traditions of Hungary: VI. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's Letters to John Bull: VII. The Romans in Britain: VIII. Grote's History of Greece, vols. vii and viii: IX. Dixon's Life of Penn: X. Modern Chemistry—Its Progress and Extent.

The *Theological Critic* (edited by T. K. Arnold) for June contains the following articles:—I. The Month of May: II. Oratio D. T. Matthæi: III. Passaglia on the Prerogatives of St. Peter: IV. The Millenium: V. The Lord's Supper: VI. On the Bishops of the New Testament: VII. On the gift of Tongues: VIII. Theodoret and his Times: IX. Hebrews xiii: X. Things New and Old.

Monthly Christian Spectator, (London.) *June:*—1. Illustrations of Protestantism and Romanism: II. Miss Harriet Martineau and Atheism: III. Thoughts on the Great Exhibition: IV. Respectability: V. May Meetings of 1851. *July:*—I. A few Thoughts on Abstract Principles: II. The Women of the Commonwealth—2. Mrs. Hutchinson: III. Christ and the Essenes: IV. Words for the Wise—2. Mammon in

the Chair: V. Old Trees: VI. The Poetry of Cowper: VII. Kate Hall, or one of the Graces: VIII. Poetry—Hymns for Morning.

August:—I. Revelation—The Religious Guide of Human Nature: II. John Milton: III. The Gospel and the Poor: IV. The Educational Controversy—Free Education Schemes—Endowment of all Religious Opinions—Interests of the Churches in Voluntary Education: V. Words for the Wise—3. How did you Like Him? VI. The First Step: VII. Reginald Knatchbull, or Religious Trials of the Sixteenth Century: VIII. Poetry—A Song of the Affections.

Eclectic Review, June:—I. Hartley Coleridge's Life and Works: II. The Fugitive Slave Act: III. Papal Power and the State Church in Ireland: IV. Westwood's Burden of the Bell: V. The University Commission: VI. The Bards of the Bible: VII. The Great Exhibition. *July:*—I. Descartes—his Historical Position and Philosophical Claims: II. Tales and Traditions of Hungary: III. Daniel De Foe: IV. Firmamental Architecture: V. Gillies's Memoirs of a Literary Veteran: VI. Apuleius and the Second Century: VII. Italian and English views of the Papacy. *August:*—I. Delta's Sketches of Poetical Literature: II. Sculpture—Works of Edward Hodges Baily: III. Progress of Australia: IV. Protestant Protests: V. A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers: VI. Bede's Ecclesiastical History: VII. Life of Edward Baines, M.P.: VIII. Animal Magnetism.

The following works in theology and the kindred sciences are announced as published or in press in England:—The Rev. Dr. Halley's Second Course of Lectures on the Sacraments, 1 vol. 8vo.:—The Personality of the Tempter, and other Sermons, Doctrinal and Occasional, by J. Vaughan, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, 1 vol. 8vo.:—On the State of Man subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity, Part I., embracing the period from the Birth of Christ to the Death of Constantine the Great, fcp. 8vo., being No. 19 of "Small Books on Great Subjects:"—Quakerism, or the Story of my Life, by a Lady, who for forty years was a Member of the Society of Friends, royal 12mo.:—Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism, in Controversy with Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., by William Palmer, M.A., Prebendary of Sarum, new edition revised:—The Life of St. Paul, illustrated from contemporary History, with the Epistles Chronologically Arranged, and Literally Translated upon the basis of the Authorized Version, by Thomas Lewin, M.A., of Trinity College, Oxford, in two volumes, crown 8vo.:—An Analytical Arrangement of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Principles developed under the name of Parallelism in the Writings of Bishop Lowth, Bishop Jebb, and the Rev. Thomas Boys, with an Appendix and Notes, by Richard Baillie Roe, B.A., in 2 vols. 8vo.:—Lectures on the Christian Miracles, uniform with "Apocalyptic Sketches," by Rev. Dr. Cumming:—Five Letters to Archdeacon Hare on Hippolytus, Presbyter of the Church of Rome, Author of the recently discovered book ascribed to Origen, and the bearing of his work on the leading Questions of Ecclesiastical History and Polity, by C. C. J. Bunsen, D.C.L.:—The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry, with an especial reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants, by Edward Arthur Litton, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Stockton Heath, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford:—Protestantism and Popery contrasted by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion, edited by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., F.S.A., of All Souls' College, Oxford, Vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, 2 vols. 8vo.:—Indian Missions in Guiana, by the Rev. W. H. Brett, fcp. 8vo.:—An Exposition of the Principal Motives which induced me to leave the Church of Rome, by C. L. Trivier, formerly a Roman Catholic Priest, translated from the French by Mrs. Bushby, fcp. 8vo.:—A History of Erastianism, by Archdeacon Wilberforce, post 8vo.

Among the new works recently announced on the continent are the following:—

Praktische Theologie von Dr. C. Immanuel Nitzsch. 2. Bd. 2. Buch: Das kirchliche Verfahren oder die Kunstlehren. 2 Abthl.: Der evangelische Gottesdienst. Bonn, Marcus. 1851. 8vo., pp. 128.

Beiträge zum Schriftverständniss in Predigten von F. L. Steinmeyer, Lic. d. Theol. u. Berlin, 1851. 8vo., pp. 234.

AMERICAN.

Professor Conant, of the (Baptist) University of Rochester, has in preparation a "New and Complete Translation of the Holy Scriptures from the Original Languages, with brief Explanatory Notes."

Messrs. Derby, Miller & Co. (Auburn) announce as in press "Episcopal Methodism as it Was and Is," by Rev. P. D. Gorrie: also the "Young Man's Book, or Self-Education," by Rev. W. Hosmer: and "Lives of the three Mrs. Judson," by Arabella W. Stuart.

Messrs. Lane & Scott have received from London the second and concluding volume of Moody's New Testament, and it is now passing through the press as rapidly as possible.

We intend hereafter to give summaries of the contents of the leading American journals, for the same reasons as have prevailed with us to give the European. Our readers will thus be kept acquainted with the contents and tendencies of the best periodical literature of the age.

The *Mercersburg Review* for July contains the following articles:—I. Our National Religion: II. The Apostle Peter: III. The Anglican Crisis: IV. Myer's Church History. September:—I. Bailey's Festus: II. The Cicadæ: III. The Nature of the Reformation and its Preparation: IV. The Holy Eucharist—Translation from Thiersch's Lectures: V. Early Christianity: VI. Zacharias Ursinus.

Brownson's Quarterly (Boston) for July:—I. Cooper's Ways of the Hour: II. Nature and Faith—a Review of Whately's Essays on Romanism: III. Bushnell on the Mystery of Redemption: IV. The French Republic: V. The Fugitive Slave Law: VI. Literary Notices.

Southern Presbyterian Review (Columbia, S. C.) for July:—I. Domestic [i. e., Southern] Literature: II. Validity of Popish Baptism: III. The Millennium: IV. Credibility and Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures: V. Harmony of Revelation and Natural Science, with special reference to Geology: VI. Hugh Miller's Foot-prints of the Creator.

Evangelical Review (Gettysburg, Pa.) for July:—I. Bible Influence Indispensable to Society: II. Nature of the Saviour's Presence in the Eucharist: III. Inquiry into the Nature of Fundamental Doctrines: IV. Review of Irving's Mahomet: V. Review of Schaff's Church History: VI. Journal of a Voyage by Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg: VII. Notices.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, (Richmond, Va.,) for July:—I. Traits of History and Doctrine peculiar to Christianity: II. Philosophy of Infidelity: III. Modern Lexicography—Freund's Latin Lexicon: IV. High Churchism, its Affinities and Tendencies: V. Analysis and Review of the first eight Chapters of Romans: VI. Chalmers and Sidney Smith on Methodism.

Church Review, (New-Haven, Conn.,) July:—I. Wordsworth: II. The Rev. Samual Farmar Jarvis, D.D., LL.D.: III. The Puritan Church: IV. The Canadian Clergy Reserves: V. Colleges and the Ministry: VI. Letter on Modern Pantheism: VII. The Secessions: VIII. Virginia Colonial Church Papers.

Bibliotheca Sacra, (Andover,) July:—I. The Arrangements in the Constitution of the Mind for a Future Judgment and Retribution: II. The Relation of Style to Thought: III. The Four Gospels as we now have them in the New Testament, and the Hegelian Assaults upon them: IV. Translations from Anselm: V. An Investigation in Syriac Philology: VI. Life of Zuingli: VII. Unity amid Diversities of Belief, even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin.

Theological and Literary Journal, (New-York,) July:—I. Brown on Christ's Second Coming: II. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, Chapters xiii and xiv: III. Philological Contributions: IV. The Theophany Celebrated Psalm xviii, Real, not Figurative: V. The Papal Power identified with the Little Horn of the Fourth Beast, Daniel vii: VI. Gobat's Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia: VII. Critics and Correspondents.

Christian Examiner, (Boston,) July:—I. Dr. Wood's Works: II. The State and Statesmanship: III. John Wiclif and the First English Bible: IV. Euphranor: V. The Apostle Paul: VI. Ecclesiastical Christendom.

Biblical Repertory, (Princeton,) July:—I. Inspiration and Catholicism: II. Peter Collinson—Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall: III. Kurtz on the Old Covenant: IV. Panslavism and Germanism: V. The Typology of Scripture: VI. The General Assembly.

Christian Review, (New-York,) July:—I. The South American Republics: II. The Promise Fulfilled, Acts ii, 1-4: III. On the Signification of κτίσις, Rom. viii, 19-22: IV. The Works of Leonard Woods: V. Lincoln's Horace: VI. Wordsworth Considered as a Religious Poet: VII. Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon.

New-Englander, (New-York,) August:—I. The Railroad Enterprise—Its Progress, Management, and Utility: II. Amusements: III. James H. Perkins: IV. The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church: V. The Military Orders: VI. Sketch of the Life and Character of Hon. Simeon Baldwin: VII. The World's Progress.

THE "*Methodist Monthly*," (Lexington, Ky.,) edited by Rev. T. N. Ralston, assisted by Rev. W. H. Anderson and Rev. E. W. Brush, is sold at the low price of $1 00 a year. A marked feature of this journal is the generally *substantial* character of its articles,—a feature in which it contrasts most favourably with the current monthly magazines. It deserves the largest success.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

MESSRS. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, London, announce an edition of Wunder's Sophocles, with English notes, and a collation of Dindorf's text, introduction, and indexes, to be sold at three shillings a volume in paper. The Œdipus Rex has already appeared, and the remaining plays will follow at brief intervals.

THE third volume of Merivale's "History of the Romans under the Empire," is announced as forthcoming in London.

AMONG the new works announced as published or in press in Great Britain, are the following:—

The Literature of Italy, from the Origin of the Language to the Death of Boccaccio, an Historical Sketch, by Leonard Francis Simpson, post 8vo.:—The Morning Land, or a Thousand and One Days in the East, by Frederick Bodenstedt, with notes, &c., by Richard Waddington, 2 vols. post 8vo.:—Tibet, Tartary, and Mongolia, being their Social and Political Condition, and the Religion of Boodh, as there existing, compiled from the Reports of Ancient and Modern Travellers, especially from M. Huc's Reminiscences of the Recent Journey of himself and M. Gabet, Lazariste Missionaries to Mongolia, by Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., post 8vo.:—Eight Years in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, from 1842 to 1850, by F. A. Neale, Esq., late attached to the Consular Service in Syria, 2 vols., with Illustrations:—Narrative of Five Years' Residence at Nepaul, by Thomas Smith, Esq., late Captain, Bengal Native Infantry, Assistant Political Resident at Nepaul, 1 vol. with Portrait, Map, &c.:—England in the Nineteenth Century, by William Johnstone, 2 vols. post 8vo.:—Memoir and Diaries of Plumer Ward, portrait, 2 vols. 8vo.:—Farini's History of the Roman State, 2 vols. 8vo.:—Poole's Horæ Egyptiacæ, 8vo.:—A Voyage to the Mauritius, by author of "Paddiana," post 8vo.:—The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis, by James Fergusson, forty-five woodcuts, 8vo.:—The History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond, 1204-1461, by George Finlay, Esq., Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature, Author of "Greece under the Romans," 1 vol. demy 8vo.:—Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the South of Spain and Algiers, illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries, by the Rev. Thos. Debary, M.A., post 8vo.:—The Present State of the Republic of the Rio de la Plata, (Buenos Ayres,) its Geography, Resources, Statistics, Commerce, Debt, &c., described, with the History of the Conquest of the Country by the Spaniards, by Sir Woodbine Parish, F.R.S., K.C.H., F.G.S., formerly Her Majesty's Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, with new Map and Illustrations, 8vo.:—Contrasts of Foreign and English Society, or Records and Recollections of a Residence in various parts of the Continent and England, by Mrs. Austin, 2 vols. post 8vo.:—The History of Herodotus, a new English Version, translated from the Text of Gaisford, and edited by Rev. George Rawlinson, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford, assisted by Colonel Rawlinson, C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S., with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of informa-

tion, 4 vols. 8vo.:—Letters and Journals of General Sir Hudson Lowe, revealing the true History of Napoleon at St. Helena, partly compiled and arranged by the late Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, with portrait, 3 vols. 8vo.

Among the new works announced on the continent are the following:—

Cornelius Tacitus. Erklärt von Dr. Karl Nipperley. Erster Band. Ab excessu divi Augusti I–VI. Mit den Varianten der Florentiner Handschrift.

De veterum Ægyptiorum-lingua et literis, sive de optima signa hieroglyphica explicandi via atque ratione. Accedunt indices et vocabularii hieroglyphici specimen. Scripsit Max. Ad. Uhlemann, Phil. Dr. AA. LL. M., Soc. Lit. Orient. Germ. Sod. Lipsiae, 1851, 8vo., pp. 116.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. C. S. Francis & Co., New-York, are now publishing "The Writings of Alexander Hamilton," to be completed in seven octavo volumes, of which four are already issued. The contents of the several volumes are as follows:—Vol. I. comprises the correspondence of Hamilton prior to the establishment of the present government (from 1769 to 1789): Vol. II. embraces the residue of the writings of this period, a series very essential to a correct knowledge of our early political history: Vol. III. contains the papers which relate to the organization and conduct of the fiscal department, its revenue and public credit: Vol. IV. will include the period from 1789 to 1795, embodying the papers designated as "*Cabinet Papers*," comprehending the most important part of Washington's administration: Vol. V. will be devoted to other *official* writings, not coming within the previous description. The remaining volumes will give the correspondence subsequent to the year 1789, and an accurate series of political papers of great and lasting value.

Messrs. James Munroe & Co., Boston, have in press The Philippics of Demosthenes, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by Prof. M. J. Smead, Ph. D., William and Mary's College, Va., 1 vol. 12mo.:—The Camel Hunt, a Narrative of Personal Adventures, by Joseph Warren Faber, 12mo.:—Companions of my Solitude, by the Author of "Friends in Council," &c., &c., 16mo.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine continues its career of success. We notice that the recent numbers contain elaborate original articles by American writers, adding greatly to the value of the journal. The "Editor's Drawer" is another novelty, and is very attractive. The only rival of Harper in the field is "*The International Magazine*," which is conducted with the highest degree of taste, skill, and vigour. Its section on "Authors and Books" alone is worth the price of the whole work.

We have received the first number of the "*Southern Repertory and College Review*," conducted by the Faculty of Emory and Henry College, Virginia. A paramount object of the journal will be to promote the cause of education, while the general interests of literature, science, and art, will by no means be disregarded. The following is the table of contents:—I. Introduction: II. Classical Education,—Dr. Anthon's Text-books: III. Emory and Henry College: IV. The Voice of God: V. Geometry as a Text-Book of Logic: VI. Beauty: VII. Truth and Romance: VIII. Canzonet: IX. Composition: X. Clerical Disfranchisement—the Virginia Constitutional Convention: XI. The Exponents of American Letters: XII. Intellectual Cultivation.

The "*Temple*" (Harrisburg, Pa.) is a magazine devoted to Masonry, literature, and science, edited by B. Parke, Esq., and Professor C. E. Blumenthal, of Dickinson College. The several numbers of this new journal which have come to hand, display an unusual degree of tact, skill, and information on the part of the editors. Of the Masonic part we cannot speak, being, fortunately or unfortunately, not among the initiated; but the literary execution of the work is far above the ordinary standard of our magazine literature. The work is very neatly got up, and is furnished at the low price of $1 50 per annum.

INDEX.

Abbott's Cleopatra....Page 491
—— Franconia Stories.... 331
—— Xerxes and Madame Roland..... 166
Achilli's Dealings with the Inquisition 486
Adams's Evangelism of the Nineteenth Century.... 169
—— New-Testament Church-Members 322
—— Women of the Bible.... 491
Africa, Memorials of Missionary Labours in.... 482
Agassiz on Divine Intervention in Nature's Operations.... 22
—— on the Geographical Distribution of Animals and Diversity of the Human Races.... 346, 366
——, his theory of geographical distribution refuted.... 367
——, his theory unscriptural.... 374
Almanac, Methodist.... 663
America, Bp. Butler's plan for introducing episcopacy into.... 257
Anderson's Course of Creation.... 483
Andrew, Bishop, case of.... 404
Andrews's Freund's Latin-English Lexicon.... 322
Angels of the Apocalypse.... 598
Anger, Plutarch in.... 464
Animals, adaptation of, to soil, climate, &c.... 23
——, remedial provision in structure of 26
—— of same species, remarkable and permanent changes and varieties in.... 352
Anthon's Manual of Roman Antiquities 666
—— Smith's Classical Dictionary.... 326
Apollonarian heresy.... 140
Apostolate, the.... 574
——, development of government out of 431
Apostolical Church—government and discipline of.... 429, 574
——, election and ordination of officers in the.... 435
——, support of ministry in the.... 437
——, relation of officers to the congregations.... 440
——, congregational officers in the.... 583
Arianism.... 127, 619
Aristotle, his philosophy.... 189, 190, 194
—— his paradox on philosophising.... 216
Astronomical instruments—precision required in.... 36
——, correction of errors in.... 38
——, the transit instrument.... 40
——, the mural circle.... 43
——, the equatorial instrument.... 45
Astronomy, present state of.... 32
——, branchial divisions of.... 33
——, incorrectness of first impressions 39
——, throwing light on history.... 48
Attraction and affinity....Page 14
Austerity alien to religion.... 277
Autobiography, what it should be.... 283

Bachman's Unity of the Human Race 345
Baird's Christian Retrospect and Register.... 664
Bangs's Letters on Sanctification.... 323
—— Present State of M. E. Church.... 164
Banishment, Plutarch on.... 470
Bartlett's (T.) Life of Bishop Butler... 247
—— (W. H. C.) Elements of Natural Philosophy.... 319
Bascom's Appeal to Public Opinion against the M. E. Church... 396, 417
Bashfulness, Plutarch on.... 465
Beattie's Life of Campbell.... 64
Beecham's Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism.... 172
Berlin, conference of ministers at.... 674
—— University, Course of Theological Lectures in.... 178
Berengarius Turonensis, letters of.... 675
Bible and Civil Government.... 633
——, habitual recognition of the, a source of moral power.... 107
Bickersteth, Rev. E., Memoirs of.... 665
——, list of his works.... 496
Bishop, derivation of the word.... 584
—— and presbyter, identity of.... 584
Bohn's Standard and Classical Library.... 328, 342
Borrowing, Plutarch on.... 469
Brewer's Guide to Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar.... 326
Britain, Progress of Liberal Principles in 451
Broken Bud, the.... 331
Browne, Sir T., his works reviewed.... 280
——, little known of his history.... 280
——, his Religio Medici.... 282
——, his faith in revealed truth.... 285
——, not appreciated by Hazlitt.... 280
Brown's Christ's Second Coming.... 325
Bunyan's Devotional Works.... 487
Burnap's Rectitude of Human Nature.. 164
Bushnell's God in Christ.... 114, 135
Butler, Bishop, review of his life.... 247
——, his Analogy.... 247, 253
——, his correspondence with Dr. S. Clarke.... 248
——, his Fifteen Sermons.... 250
——, his contributions to moral philosophy.... 251
——, defects of his style.... 252
——, his plan for introducing episcopacy into America.... 257
—— on external religion.... 257
——, his personal appearance.... 261
Buttman's Greek Grammar.... 488

Campbell, T., Life and Letters of Page 64
——, his birth and parentage..... 66
——, his precocity..... 67
——, his success at the university... 67, 68
—— engages in legal studies..... 70
—— publishes his Pleasures of Hope... 71
—— visits the continent..... 72
—— contributes poems to a London paper..... 74
——, his Gertrude of Wyoming..... 78
——, observations on that work..... 80
——, his other literary labours..... 84
Campbells, Scottish, origin of..... 65
Canada Conference question..... 425
Carpenter's Travels in Mexico..... 667
Carroll's Notes on the Gospels..... 663
Cause and Effect, connexion of..... 51
Chace on Divine Agency in Material Phenomena..... 9
Chalmers, Hanna's Life of..... 167
Champlin's edition of Æschines..... 332
Cheever's Island World of the Pacific 328
Cherubim, the..... 605
Chouquet's Guide to French Composition..... 490
Christ, doctrine of his generation..... 119
——, humanity of..... 128
——, divinity of..... 132
——, the great subject of prophecy..... 263
——, sonship of..... 532, 542
Christian enterprises demand increased moral resources..... 91
Chronology of the Bible..... 602
Church, the Early, Ritschl on..... 180
——, no kind of dominion in the..... 445
——, measure of its efficiency and usefulness..... 91
——, influence of one individual in the 91
——, revival of apostolic zeal wanted.. 92
See *Apostolical Church*.
Church government, too much expected from particular forms of..... 312
Church Property Case, Report of..... 665
Church's Differential and Integral Calculus..... 170
Civil freedom, Divine origin of..... 635
Civil government in the Hebrew Commonwealth..... 638
Clarke, Dr. A., on the Liturgy..... 314
Clark's Mental Discipline..... 165
Classics, utility of the, in education.. .. 219
Cleveland's English Literature of the Nineteenth Century..... 661
Codex Vaticanus, the printing of, not forbidden by Gregory XVI..... 494
Comets and their tails..... 53
Comte, M., philosophy of..... 211, 485
—— rejects Christianity..... 186, 209
——, his Philosophy of Mathematics... 485
Conscience makes duty easy..... 102
Constitution of Evangelical Church of the Rhine Palatinate..... 176
Conversions, genuine, always sudden... 105
Conybeare's Life and Epistles of St. Paul..... 177
Cumming's Hunter's Life in South Africa..... 167
Curiosity or meddlesomeness, Plutarch on..... 467

Davies's Logic and Utility of Mathematics..... Page 218
Deacons in the Apostolic Church..... 592
Deaconesses in the Apostolic Church... 597
Dead Sea and the Jordan, Prof. Ritter on the..... 495
Debt, Plutarch on running into..... 469
Deems's Appeal for Family Worship.... 329
Deluge, objections to, considered..... 609
Despotism, prevalence of, in ancient times..... 446, 448
Dickinson's Responses from the Sacred Oracles..... 326
Diseases, whether mental or bodily, are the worst..... 474
Docetæ, heresy of the..... 139

Early piety, advantage of..... 101
—— religious impressions, permanence of..... 97, 99
Earth, appearance of from the moon.... 51
——, Kepler's early conjecture respecting the..... 19
Ebrard's Christliche Dogmatik..... 673
Ecclesiastical History Society proposed 178
Eden, location of..... 604
Education among the Hebrews..... 641
Emigration, its influence in changing and improving a people..... 640
Emory, Rev. John, at the British Conference..... 316
Entwisle, Rev. J., Memoir of..... 305
——, his providential escapes from death 306
——, commencement of his ministry... 306
——, he laments his unfaithfulness.... 309
——, his usefulness..... 311
——, his advice to a candidate for the ministry..... 310
—— on theories of Church government 312
—— appointed governor of the Theological Institution..... 317
Envy and Hatred, Plutarch on..... 467
Epicurus, Plutarch against..... 477
Equatorial instrument, the..... 45
Eternal Sonship, the..... 120, 532, 542
Entychean heresy, the..... 140
Evangelists in the Apostolical Church 580
Evelyn's True Religion..... 176
Eye, lachrymal apparatus of the..... 25

Faith and Philosophy, relations of..... 185
——, religious truths received by..... 213
Field's Irish Confederates..... 490
Filmer's, Sir Robert, Patriarchia.....
Fitzgerald's edition of Butler's Analogy 247
Foster, J., Life and Correspondence of 168
Foster, R. S., on Christian Purity.. 484, 505
Fowler's English Language..... 171
France, books published in, in 1850..... 342
Freedom, civil, its divine origin..... 635
——, its influence in developing man's higher faculties..... 637
—— of moral agents necessary to their happiness..... 303
Freund's Latin-English Lexicon..... 322
Fry, Mrs. Elizabeth, Memoirs of..... 226
——, Timpson's Memoir unsatisfactory 227
——, commencement and results of her labours among prisoners..... 234

Fry, Mrs. Elizabeth, furnishes books for the coast guard..... Page 238
——, her associations with royalty 240, 242
——, lesson derived from her history.. 244
Fry's (Caroline) Listener..... 332

Garland's Life of Randolph..... 614
Garrulity, Plutarch on..... 468
Gaussen's Theopneusty..... 331
General Conference, constitution and powers of the..... 420
Geology and Scripture..... 603
German speculations, influence of, on Theology..... 115
—— Sunday-School Hymns..... 668
Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre..... 655
Gilfillan's Bards of the Bible..... 331
Gnosticism..... 129, 378
God, existence of, not demonstrable independent of revelation..... 210
Gorrie's Churches and Sects..... 169
Gravity not inherent in matter..... 15
Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament..... 156
—— composition, an essential rule in.. 383
—— Lexicography..... 502
—— Testament, Tregelles'..... 492
Gregory the Great..... 657
Greg's Creed of Christendom..... 497
Griffin's Gospel its own Advocate..... 167
Grote's History of Greece..... 344

Hackett's Commentary on Acts..... 183
Hackley's Trigonometry..... 324
Haldeman's Elements of Latin Pronunciation..... 667
Harding, Rev. F., case of..... 400, 415
Hare, J. C., writings of..... 493, 494
Harper's Magazine..... 186
Hawks, Mrs., Memoirs of..... 323
Hazlitt's character of Sir Thomas Browne criticised..... 290
Heathen confirmation of Scripture history..... 604
Hebrews, agrarian law of the..... 613
——, civil government of the..... 608
——, education among the..... 641
Heine's Briefe an Kaiser Karl V..... 675
Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy..... 32
Hibbard's Palestine; its Geography and Bible History..... 663
Highest excellence to be aimed at..... 110
Hippolytus..... 615
Historic Certainties respecting the Early History of America (against Strauss's mythical theory)..... 338
Holiness..... 505
—— a preparation for heaven..... 515
——, doctrine of, its importance in systematic theology..... 525
—— the central idea of Christianity... 507
—— the measure of power..... 516
Holland, her influence in maintaining free principles..... 451
Holland's (Lord) Foreign Reminiscences..... 323
Hopkins's (Bp.) History of the Confessional..... 169
Hopkins's (Miss) Guiding Star..... 489

Howitt's Country Year Book..... Page 166
Human Race—unity of the..... 346
——, flexibility and adaptability of the 349
——, varieties in the..... 348, 356
——, these varieties no objection to their original unity..... 358, 364
Human rights must be clearly understood to be enjoyed..... 455
Humboldt's Cosmos..... 664
Hunt, Leigh, Autobiography of..... 168
Hybrids incapable of propagation..... 350

Iconographic Encyclopedia..... 170
Imbrie's Discourse on Death of W. E. Baker..... 486
Incarnation, the..... 114
——, theories of the..... 124
Inglis on Sabbath Schools..... 483
Isaiah iv, Spiritual Interpretation of... 262
Israelitish government the freest of ancient times..... 447

Jacobi, Prof. J. L., letters from..... 179, 674
Jacobi's philosophy..... 192, 194
James's Christian Professor..... 327
—— Earnest Ministry..... 270
Jesuitism as it is..... 498
Jewish Church, modes of admission into the..... 330
Job, the age in which he lived..... 611
John i, 1–18, literal translation of..... 548
Johnes's Philological Proof of the Original Unity of the Human Race..... 346, 348
John's Gospel, oldest testimony to..... 650

Kaltschmidt's Latin Dictionary..... 667
Kant's philosophy..... 192, 194
Keith's Harmony of Prophecy..... 484
Kepler's Third Law..... 52
Keys's Class-Leader's Manual..... 321
King's Geology, in Relation to Natural and Revealed Religion..... 323
Kitto's Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature 662
—— Daily Bible Illustrations..... 328
—— Journal of Sacred Literature..... 674
Knobel's Die Volkertafel der Genesis .. 673

Ladies' Repository..... 186
Latta's Chain of Sacred Wonders..... 331
Lexicography, recent advancement in 322
Leyburn's Soldier of the Cross..... 327
Liberal Principles—Progress of..... 446
—— little recognised before the advent of Christ..... 446, 448
—— cannot prevail but in a virtuous community..... 456
Liberty, its principles not derived from Greece and Rome..... 645
Lincoln's Horace..... 484
Literary Intelligence, Theological 176, 338, 492, 673
—— Classical and Miscellaneous, 184, 342, 502, 679
Liturgy, Dr. A. Clarke on the..... 314
Living Concealed, Plutarch against..... 476
Logos, Doctrine of the..... 377, 530
——, symbol of the Church concerning 117
——, humanity of the..... 128

Longitude, modes of obtaining the Page 47
Loomis's Analytical Geometry..... 328
—— Elements of Algebra..... 666
—— Recent Progress of Astronomy..... 169
Lorraine's Sea Sermons..... 488
Lossing's Pictorial Field Book..... 332, 481
Lowrie's Two Years in Upper India..... 329
Louisville Convention..... 415
Luther not merely an ecclesiastical reformer..... 450
Lutherana, Bibliotheca Biographica..... 493

Martineau's and Atkinson's Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature..... 493
Material Phenomena—Divine agency in 9, 15
——, most philosophers ignore the hand of God in 13
—— must be referred to an intelligent agent..... 18
——, Divine agency in, partially admitted by Agassiz..... 22
Mathematics, use of, in education..... 218
——, objections to the study of..... 222
Matter, our ignorance of its nature..... 9
—— and mind, impossibility of proving the existence of..... 195
Matthews's Lectures on the Bible and Civil Government..... 633
Mattison's Primary Astronomy..... 823
Mau, Prof., death of..... 180
Maurice, F. D., writings of..... 493
Mayer's History of the German Reformed Church 501
Mayhew's (H.) London Labour and London Poor..... 485
Mayhew's (Ira) Popular Education..... 165
Mechanics, science of..... 319
——, Smith's Elementary Treatise on.. 319
Metaphysics, error of modern systems of 215
Methodist Episcopacy — high-church views of, taken by the Southern delegates..... 411
—— always kept free from connexion with slavery..... 403, 414
Methodist Episcopal Church, South..... 396
——, history of the organization of..... 396
—— seceded without just grounds, 414, 428
——, the Plan of Separation did not justify them..... 417
——, statistics of conferences..... 336
Miller's First Impressions of England.. 489
—— Foot-prints of the Creator..... 330
—— Old Red Sandstone..... 333
Mills's Literature of Great Britain..... 669
Minister, a, noting his defects..... 309
Ministry, an earnest, the want of the times..... 270, 275
——, counsels to one about to enter the 310
——, difficulty of the..... 273
——, education of the..... 317
——, ignorance no qualification for the 274
——, mental and moral preparation for 112
——, necessity for a..... 271
——, origin and design of the..... 429
——, support of the..... 437
Missionary Report..... 491
Moister's Missionary Memorials..... 482
Moral Virtue, Plutarch on..... 471
Morell's History of Philosophy..... 185
Morton on Hybridity..... Page 551
Mural circle, use of the..... 43

Natural Phenomena. See *Material Phenomena*
Natural Philosophy, injurious tendency of many works on, designed for the young..... 30
Nature, manifestations of design and wisdom in..... 12
Neander, sketch of his life..... 143
——, his first appearance as an author 145
——, his obligations to Schleiermacher 146
—— labours as Professor in Berlin..... 149
——, his hold on the affections of students..... 149
——, his benevolence..... 151
——, secret of his surprising labours... 152
——, his peculiarities as a lecturer..... 153
——, his personal piety..... 154
——, his death..... 155
——, successor to 182, 492
——, works of..... 148, 181, 183
——, his Theological Lectures..... 492
——, his Light in Dark Places..... 635
Nebulæ and clusters of stars..... 61
Neptune, planet, discovery of..... 55
Newman, Dr., long a concealed Papist 49
——, his Lectures on Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church..... 178
Nineveh, relics of ancient..... 184
Nott, Dr., author of a work against the Unity of the Human Race..... 348
Ohio Conference Offering..... 667
Old disciples connecting links of the Church 86
Olin, Dr., sketch of his life and character 652
Opdyke's Political Economy..... 490
Origen, lost work of, discovered... 497, 645
—— or Hippolytus..... 645
Ovid's Fasti, Tristia, Poetic Epistles, &c..... 663
Pantheism of Bushnell's theory..... 141
Parallax in astronomy..... 35
Patriarchal Age, the..... 601
——, learning of the 603
Paul's ministerial devotedness..... 272
Pentateuch, Sörensen on the..... 493
——, Tetraglot, in Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Syriac..... 358
Phillips's Curran and his Contemporaries..... 489
Philosophy a natural development of the mind..... 216
—— and Faith 185
——, definition of..... 189
——, development of..... 188
——, error of modern systems of..... 215
——, necessity of postulates in 196, 200, 206
——, new German treatise on..... 502
——, speculative, wants a valid foundation..... 192
——, struggle of, with faith..... 186
Philosophoumena Origenis 645
——, not written by Origen..... 646
——, Hippolytus the probable author.. 647
——, value of the work..... 648

Pierce's (B. K.) Eminent Dead.... Page 168
Pierce, Dr. L., and the General Conference of 1848..... 126
Plan of Separation unconstitutional 417, 421
——, so declared by General Conference of 1848..... 424
Planet Neptune—ordinary problem of.. 55
——, particulars of its discovery..... 56
Planets, variety in the physical constitution of..... 53
Platonism and Christianity 125
Plutarch against the Stoics..... 478
—— against the doctrines of Epicurus 477
——, character of his writings 457
Plutarch's Moralia..... 457, 458, 460
Pope Pius IX., Apostolical Letter of..... 172
Power on Domestic Piety..... 489
Powerscourt's (Lady) Letters and Papers..... 330
Prayer, public, defects in 277
Preacher's example, influence of..... 309
Preaching, defects in..... 276
——, female..... 314
——, specimen of, in sixth century 657
Presbyter-bishops in the Apostolic Church 583
Presbyters, office of the..... 589
Prescience of the Deity..... 302, 303
Presiding Elder question in 1820 422
Priesthood, the universal..... 440
Prichard's Natural History of Man 346, 348
Property in the Apostolic Church..... 579
Proudhon on the Sabbath..... 493
Providence, Divine, various theories of 292
——, special, relation to, of inherent properties in matter, working by general laws..... 335
——, the true theory of..... 292, 301
—— sometimes interrupts the course of natural laws..... 298
Providential interposition, modes of.... 294
—— operations in the kingdom of grace 300
Prussia, new ecclesiastical constitution of..... 178
Putnam's World's Progress..... 165
Pütz's Mediæval Geography..... 166

Radico-abolitionists, secession of the... 401
Randolph, John..... 614
——, his early days..... 614
——, remembrance of maternal teachings..... 615
——, his unhappy temper..... 616
——, his first appearance as a speaker. 617
——, his integrity as a politician..... 618
——, his spiritual exercises..... 620
——, he makes a will emancipating his slaves..... 624
——, views of colonization and slavery 624
——, religion rooted out by politics.... 625
——, his duel with Mr. Clay..... 627
—— appointed minister to Russia..... 630
——, his last hours..... 631
Regeneration and sanctification distinguished..... 511, 527
Reid on the Intellectual Powers..... 324
Religion, divine authority of its rules.. 96
Religious Intelligence—American..... 336
——, Foreign 172
Representative government, the origin of..... Page 638
Revivals, the noise and confusion sometimes accompanying..... 313
Riches, Plutarch on the love of..... 469
Ritschl on the Early Church..... 180
Robinson's Buttman's Greek Grammar 488
—— Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament..... 155
Roman Church, morals in the early..... 650
Romish miracle..... 406
Rothe on the Commencement of the Christian Church..... 432
Ruffin's Fathers of the Desert..... 329

Sabellianism 126, 542, 649
Saisset's Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX. Seicle..... 185
Sanctification distinguished from regeneration..... 511
Santvoord's Life of Algernon Sidney... 559
Sartain's Magazine..... 185
Sartorius's Person and Work of Christ.. 114
Satan of the Book of Job..... 612
Schaff's Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche 490
Schleiermacher and Neander 146, 149
Schmidt's History of Greece..... 332
Schmidt and Zumpt's Classical Series.. 332
Schoneman, Dr., visit to..... 177
Science and religion, struggle between 186
Scientific Discovery, Annual of..... 333
Self-praise, when inoffensive, Plutarch on 474
Sensation defined..... 10
Senses, knowledge imparted by the, limited 10
Sermons by Wesleyan Ministers..... 332
Shaftesbury, Earl, character and career of..... 566
Shakspeare, Hudson's edition of..... 666
Sidney, Algernon..... 550
—— joins the parliamentary party 552
—— retires from public life during the Protectorate 557
—— becomes an exile at the Restoration..... 558
——, his Discourses on Government.... 567
—— returns to England..... 564
—— again engages in politics..... 565
——, his trial and execution..... 569, 571
——, his character..... 572
Slavery among the Romans..... 396
——, Christianity opposed to..... 397
—— in England..... 452
——, its encroachments in the Methodist Episcopal Church..... 398
——, no connexion allowed with the episcopacy..... 403, 414
Small things, important results from... 239
Smith, Dr. John Pye, death of..... 497
Smith's (Dr. A. W.) Elementary Treatise on Mechanics..... 319
—— (James) Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock..... 323
—— (Dr. W.) Classical Dictionary..... 326
Smyth's Unity of the Human Race 166, 345
Socrates, his philosophy..... 189
Solar system—number of bodies in the 34
——, direct motion of the..... 60

Sörensen on the Pentatench ..... Page 493
Southey, Life and Correspondence of... 330
——, list of his works..... 342
Species in zoology defined..... 349
Spiral systems, Lord Rosse's..... 62
Stars, binary or double..... 59
——, clusters of, and nebulæ..... 61
——, variable..... 58
Stevens's Memorials of Methodism in the Eastern States 662
—— Sketches of a Superannuated Itinerant..... 481
Steward's Religion the Weal of the Church..... 480
Stewart's (Dugald) Philosophy..... 324
Stoics, Plutarch against the..... 478
Strickland's Lives of English Queens... 327
Strong's Harmony of the Gospels..... 342
Stuart, Prof., on the Logos..... 377
Sun, heat of, strongest in the southern hemisphere..... 49
——, spots in the..... 50
Sunday-School Union of the M. E. Church, Annual Report of the... 337

Taylor's (Isaac) Elements of Thought 665
Teachers, necessary qualifications of... 110
Telescope, the Rosse, power of..... 51
——, confutation of La Place's nebular theory by..... 63
Theocracy of the Hebrews..... 640
Tholuck, notice of an interview with.. 317
Tischendorf's Synopsis Evangelica..... 673
Tithes in the Christian Church..... 437
Token of Friendship..... 167
Tranquillity of mind, Plutarch on..... 465
Transit instrument, the..... 40
Tregelle's Greek Testament..... 492
Trench's Star of the Wise Men..... 659
Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive..... 663
Triads of Pagan Mythology..... 610
Trinity, the..... 119, 133
——, Bushnell's theory of..... 136, 542
——, origin of early discussions on 124, 619
——, personality of..... 546
——, Wilberforce's view of..... 123

Turnbull's Theophany..... Page 114
Tuthill's Success in Life: the Mechanic 167

Unitarianism, modern..... 128

Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation..... 9
——, Atheistical principles of the work 19
——, the author's theory of development..... 21
Vice produces misery..... 474
Virtue, progress in, Plutarch on..... 473
Virtue and Vice, Plutarch on..... 470

War opposed to liberty..... 456
Watson, Richard, his return to the Wesleyan ministry..... 315
Waugh, Dr. Alexander, Life of..... 330
Wesley, Rev. John, usefulness of his sermons in Prussia..... 317
——, Westminster Review on..... 340
Whateley's Lectures on the Apostles... 493
—— Treatise on Angels..... 493
Wilberforce's (R. I.) Doctrine of the Incarnation 114
Wilberforce's (W.) Practical View..... 324
Wilkins's edition of Sir T. Browne's Works..... 280
Williams's Religious Progress..... 170
Wise's Young Man's Counsellor..... 332
Women forbidden to preach or pray in public 443
Woodbury's New Method of Learning German..... 168
Wortley's (Lady) Travels in the United States..... 664

Young men—danger of moral aberration..... 103
—— should aim at the highest excellence 110
—— only fully adapted to the special exigencies of their times..... 94
Young men of the Church..... 86
——, their elements of strength 95, 97, 98 100, 107
——, their sphere and responsibility... 88

INDEX OF TEXTS.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Gen. i, 2.....Page 603
—— ii, 3..... 609
—— ii, 5..... 374
—— ii, 5, 6..... 611
—— ii. 11..... 604
—— iii, 20..... 375
—— iii, 23..... 374
—— iii, 24..... 605
—— iv, 6, 7..... 608
—— iv, 26..... 607
—— v, 32..... 613
—— vi, 1, 2,..... 606
—— vii, 19..... 609
—— ix, 13..... 610
—— x, 6..... 375
—— x, 29..... 611
—— xi, 26, 32..... 613
—— xii, 4..... 613
—— xlv, 5, 7..... 303
Exod. xix, 6..... 441
—— xxii, 26..... 606
Lev. xix, 2...Page 512, 520
Num. xxvii, 18, 23..... 436
Deut. xxv, 4..... 438
—— xxviii..... 293
—— xxxii, 8..... 375
1 Sam. viii, 11-18..... 447
2 Kings vii..... 295
Job i, 6..... 612
—— ii, 7..... 134
—— xxxi, 26-28..... 612
—— xxxii, 8..... 207
—— xxxviii, 31..... 612
Psa. i, 3..... 108
—— xvii, 13..... 804
—— xix, 7, 8..... 97
—— li, 10..... 519
—— lxxii, 15..... 600
—— lxxxii, 6..... 606
—— xci, 11..... 207
—— cxix, 50, 105..... 97
—— cxxxv, 6, 7..... 29
Psa. cxlv, 9.....Page 28
—— cxlvii, 9..... 28
Eccles. xi, 1..... 37
Isa. iv,..... 262
—— viii, 4..... 650
—— ix, 6..... 269
—— xxix, 18..... 266
—— liv, 13..... 442
—— lxi, 1..... 264
Jer. xxiii, 5..... 269
—— xxxiii, 15..... 269
Dan. xii, 1..... 266
Joel ii, 28, 29..... 267, 442
Amos v, 8..... 612
Haggai i, 13..... 599
Zech. iii, 8..... 269
—— vi, 12..... 269
—— xiii, 1, 2..... 266
Mal. ii, 7..... 599
—— iii, 1..... 599

NEW TESTAMENT.

Matt. i, 21..... 519
—— ii, 11..... 639
—— iii, 2..... 267
—— iii, 17..... 532
—— v, 13-16..... 430
—— vi, 28..... 28
—— x, 8-10..... 437
—— x, 14, 15, 40..... 431
—— x, 29.....28, 293, 304
—— xi, 3..... 393
—— xi, 11..... 391
—— xiii, 55..... 671
—— xvi, 18..... 434
—— xvi, 19..... 429
—— xvii, 5..... 532
—— xviii, 15-17..... 444
—— xviii, 18..... 429
—— xviii, 20..... 267
—— xx, 26-28.....431, 445
—— xxii, 37..... 514
—— xxii, 42-45..... 270
—— xxiii, 38, 39..... 394
—— xxvi, 53..... 297
—— xxviii, 18-20..429, 430
—— xxviii, 19..... 133
Mark xii, 30..... 514
—— xvi, 15...375, 430, 434
Luke iii, 16..... 267
—— x, 7..... 437
Luke x, 27..... 514
—— xxii, 27..... 445
—— xxii, 42-44..... 303
—— xxii, 43..... 297
—— xxiv, 19..... 433
—— xxiv, 25-47..... 263
John i, 1-14... 116, 131, 135
—— i, 1-18...377, 530, 548
—— i, 9..... 300
—— iii, 25..... 391
—— iii, 34..... 539
—— iv, 14..... 108
—— v, 18-26..... 534
—— vi, 14..... 393, 433
—— vii, 40..... 433
—— viii, 41..... 530
—— xi, 27..... 393
—— xii, 13..... 393
—— xiii, 14..... 445
—— xiii, 20..... 431
—— xiv, 20..... 293
—— xix, 25..... 670
—— xx, 21-23..... 429
Acts i, 15-26..... 435
—— i, 21, 22..... 574
—— ii, 17, 18..... 442
—— ii, 23..... 303
—— iii, 22..... 433
—— iv, 35-37..... 435
Acts vi, 1-6..... 435
—— vi, 2..... 443
—— vi, 2-5..... 593, 595
—— vi, 4..... 429
—— vi, 6..... 436
—— vii, 2-4..... 613
—— ix, 6..... 111
—— x, 43..... 264
—— xi, 29..... 439
—— xi, 30..... 586, 589
—— xiii, 5..... 437
—— xiii, 5, 46..... 432
—— xiii, 20..... 602
—— xiv, 23..... 435
—— xv, 3..... 444
—— xv, 4-23..... 445
—— xvi, 2..... 457
—— xvii, 26..... 375
—— xix, 1-3..... 591
—— xx, 4.....438, 584
—— xx, 28....431, 455, 584
—— xx, 31..... 272
—— xx, 33, 34..... 438
—— xxi, 7..... 593
—— xxi, 9..... 444
—— xxi, 18..... 578
—— xxiv, 5..... 432
—— xxvii, 9-25..... 296
—— xxviii, 22..... 432

Rom. i, 3, 4.....Page 266
—— ii, 28, 29..... 434
—— iv, 11–17..... 434
—— vi, 22..... 514
—— viii, 17..... 395
—— xv, 26..... 439
—— xvi, 1..... 596
—— xvi, 16..... 577
1 Cor. iv, 1, 12..... 431
—— v, 3–5..... 444
—— vi, 5..... 444
—— viii, 6..... 133
—— ix, 1..... 574
—— ix, 7–14..... 437, 438
—— ix, 27..... 431
—— xi, 5..... 442
—— xii, 28..... 579
—— xii, 28–30..... 433, 434
—— xiv, 23–36.....442, 443
—— x , 22..... 375, 377
—— xv, 26..... 439
—— xv, 45..... 132
—— xvi, 1, 2..... 439, 440
—— xvi, 19, 20..... 577
2 Cor. ii, 16..... 431
—— iii, 5, 6..... 431
—— iii, 8, 9..... 430
—— iii, 11..... 429
—— iv, 5..... 431
—— iv, 7..... 271
—— v, 7..... 207
—— v, 18..... 430
—— v, 20..... 431
—— vi, 2..... 105
—— vi, 4..... 431
—— vii, 1..... 513
—— viii, 19..... 435, 444
—— xi, 7–9..... 438
—— xi, 28, 29..... 576
—— xvi, 16..... 441
Gal. i, 1–11.....Page 574
—— i, 19..... 671
—— ii, 7–9..... 576
—— iii, 7, 26–29..... 434
—— iii, 28..... 442, 443
—— v, 17..... 101
—— vi, 6..... 438
Eph. ii, 17..... 433
—— ii, 20...434,440,575, 579
—— iv, 11, 12...432,434, 442
—— iv, 11–13..... 569, 579
580, 581
Phil. i, 1..... 584
—— ii, 5–8..... 445
—— ii, 7..... 132, 433
—— ii, 13..... 293
—— iv, 3..... 266
—— iv, 11–13, 16..... 438
Col. i, 28, 29..... 509
1 Thess. i, 10, 11... 442, 443
—— ii, 9..... 438
—— v, 23..... 513
2 Thess. iii, 8, 9..... 438
—— iii, 10..... 597
1 Tim. i, 18..... 437
—— ii, 1..... 442
—— ii, 12..... 443
—— iii, 2..... 589
—— iii, 2, 7, 10..... 436
—— iii, 13..... 595
—— iii, 16..... 114
—— iv, 15..... 437
—— v, 9–15..... 595, 597
—— v, 17..... 438, 590
—— v, 22..... 437
2 Tim. i, 6..... 437
—— iii, 16, 17..... 509
Titus i, 1..... 584
—— i, 5..... 587
—— i, 5, 6, 7..... 436, 437
Titus i, 7.....Page 431
—— i, 9..... 590
—— i, 11..... 438
—— iii, 5..... 267
Heb. i, 14..... 296, 297
—— iii, 1..... 433
—— vi, 1..... 513
—— vii, 24, 25..... 442
—— xii, 14..... 514
—— xii, 23..... 266
—— xiii, 7..... 589
—— xiii, 17..... 441
James v, 14..... 587
1 Peter i, 5, 10–12..... 264
—— ii, 5, 9..... 441, 578
—— ii, 7..... 266
—— iv, 10..... 431
—— v, 1.... 575, 576, 585
—— v, 1–5..... 444
—— v, 3..... 431, 432
2 Peter i, 16–18..... 532
1 John i, 2..... 381
—— i, 7..... 513, 519
—— ii, 12, 13..... 86
—— ii, 14..... 88, 95, 100
109
—— iii, 1, 2..... 395
—— iv, 3..... 129, 135
—— v, 20..... 135
Rev. i, 5, 6..... 441
—— i, 20..... 598
—— iii, 5..... 266
—— iv, 8..... 520
—— vii, 14..... 515
—— xii, 10..... 613
—— xix, 10..... 264
—— xxi, 11, 18, 23..... 669
—— xxi, 14... 440, 575, 578
—— xxii, 16..... 269

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